THE WORKS

OF

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

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HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

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HISTORY OF MEXICO.

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INTERNAL AND FOREIGN COMPLICATIONS.

1861.

EXPULSION OF FOREIGN DIPLOMATES—EXILE OF HIGH ECCLESIASTICS—REORGANIZATION OF GOVERNMENT—MEASURES OF CONCILIATION—DIFFERENCES AMONG THE LIBERALS—FOREIGN RELATIONS INTERRUPTED—MEETING OF CONGRESS—CHARACTER OF ITS MEMBERS—BENITO JUAREZ ELECTED PRESIDENT—REACTIONARY WAR RENEWED—LIBERAL VICTORIES—FINANCIAL DISTRESS AND SUSPENSION OF PAYMENTS—FOREIGN PROTESTS—TREATY OF INTERVENTION IN LONDON—COURSE OF THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO—MINISTERIAL CRISIS.

THE constitutionalists and reformers have won the victory. The power upheld by the reactionists during the last three years of horrors is overthrown. It would seem that Juarez and his fellow-laborers have a clear field, and an opportunity to plant the institutions to win which so many lives were sacrificed. But such is not the case. There are innumerable obstacles yet to overcome before reaching the happy consummation of their hopes.

The reactionary leaders though cast down are not crushed. Undismayed by reverses, they are still battling for supremacy under the war-cry, 'religion y fueros;' and to win they will resort to any device, even to inviting the intervention of European monarchies to their support. Nor is this the only difficulty the liberal administration has to contend

with. Discordant elements among the liberals themselves must be harmonized, old standing abuses eradicated, and finances adjusted before the haven of safety is reached.

The liberal government, therefore, will have not only to devise the best methods to give the reforms a firm footing amidst the internal troubles, but likewise to face the intervention of great military powers so wickedly called into the family differences—an intervention that with fire and sword and the introduction of still another disturbing element is to bring the republic almost to the brink of destruction, though to rise again victorious, and under the ægis of its liberal laws, and the guidance of wise and patriotic statesmen, secure, it is to be hoped, permanent peace, and with it that moral, intellectual, and material advancement which will entitle it to a place among the enlightened nations.

The attitude assumed by the president and his minister of relations toward the foreign diplomatic agents, who had unduly interfered with Mexico's internal affairs in their support of the reactionary officials, was very determined. The Spanish ambassador, the pope's legate, and the representatives of Guatemala and Ecuador were required to leave the republic. Their dismissal was placed on personal grounds. Pacheco and the other two diplomates denied having violated the laws of neutrality, and declined to be dealt with as private persons.[1] The order as regarded the Ecuador chargé was recalled with an apology, on the government becoming satisfied that he had committed no hostile act.[2]

[1] Pacheco had so openly and obnoxiously sympathized with the reactionists that the government was fully justified in its action toward him. The official correspondence and other matter connected therewith may be seen in *Archivo Mex., Col. Ley.*, v. 41–4, 51–4, 138–40, 149–50; *Lefèvre, Mex. et l'Interv.*, 231; *Payno, Méx. y el Sr Embajador*, 1–98; *Córtes, Diario Senado*, i. no. 9, 71–2; *Id., Diario Cong.*, i. ap. 5, no. 4, 93–102; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xv. 617–21.

[2] Pastor, the chargé, continued accredited near Juarez. *Archivo Mex., Col. Ley.*, v. 315–21.

The archbishop and five bishops were also peremptorily ordered into exile, and the liberal party approved the president's course as energetic and worthy of the occasion. Moreover, the prelates were most disrespectfully treated by the mob on their arrival at Vera Cruz on the 21st of January, 1861.[3] The work of reorganizing the government, so as to place it in consonance with the requirements of the constitution, was begun at once. The president reiterated his decree of November 6, 1860, for elections, and fixed the third Sunday in the following April for the assembling of the second congress under the constitution of 1857. The time allowed was too short.[4] The organization of political clubs inspired hopes that the people were aroused, and would take an active and direct part in the choice of their next president and legislators. The newspapers[5] advocated the merits of their favorite candidates for the executive chair, the most prominent being Gonzalez Ortega, Juan Antonio de la Fuente, and Miguel Lerdo de Tejada. Degollado and Uraga also had friends working for their candidacy. But Benito Juarez, the patriot, full of courage and faith in the regeneration of his country under free institutions, was evidently the favorite of the great majority.[6]

[3] The Spanish minister wrote his government that neither he nor his colleagues of Guatemala had received personal violence; but the ecclesiastics were hooted at and stoned. The mob assented to the papal legate and his auditor departing, but refused to let the others go. However, they remained unmolested in the house that had sheltered them till the next day, when they were transferred to San Juan de Ulúa by the local authorities. *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, ii. 382–4; *Córtes, Diario Senado*, i. no. 9, 81.

[4] The decree was dated Jan. 11, 1861. *Archivo Mex., Col. Ley.*, v. 27–8. Many had advocated the idea, which was abandoned for obvious reasons, that Juarez should revive the congress that was sitting at the date of Comonfort's coup d'état, thus obliterating the period since that event as if it had never existed.

[5] By the middle of Jan. there were in the capital fourteen political journals in Spanish, besides one in English, *The Mexican Extraordinary*, and one in French, *L'Estafette*. A number were issued throughout the republic, some of them, like the *Pájaro Verde*, defending the defeated principles. *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, v. 378.

[6] His bitter reactionary enemies ridiculed his origin and color, made caricatures of and applied nicknames and epithets to him. The fools had not sense enough to see that they were thus increasing his popularity.

The political situation was not by any means a promising one. The man who was to hold the reins of government must look well before him. Armed reaction had been apparently vanquished, but there remained several disturbing elements which must be nullified, or at least kept in subordination before the victory could be called the precursor of a lasting peace.[7]

The government in the first flush of victory had ordered, on the 11th of January, 1861, all the leaders, aiders, and abetters of the reaction to be tried under the last law against conspirators, and shot on conviction. The first person brought under it was Miramon's minister, Isidro Diaz, who had been captured, as stated elsewhere. It seems that the order for his execution had been or was on the point of being issued, when Juarez commuted the sentence to five years' exile.[8] The liberal party became alarmed on learning of this action, as they, or at least the most radical wing of the party, maintained that it was rank injustice to show leniency toward those who had com-

[7] The troublesome elements were: First, the remaining portion of the force defeated at Calpulalpam; the garrison of the capital disbanded on the preceding christmas night; and the active men of the clerical party. Second, the constitutional army and the men who rose in arms to restore the constitution and enforce the reform laws—a very large element that must be prevailed upon to return quietly to their former social position and vocations. Third, the states, whose governments during the civil war had habituated themselves to the exercise of independent sovereignty, incompatible with subordination to the federal authority. They seemed to be well satisfied with this practice, and it was feared they were disposed to continue it. Fourth, the men with exaggerated theories on democracy who had been waiting for the triumph of the liberal arms to attempt putting their ideas into practice in the government. Fifth, the representatives of interests created by the reforms initiated in 1856, and which the Tacubaya faction had injured. Their number as well as their claims had become quite enlarged. Sixth, the foreign demands resulting from several international questions that had arisen during the last civil war. Seventh and last, the highwaymen and other malefactors, who, under the garb of guerrillas, and by favor of political barnacles, made public roads and small towns unsafe, and must be crushed out by the whole power of the government.

[8] The late Spanish ambassador, Pacheco, in a speech delivered Nov. 23d, before the senate at Madrid, accounted for it in a slurring manner. Miramon's wife, one of whose sisters was Diaz' betrothed, called on the president, and using Pacheco's own words, 'tales fueron sus instancias, y tales fueron sus súplicas, y tales fueron sus insultos, y tales fueron los argumentos y medios de que se valió,' that she obtained the commutation. *Córtes, Diario Senado*, i. no. 9, 78.

mitted high political crimes while the man who stole a horse was sent to the scaffold.[9]

Juarez resolved that further bloodshed and persecution should cease, in all cases where he could with propriety exercise leniency,[10] and with that object in view decreed an amnesty early in March, excepting from its benefits only some of the most prominent men of the fallen party.[11] But on the 4th of June a law of outlawry was enacted by congress against the persons and property of certain reactionist leaders, namely, Zuloaga, Marquez, Cobos, Mejía, Juan Vicario, Lindoro Cajiga, and Manuel Lozada, and a reward of $10,000 was offered for the slaying of each of them.[12] The kidnapping and cold-blooded murder of Ocampo caused the greatest excitement in and out of congress. Many conservatives were arrested, and their execution would have followed in retaliation, but for Juarez' opposition to sanguinary measures.[13] It was only by his force of will that a

[9] The amnesty, though a limited one, caused the resignation of the ministers. The plan of sending Diaz into exile met with a check. Captain Aldham of the *Valorous*, at Vera Cruz, in a note to Gov. Gutierrez Zamora, solemnly protested against Diaz' release, he being concerned in the seizure of funds from the British legation. Ortega as minister of war directed the commander of the forces at that port to suspend Diaz' embarkation, holding him subject to government orders, if necessary in San Juan de Ulúa; and Gov. Zamora was told to assure Capt. Aldham that the government had ordered the arrest of Diaz and all others who had offended international law. Indeed, Zuloaga's and Miramon's cabinets and other persons were subjected to trial, and their property held amenable. *Archivo Mex.*, *Col. Ley.*, v. 26–7, 65–6, 108–12; *Dublan* and *Lozano*, *Leg. Mex.*, ix. 9; *Boletin de Notic.*, Jan 19, 25, 29, Feb. 7, 1861. Diaz was subsequently tried and acquitted of any participation in the seizure of the British funds. *Rivera*, *Hist. Jalapa*, v. 451.

[10] When this policy was first broached, it made a great commotion in the liberal party, and forced the resignation of Juarez' ministers, Ocampo, Empáran, and La Fuente.

[11] Among those specially excepted were the officials who had done injury or caused damage to third parties, and all men guilty of common crimes.

[12] The act calls them 'execrables asesinos.' Marquez, Zuloaga, and Cajiga were concerned in the execution of Melchor Ocampo at Tepejí del Rio on the 3d of June, 1861. Ocampo's untimely end was much deplored. He had travelled abroad, served in both houses of congress; also as governor of Michoacan and minister of state. He was an unselfish reformer. *Diaz*, *Datos Biog.*, MS., 504. Marquez' band was likewise guilty of shooting Gen. Leandro Valle, in the Monte de las Cruces. Degollado soon after fell into an ambuscade and was slain. *Baz*, *Vida de Juarez*, 209; *Dublan* and *Lozano*, *Leg. Mex.*, ix. 219–20, 224, 228–35; *Le Trait d'Union*, June 10, 15, 1861.

[13] The diplomatic corps also interceded for the prisoners.

reign of terror was prevented, for there was hardly one deputy in the chamber who was opposed to extreme measures.

The amnesty law of March was made more comprehensive by a decree of congress, dated November 23, 1861, and published December 2d, which reduced the number of exceptions, and included in its benefits all political offences from December 17, 1857.[14]

The cabinet formed by Juarez, after the resignation of his former ministers in January 1861, consisted of Francisco Zarco, of relations; Ignacio Ramirez, of justice; and Guillermo Prieto, of the treasury. The portfolio of fomento was held ad interim in the hands of Zarco. The policy adopted, after a few hours' consultation, was that the necessity of the government acting without the pale of the constitution had ceased to exist. Legal formalities were not, however, to stand in the way of the guarantees and reforms demanded by the national will, and so dearly won on so many bloody fields.[15] The necessity of establishing order in the several departments of government, particularly in that of the treasury, was fully recognized. Foreign relations should have the best attention, international obligations be respected, and disputed questions settled. The development of

[14] The exceptions were: those who ordered and superintended the massacre at Tacubaya in April 1859, and the murderers of Melchor Ocampo in June 1861; the Mexican signers of the treaty Mon-Almonte; the parties that seized the funds that were deposited in the house No. 10 calle de Capuchinas, in Mexico, placed there to meet the British debt; exiles from the country under previous decrees; and those not born in Mexico who served the reaction. These last were to be allowed to quit the country. The amnesty did not carry with it restoration of rank or honors. *Miramon, Defensa de los Min.*, 1–221; *Proceso Instr. á los minist.*, in *Ramirez, Acus.*, no. 2, 3–18; *Archivo Mex., Col. Ley.*, v. 509–10, 641–2, vi. 204, 206–10, 250–5, 644–7; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, ix. 227, 330–2; *Buenrostro, Hist. Seg. Cong. Constituc.*, i. 36–7, 92–103, 162, 180–3; *Le Trait d'Union*, June 4–10, Dec. 5, 1861; *Lefèvre, Doc. Ofic. Maximiliano*, i. 49, and note 1; *Arellano, Últ. Horas*, 20–2.

[15] Freedom of education, industry, the press, petition, transit, and the defence of life, liberty, and property before the courts. The reforms decreed at Vera Cruz, namely, nationalization of mortmain property, freedom of worship, and independence of church and state were to be upheld at all hazards. A most liberal press law, known since as the ley Zarco, was decreed on the 22d of Feb., 1861.

industries and commerce, the organization of public defence, and every other measure conducive to the welfare of the country would engage the government's best care.[16]

There was a lack of unanimity in the councils of the chief men of the liberal party. Confusion prevailed, and the worst symptoms of disorder existed in the several states, resulting from having become involved in the last revolution before they had completed their constitutional organization. Their governors and legislatures had been unable to do aught but provide for the defence of the national government. That state of things gave birth to an abnormal and arbitrary régime, martial law ruling even after the overthrow of the reaction.[17] There were not wanting some states, like Zacatecas, disposed to ignore the constitution. Some governors had been chosen by their people; others owed their positions to the general government. A number had wielded despotic powers a long time, and a few even had refused to publish the reform laws, and to obey the constitution. Some states had legislatures, and others had not. The situation was so complicated that there was only one man, Juarez, who could overcome so many obstacles, and bring order out of chaos.[18] He directed that martial law, wherever existing, should cease, together with all extraordinary powers of a military nature granted the governors.[19]

The government experienced great difficulty from the decrease of the revenue on the one hand, and on the other from the immense claims—resulting from

[16] Thus were epitomized the points embraced in the circular of the minister of relations. *Archivo Mex., Col. Ley.*, v. 77–99.

[17] In states where the reaction succumbed before its final defeat at the capital, attempts were made to restore constitutional order; in others it had been necessary to continue the military rule after Juarez' government returned to Mexico.

[18] Rivera assures us that Juarez, without being at all presumptuous, felt the consciousness that he was the man for the occasion. *Gob. de Méx.*, ii. 607.

[19] Decrees of January 24 and 25, 1861; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, ix. 22.

the war, and the amount of which was even unknown —which were already being pressed upon the treasury for settlement.[20] Several other causes, which it is needless to enumerate, contributed to the embarrassments of the treasury.

Owing to these disturbances, added to which were the obstacles thrown in the path of the government by some state authorities, and the precarious state of foreign relations, it was almost impossible to restore the supremacy of law, and to develop the national resources. So many difficulties only served to add strength to the reactionists, whose numbers were daily increasing, and necessitated the despatch of large bodies of troops to keep them in check. It was even considered perilous that the government should continue residing in Mexico, Jalisco recommending its transfer to some second-rate town.[21]

The liberal party was already divided into reformists and constitutionalists, and between the two was a third with intermediate ideas, some of whose members leaned to the fallen party.[22] The constitutionalists wanted a strict observance of the constitution; the reformists demanded a revolutionary policy, looking upon the constitution as the source and motive power for the onward march. The objections of the radicals to an absolute authority were only to its exercise by conservatives.

The elections took place in the mean time. The popular suffrage had, till the early part of February, favored Miguel Lerdo de Tejada in the states of Vera Cruz, Tabasco, Yucatan, Mexico, and Tamaulipas; while Chiapas, Oajaca, Guerrero, Jalisco, Nuevo Leon, and Michoacan had voted for Juarez; and Zacatecas, San Luis Potosí, Guanajuato, Querétaro, and Aguas-

[20] The increase was not only in the home debt, but in the foreign, the latter being caused by the non-payment of interest and the seizure of funds belonging to foreigners.

[21] The proposition was finally rejected by congress.

[22] A new journal now came upon the political arena, defending the most retrogressive principles, besides censuring and slandering the liberals.

calientes had shown their preference for Ortega. It seemed as if fate had ordered that Juarez should have in his hands for some years longer the destinies of his country. Lerdo was taken ill at Tacubaya in March, and died on the 22d, the republic thus losing one of her most valuable men, who had zealously labored for political reforms.[23]

The republic had also the misfortune to lose at the same time—on the 21st of March—Governor Gutierrez Zamora of Vera Cruz, who had been in the last five years a pillar of strength to the constitutional party.

Juarez was not well satisfied with Zarco, his minister of relations in Ogazon's absence. He was an excellent journalist, but he seemed to lack the qualifications of a statesman. He settled some international questions in a way that did not suit the public. He acknowledged national responsibility for the affair in the calle de Capuchinas, and tacitly recognized Jecker's claim to $15,000,000.[24] He was unsuccessful in his efforts to arrange affairs in the interior, and differed with the president on some points. As for Prieto, the financial minister, he declared his inability to find means for relieving the pecuniary distress, and admitted that bankruptcy was impending.[25]

The lack of pecuniary means was not the only trouble. There was, besides, a lack of morality and justice, a lack of austere republicanism in many of

[23] He was, at the time of his death, president of the supreme court. The highest civic and military honors to his memory were decreed March 22d. It was also provided that his son's education should be in national institutes free of charge, besides a pecuniary allowance. Many state governments joined in expressions of condolence. *Archivo Mex.*, *Col. Ley.*, v. 619–21; *Boletin Ofic.*, Apr. 19, 1861.

[24] As to the first matter, the law of Oct. 14, 1850, clearly said that government responsibility ceased after the bondholders had received their money. Jecker's claim consisted of bonds issued by Miramon to obtain funds. The tacit recognition was, of course, intended to facilitate an arrangement of the differences with France.

[25] The situation was unpromising. The total revenue from customs on the Pacific and 85 per cent of that on the gulf of Mexico were pledged under diplomatic conventions. The states had seized the revenue from stamped paper; that from postage had almost disappeared.

those clothed with authority. There was an insecurity on the public roads, as often shown; and one occurrence, the attacking and wounding near Orizaba of Captain Aldham, the commander of the *Valorous*, and others, while on their way to Vera Cruz, added other difficulties in the adjustment of differences with Great Britain.

The bad condition of public affairs caused another ministerial crisis, beginning with the resignation of Prieto, who on retiring suggested what he deemed the only possible means to relieve the financial distress.[26] Ortega, minister of war, was succeeded by Zaragoza. José María Mata, who knew little or nothing about finances, was placed in charge of the treasury portfolio.[27] This change, at the time when the head of the treasury department needed to be thoroughly informed of the financial question in order that he might intelligently reform the maritime and frontier tariffs, was an unfortunate one. It has been said that the other ministers were not equal to their positions, and that but for the fact that their tenure was considered only provisional, they could not have escaped rude attacks, such as were directed against Mata for his measures, chief of which were suspension of payments, sale at public auction of notes payable to the government, and contracts of a ruinous character. These attacks were not altogether just, for the government was in need of means to fight the reactionists, who were already assuming a dangerous attitude.[28]

[26] Removal of all encumbrances on the revenue from customs; decrease in the army expenditure; forbidding the use by state governments of any portion of the federal revenue. Juarez reduced his own salary from $36,000 to $30,000, cut down the expenses of the department of relations, decreased the number of his ministers and their salaries. *Méx., Cód. Reforma*, 361–2; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, ix. 140; *Mex., Mem. Hacienda*, 1870, 1054–8.

[27] The new ministers entered upon their duties respectively on the 13th and 22d of April. *Boletin de Notic.*, Apr. 9, 23, 24, 1861; *Archivo Mex., Col. Ley.*, v. 629–36, 648, 696–9, 711–12, 724–5, 798–801; *Le Trait d'Union*, Apr. 7, 10, 11, 1861.

[28] Marquez had actually published, on the 16th of March, an order declaring traitors, subject to the death penalty, every one serving under Juarez. Some reactionists came almost within hailing distance of the capital, 300 of

I have incidentally referred to existing complications with foreign powers. Great Britain was sending out a fleet to demand satisfaction for the calle de Capuchinas robbery. It was rumored that France and Spain would take advantage of the political disturbances in the United States, and intervene in Mexican affairs by force of arms. The northern republic, amidst her troubles, bestowed some attention on Mexico, accrediting near Juarez' government John Weller as minister plenipotentiary, who was properly received on the 30th of January. McLane, the former minister, also visited Mexico, giving rise to not a few comments. The Prussian minister likewise recognized the government.[29]

New elements for international conflict were gathering. In the latter part of December 1860, the French war ship *Sérieuse* demanded reparation for the maltreatment of the French consul at Tepic, requiring a salute to his flag, a pecuniary compensation to cover damages, and the imprisonment of the officer Rojas. Meanwhile she seized as a hostage a vessel belonging to the government of Sinaloa. This affair, and the favor shown Miramon by the French at Vera Cruz, had delayed the recognition of Dubois de Saligny as French minister. He was, however, formally received on the 16th of March.

The rumor gained strength, and was indeed a recognized fact, that European intervention in Mexico had been agreed upon. Juarez endeavored, by diplomacy, to ward off the blow, receiving at a private audience the British representative, George Matthews; on the 26th of February the flags of Great Britain and Mexico were saluted.[30]

them reaching Tlalpam and San Ángel, which made the government's weakness quite evident. *Rivera, Gob. de Méx.*, ii. 614–15.

[29] The addresses on the reception of the two diplomates, and a letter from the Prussian minister of Jan. 23d, may be seen in *Archivo Mex., Col. Ley.*, v. 124, 204–8, 558–61; *Boletin de Notic.*, Feb. 2, 1861.

[30] The government on the 25th had ordered that the next day at 2 P. M., when the British flag was hoisted over that legation, the national flag should also be shown on all public buildings, as a marked reprobation of the outrage

The breaking-out of a sectional war in the United States rendered it easy, as was thought, for Europe to interfere in Mexico; it certainly added to the difficulties of Juarez' government. The administration of President Lincoln sent as its representative a distinguished citizen, who had on more than one important occasion shown himself a friend to Mexico, Thomas Corwin,[31] who was also to watch the manœuvres of the rebellious states, which were supposed to be preparing to act against Mexico, Paso del Norte being one of the first places menaced. His influence soon became great, and he used it judiciously.[32] The confederate states did not fail to watch their interests in Mexico.[33]

The dismemberment of the United States, it was justly thought, would certainly bring upon Mexico European intervention. The hostile feeling was made evident on the landing of the new British minister, Sir Charles L. Wyke, at Vera Cruz, by his haughtily demanding a salute of fourteen guns instead of eleven that had been given him there.[34]

The second constitutional congress began its labors the 9th of May, on which date Juarez made a frank exposé of the political situation.[35] Congress and the

committed by the reactionary faction on the 18th of Nov. preceding. *Archivo Mex., Col. Ley.*, v. 442–5.

[31] His reception took place in May. *Archivo Mex., Col. Ley.*, vi. 152–5, 163–6; *Le Trait d'Union*, May 23, 1861; *El Amigo del Pueblo*, May 10, 1861; see also Secretary Seward's despatch quoted in *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, ii. 387–9.

[32] As an instance: at his request Mexico granted permission for U. S. troops to land at Guaymas, and by the most direct routes march to Arizona. *U. S. Govt Doc.*, Cong. 39, Ses. 1, Mex. Affairs, i. 7; *Id.*, Sen., 17.

[33] Their agent, Pickett, came to reside in Vera Cruz. *Le Trait d'Union*, July 6, 1861. On the 22d of May, Robert Toombs, secretary of the seceded states, sent a commissioner named Quintero to Vidaurri, governor of Nuevo Leon, with letters in which he spoke of expeditions being fitted out in Nuevo Leon and Coahuila against Texas, and manifesting a desire for friendly relations, etc. He said that an agent had been despatched to the city of Mexico. Vidaurri answered Quintero July 1st, disclaiming authority to hold diplomatic relations; but in view of the abnormal state of affairs, assured Quintero there was no foundation for the report on hostile expeditions, and that he was equally actuated by friendly feelings. *La Estrella de Occid.*, Aug. 30, 1861.

[34] His public reception took place in May.

[35] He assumed the responsibility of all his measures from the time he first

cabinet soon had disagreements, and the ministers tendered their resignations, which were not at once accepted. The president concluded, however, that he would have a parliamentary ministry, and lost no time in making the appointments, the only member of the former cabinet retained being Zaragoza. The new ministers were Leon Guzman, of relations, and Joaquin Ruiz, of justice. The treasury remained without a head, it being difficult to get a competent man willing to accept the position. It was finally intrusted to José M. Castaños.[36] This cabinet was fortunate in that everything was done to aid it, meeting with no systematic opposition even from the press; and yet, owing to the overwhelming evils, it accomplished little.

It may be well to explain the character of the new congress. The members were most of them liberal and progressive; many were young and inexperienced; all had faith in the country, and in free institutions. There was a haughty independence displayed. Hence their occasional opposition to the executive when he was endeavoring to surround himself with energetic and influential men. But that opposition, though unjust, was useful, and certainly more respectable than the servility of former congresses. The result was that the executive and his counsellors pursued as closely as they could the policy outlined by the people's representatives. In this chamber began to figure young Ignacio Manuel Altamirano, deputy from Guerrero, of pure Indian blood, full of talent and fiery eloquence, who soon made his mark by the beauty

established his government at Guanajuato in 1858; expressed the wish that the work of reform should go on; spoke of the foreign complications, of which the reactionists were taking advantage; of the government's penury, expressing his belief that the only remedy would be to give full effect to the nationalization of mortmain property. *Archivo Mex., Col. Ley.*, vi. 119–35; *Buenrostro, Hist. Seg. Cong. Constituc.*, 17–22; *Baz, Vida de Juarez*, 195–203.

[36] Castaños was a man of liberal ideas and well-known uprightness. Guzman was a firm liberal, and free to condemn abuses of power. He had belonged to the congress of 1857; Ruiz had not always advocated radical principles, but was learned, and had sincerely accepted the reform laws. Zaragoza was a true patriot, much valued for his sterling character.

of his speech and the impetuousness of his thinking. With him also occupied distinguished positions Porfirio Diaz, Buenrostro, Alfredo Chavero, José V. Baz, Francisco Hernandez, and others.[37]

Among the first acts of the congress was, after a warm debate that followed the reading of a communication from Comonfort, to declare that he ceased to be president on the 17th of December, 1857. Compellation in addressing authorities and corporations, heretofore entitled thereto, was suppressed.[38]

The reactionary party continued its work, and armed parties were committing hostilities in various localities. Mejía, who was again in his lair in the sierra of Querétaro, defeated Colonel Escobedo, and augmented the number of his followers. Guadarrama and Tovar were roving and robbing in Jalisco. Lozada, the robber chief of the sierra of Alica, looked on the government with contempt, though occasionally manifesting a disposition to recognize it; but always did as he pleased. A party of guerrillas attacked Tasco and shot the British vice-consul. There was a plan to constitute a Sierra Madre republic.

A strong column of the three arms sent to Puebla under Zaragoza to check reactionary movements was received with a marked coldness,[39] and it was even feared that some officers who had been mustered out of service would make a disturbance.

The clergy showed their opposition. An objec-

[37] The members of this congress took no oath; they made a protestation to do their duty faithfully. This of itself was a sanction of one of the reforms.

[38] This law was reiterated July 18, 1871. In the investigation of charges against officials that took part in the coup d'état of 1857, Juan José Baz was unanimously acquitted; but the ex-minister Payno was condemned in July, almost by acclamation. *Rivera, Gob. de Méx.*, ii. 616; *Baz, Vida de Juarez*, 207–8; *Buenrostro, Hist. Seg. Cong. Constituc.*, i. 138–9, 147–52; *Id., Hist. Prim. y Seg. Cong.*, nos 48–51, 64–7; *Le Trait d'Union*, July 24, 1861; *Méx., Derecho Intern.*, 3d pt, 1162–3.

[39] A part of that expedition was the Oajaca brigade. The object was to force Gen. Felipe Chacon, who was still in arms, to submit. Chacon surrendering, the city was occupied without resistance. *Diaz, Datos Biog.*, MS., 140–1.

tionable pastoral from the diocese of Puebla caused the exile of two canons. In many towns the priests forbade the reading of Pizarro's political catechism, which the government had declared a text-book.[40] The conduct of the clerical party became so alarming that congress at last created a committee of safety, clothed with ample powers, and the president was authorized on the 7th of June to suspend personal rights.[41]

Zuloaga, who had escaped from Mexico, to which place he had quietly gone before Miramon's downfall, had joined Cobos and Vicario, and with over 1,000 men came as near as Cuernavaca. He now called himself president, and appointed a cabinet, with Vicario, Miranda, Olavarría, and Marcelino Cobos as his ministers.[42] Marquez and Mejía were defeated by Degollado on the 2d of March at Las Guayabitas. Lozada was routed in his stronghold, but showed no signs of yielding. Toward the end of March a pronunciamiento at Tampico was defeated and the leaders were shot.[43] Marquez with his reactionists attempted the capture of Querétaro, but was driven away by the timely arrival of the liberal general Antillon.

The regions of Mexico, Puebla, San Luis Potosí, and other places were overrun by hostile forces. The executions of Degollado and Valle, the latter of whom had been captured on the 23d of June, stirred the liberals. The government seemed to experience a shock as from a galvanic battery. Martial law, permanent courts-martial, quick trials and punishments, and other violent proceedings were urgently demanded,

[40] There were, besides, constant bickerings between the parish priests and governors on the civil registration law.

[41] That law was repealed, except as regarded political offenders, by decree of Oct. 12, 1861.

[42] *Boletin de Notic.*, Jan. 3, 7, 1861; *Le Trait d'Union*, Feb. 7, 1861; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, v. 387.

[43] *Boletin de Notic.*, Jan. 13 to Apr. 3, 18, 1861, passim; *Le Trait d'Union*, Feb. 16 to March 30, 1861, passim; *El Amigo del Pueblo*, March 2 to Apr. 4, 1861; *Cuad. Sinópt.*, in *Vega Doc.*, 4.

and many reactionists were imprisoned. The district of Mexico was placed under martial law, and Juan J. Baz appointed governor. Generals Parrodi, Uraga, and Rosas Landa were given commands. The reactionists under Leonardo Marquez actually invaded the capital, reaching San Cosme and San Fernando.

At the moment of the invasion, congress was sitting, and the president, Blas Balcárcel requested the representatives not to forsake their post. Colonel Porfirio Diaz was permitted, however, at his own request, to leave the chamber for the purpose of aiding in the defence, and in a few moments joined his old comrades of Oajaca at the corner of San Fernando, where a stout resistance was being made by Ignacio Mejía's brigade. He arrived just as Mejía was sending to the hospital wounded his last field-officer. After severe fighting the enemy was driven away,[44] fleeing in disorder by the place where the railroad station now is, and along the whole length of the San Cosme causeway. Thus ended the attempt of Marquez, who was pursued by cavalry several miles in the valley. The next day Diaz was placed in charge of the brigade, Mejía being ill, and ordered to join Ortega's command, to pursue the rebels who had gone to the south of Mexico. After marching and countermarching about two months, the liberal force came up with the enemy. Diaz and others were directed to keep their attention occupied, while a strong column of 4,000 men struck the blow. Diaz surprised Marquez in the town of Jalatlaco on the 13th of August, between 10 and 11 o'clock at night, and after some hours' fighting, routed him, capturing his artillery and baggage trains.[45]

Several undecisive fights occurred between liberals

[44] His last stand had been in the plazuela of Buenavista. *Diaz, Datos Biog.*, MS., 143–4.

[45] It is understood that Marquez' army was of nearly 4,000 men and 14 generals. This victory had a most encouraging effect among the liberals, who hailed it as a forerunner of future triumphs. *Rivera, Gob. de Méx.*, ii. 622; *Diaz, Datos Biog.*, MS., 145–7; *Le Trait d'Union*, Aug. 16–26, 1861; *Ortega, Parte de la Jornada de Jalatlaco*, 1–8.

and reactionists, among which may be mentioned those of Tecali in Puebla, Huisquilucan, and Calpulalpam in Mexico. Marquez attacked San Luis Potosí, and was repulsed. He then overran Aguascalientes and Zacatecas. But on the 20th of October the joint forces of Marquez and Mejía were signally defeated at Pachuca by generals Tapia and Porfirio Diaz, and they fled by way of Mineral del Monte.[46]

The government asked congress for power to raise one million dollars on title deeds of national property at two per centum discount monthly, and to suspend payments to creditors of the treasury for one year, excepting those of the conducta seized at Laguna Seca, and of the diplomatic conventions; but in regard to these latter, the chamber resolved that the government should order their suspension. This event caused great public alarm.

The presidential election, which took place in March, did not at first exhibit an absolute majority, and the congress postponed its decision till the 11th of the following June, when Juarez was declared to be the president of the republic.[47] The formal inauguration took place on the 15th. His title to the executive office was fully recognized. The centre of union during the civil war, he now became the chief of the liberal party, and the representative of legitimate authority and progress. And yet he found great difficulty to organize a cabinet, that presided over by Guzman having resigned because of congressional opposition. Doblado was called to form a new ministry,

[46] This victory was so important that congress voted the victors a medal of honor. *Buenrostro, Hist. Seg. Cong. Constituc.*, ii. 38; *Archivo Mex., Col. Ley.*, vi. 602–3, 619–21; *Detalle de la Accion*, 1–74; *Le Trait d'Union*, Oct. 22 to Nov. 5, 1861. Tapia's troops, on their return to Mexico, were the objects of a great popular ovation. The generals received high praise. *Diaz, Datos Biog.*, MS., 149.

[47] It was noticeable that the declaration had only a majority of six votes. *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, ix. 233; *Archivo Mex., Col. Ley.*, vi. 236–48; *Buenrostro, Hist. Seg. Cong. Constituc.*, i. 70, 132–5; *Boletin de Notic.*, March 27, 1861; *Le Trait d'Union*, Feb. 6 to June 20, 1861; *El Amigo del Pueblo*, June 15, 1861.

but he would not assume the charge. To complete the government's organization, congress, voting by deputations, chose General Jesus Gonzalez Ortega president of the supreme court, so as to be prepared for emergencies that might suddenly occur. This unconstitutional election was effected in disregard of the objections adduced by some deputies. When the reactionary bands were actively depredating in all directions, this congress, which only one month previously had set a price upon the heads of their principal chiefs, and while the blood-stains of Ocampo, Degollado, and Valle were still fresh, and the smoke of many burning towns had not entirely disappeared, began to discuss the expediency of a political amnesty, against which Deputy Altamirano delivered a powerful speech. The campaign against the reactionists engaged the whole attention of the government; other important affairs being allowed to rest until a signal victory should again crown Gonzalez Ortega's operations. Ministerial crises had become a chronic malady. After many proposed candidatures, Juarez formed another cabinet on the 13th of July.[48] It was a bad sign that a considerable portion of the congress voted against the choice of Zamacona and Balcárcel. The new ministry stated beforehand its policy, and its first act was to propose a law for the suspension during two years of payments, including those amounts assigned to meet the British debt and the foreign conventions. The law was almost unanimously passed by congress in secret session on the 17th of July, which was met with the protests of France and Spain.[49]

[48] Manuel M. Zamacona, minister of relations; Blas Balcárcel, of fomento; Joaquin Ruiz retained the portfolio of justice, and took charge also of the one of government; Zaragoza continued as secretary of war; and Higinio Muñez, an old treasury official, but new in the political field, became the head of the financial department. It will be well to observe that congress on the 12th of June had decreed there should be six ministers of state, thus reviving the portfolios of government and fomento. *Archivo Mex.*, *Col. Ley.*, vi. 280–1, 285, 298–310; *Dublan* and *Lozano*, *Leg. Mex.*, ix. 235; *Le Trait d'Union*, June 19, July 9–19, 1861, passim; *Rivera*, *Hist. Jalapa*, v. 443–4.

[49] July 24th Saligny protested for France and Spain against the law. The Spanish government approved the protest. In a despatch of Sept. 11th to

In adopting the suspension plan, the cabinet acted on the idea that it would lead to the establishment of order, morality, and economy. Still the act of including in the suspension the obligations toward foreign nations could but excite further ill feeling on their part, and consequent troubles, particularly as no friendly explanations with the creditors had preceded it. Had Zamacona's advice been followed, harsh protests and overt acts from the French might have been averted, for the amount of their claims was insignificant. A casual event came at this time to further embroil the foreign relations. During the popular celebration of the victory of Jalatlaco, a pistol-bullet struck near Dubois de Saligny at the French legation, which he tried to make out an attempt to assassinate him.[50] The diplomatic corps took the matter in hand, the United States minister being chosen to bring it to the attention of the government. A thorough judicial inquiry was ordered and made, and the result was that no attempt had been made against Saligny's life.[51] Be it as it may, he used the incident to bring about a suspension of diplomatic relations.

The disposition of French diplomates to pick quarrels with Mexico on merely personal grounds was not new with Saligny. In May 1845 Baron Alleye de Cyprey, French minister, made a diplomatic affair out of an insignificant occurrence, in which he and his secretary of legation were mixed up, at the bathing-place for horses called Las Delicias. Both he

the captain-general of Cuba, the Spanish minister of state, Calderon Collantes, presents his views on the instructions to be given the commander of the naval force that was to be sent to the Mexican coast to demand satisfaction for the expulsion of Pacheco and settlement of pecuniary claims. The despatch clearly indicates that the Spanish and French governments were on the point of an agreement for joint action against Mexico with England's coöperation. *Córtes, Diario Cong.*, vi. ap. 1, no. 133, 1–3; *Id., Senado*, ii. ap. no. 85, 1–3.

[50] Arrangoiz, *Méj.*, ii. 398, has it that the populace, in passing Saligny's house with bands of music, cried out, 'Mueran los franceses, muera el ministro de Francia,' which lasted 10 or 15 minutes without the police attempting even to check it.

[51] *Testimonio Averig. Practicada*, 1–40.

and the secretary were unceremoniously treated by the owner of the baths, as well as by a mob, for their pompous assumptions. He asserted that certain public officers, though knowing his diplomatic position, had refused to extend to him the proper recognition. Whereupon he called for the peremptory punishment of the officers and others concerned. The whole affair was ridiculous, and the Mexican government could not accede to the preposterous demands. The press ridiculed Cyprey's pretensions. He then picked a quarrel with one of the alcaldes of the capital, to whom he attributed the writings, and on being required to give satisfaction on the field of honor, which he had promised to do, found a pretext to back out of it. Finally, not obtaining what he had insisted on from the government, he demanded his passports, which were sent, and he left the country.[52]

The secretary of the treasury could discover no way of obtaining the much needed resources, unless it was that of farming out the yield of the maritime customs at $400,000 monthly, and if this sum could not be got, then a forced loan every month must be resorted to. The merchants represented to the minister that his plan was not feasible, and therefore he must find some other means.[53] The difficulties induced the permanent committee of congress, of which Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada was chairman, to call an extra session of the chamber, the ordinary one having been closed on the 31st of July.[54] Congress met on the

[52] The government endeavored to dissuade him from breaking off relations, assuring him of its friendliness, both to France and himself; but finding him resolved to leave, gave strict orders to prevent all insults on his journey to the port. *Méx., Suceso Ocurrido*, in *Méx., Mem. Min. Relaciones*, ii. no. 2, pp. i.–v. and 1–207; *Bustamante, Mem. Hist. Mex.*, MS., ii. 106–13, 210–12, 225–32, iii. 3, 4–11, 51, 59–65, 112–13; *Id., Nuevo Bernal Diaz*, i. 55–9, 73–4; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, iii. 716–19. The correspondence on the duel part of the affair between the seconds is fully given in both French and Spanish, in *Alleye de Cyprey, Docum.*, 1–11.

[53] The estimate for the fiscal year, from Sept. 1st, had been fixed under the law of July 17th, at nearly 8½ million dollars. *Archivo Mex., Col. Ley.*, vi. 457–500.

[54] The summons was on the 21st of August for the 30th of the same

appointed day. The public could not see the use of an extra session when the executive was clothed with extraordinary powers; and indeed, no beneficial measure was adopted; on the contrary, a considerable number of the members did their utmost to develop ill feeling and create greater alarm.[55] In view of the hostile attitude of Europe,[56] Juarez gave orders to strengthen Vera Cruz and Tampico.

Almonte encouraged his fellow-reactionists that inside of two months he would be in the waters of Mexico with the European naval forces. Next came the news that on the 31st of October had been signed in London a convention, by Great Britain, France, and Spain, for a joint intervention in Mexican affairs. Toward the end of November, diplomatic relations with France and England had ceased, after congress had revoked the suspension law of July 17th.[57] The three allied powers had at first agreed upon the occupation by their forces of Vera Cruz, for the purpose of securing reparation of injuries and damages sustained by their subjects at the hands of Mexican authorities, and the fulfilment of prior obligations contracted by Mexico with those powers—nothing more.[58] The United States, having also claims against

month. *Buenrostro, Hist. Seg. Cong. Constituc.*, i. 228–34; *Archivo Mex., Col. Ley.*, vi. 534–9; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, ix. 292–3.

[55] Fifty-one of the numbers in their capacity as citizens addressed Juarez, with a request that he should surrender the executive authority. Fifty-two others asked him to hold on to his position; and the rest of the deputies were of the opinion that both petitions were 'indebidas,' or out of place. The governors and legislatures, and the greater part of the press, censured the course of the 51. The states of Zacatecas and San Luis signified their intention to recognize no authority not emanating from the constitution; and if any such went into power, they would resume their sovereignty. *Buenrostro, Hist. Prim. y Seg. Cong.*, nos 60–3, 464–71, 493–9, 506–8; nos 68–71, 714–16, 718, 723–4.

[56] Napoleon had, after some hesitancy, and in spite of the friends of foreign intervention in Mexico, received La Fuente as minister of the republic; but the latter wrote his government, on the 4th of September, a despatch received on the 8th of Oct., that he had attempted to give explanations on the decree of July 17th, suspending payments, to the minister of foreign affairs, who refused to listen to him, saying that Saligny's conduct had been approved, and in accord with England, 'se iban á enviar á las costas de Méjico buques de guerra, á exigir una satisfaccion.'

[57] The decree bore date of Nov. 26th, and provided for the payment of the foreign obligations. *Archivo Mex., Col. Ley.*; vi. 636–7.

[58] Art. 3 declared that the forces were not to be used for any other pur-

Mexico, was to be invited to join them; but no delay was to be allowed in carrying out the objects of the convention. This did not meet the views of the French and Spanish cabinets. They had ulterior projects, and the clauses favoring Mexican independence of action as to the form of government had been placed there merely to calm the scruples of the British minister of foreign affairs. They finally, by assuring him that they had good reasons to believe the Mexicans themselves would ask as a special favor a moral support that could not be denied them, obtained from the minister the suppression of the troublesome clauses, in order not to discourage the national movement, which as Billault, the French minister, said, the French and Spanish governments were awaiting to attempt the organization of a government in Mexico suited to monarchical ideas.[59]

The clause to invite the United States to act jointly with the other powers was insisted on by the British foreign office, and acceded to by France and Spain, though the last named would not renounce her full freedom of action to deal with Mexico on the questions at issue between them; for she claimed that her grievances were of a more serious nature than those of the others, which were merely pecuniary, and involved redress for the murder of her subjects and the dismissal of her ambassador. The United States, supposing at first that only England and France had intended a hostile demonstration against Mexico to recover moneys due, offered to pay them the interest accrued for a certain time,[60] and on being apprised

pose; they were specially to abstain from all intervention in the internal affairs of the republic. Art. 4 said that neither of the contracting parties was to make any territorial acquisition in Mexico or endeavor to gain any special advantage; they were not to exercise any influence in the internal affairs of Mexico, nor to restrict her right to choose and establish the form of government she might think proper. *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 80–5.

[59] The insidious language of the despatch of Oct. 22, 1861, from Calderon Collantes, minister of foreign affairs of Spain, to the Spanish ambassador in London, fully confirms the above view. *Lefèvre, Doc. Ofic. Maximiliano*, i. 87–93; *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 30–2.

[60] Their minister, Corwin, on the 27th of Sept., received instructions, which

that Spain would also take part in the demonstration, extended the same offer to her. But Calderon Collantes, on the 16th of November, said to the Spanish minister at Washington that Spain, together with England and France, wanted the coöperation of the United States, in order that their collective action might have the desired effect of securing future safety to the subjects and interests of the three powers. Secretary Seward said on the 14th of October to Schurz, United States minister at Madrid, that the president had understood that neither of the three powers alleging grievances would, in their hostile action against Mexico, go beyond obtaining satisfaction for those grievances, as they had no intent to acquire territory, or of affecting the political status of Mexico, to which the United States could oppose no objection. Still, whether Spain acted alone or jointly with the others, the president expected that the utmost care should be had not to molest United States citizens in Mexico or their interests, nor affect the interests of the United States government in territories contiguous to the seat of war. With such an object the United States would keep a naval force whereso-ever a conflict might occur.

The convention of October 31st did not stipulate the land and naval force each nation was to employ; it left to the United States the option to act jointly with the other powers if that government felt inclined, and limited their action, neither of them being allowed to appropriate any portion of Mexican territory, or obtain any special advantage, or to influence the people of Mexico to choose any particular form of government. Nothing was therein contained as to which of the powers should have the lead of affairs on the operating ground.[61]

Sec. Seward had verbally communicated to Lord Lyons, British minister at Washington, to bind the U. S. to pay two years' interest on all Mexico's foreign indebtedness, which amounts were to be secured by mortgage on certain Mexican territory. But as an hypothecation of territory would have been practically equivalent to a cession of it, Juarez declined.

[61] The convention consists of a preamble and five articles, the former set-

The United States, on receiving the invitation to coöperate with the three powers in carrying out that convention, declined to join them. Seward's reply on the 4th of December stated that his government had some grievances against Mexico, but the president could not see that a redress of them could be then obtained through that convention.[62] Seward further advised the ministers of the three leagued powers that the United States would maintain a competent naval force in the gulf of Mexico to protect their citizens and interests; and that their minister in Mexico would be authorized to seek such conferences with the belligerents as might guard either of them against inadvertent injury to the just rights of the United States, if any such should be endangered.

Early in November news reached Vera Cruz of the preparations made in Habana for the Spanish military expedition that was to consist of five or six thousand troops, and fifteen or sixteen war vessels.[63] A threatening demonstration of this nature made it, of course, the chief and only matter to be considered, that of arranging, if possible, the foreign difficulties. Little hope could be entertained in view of the hostile spirit manifested by the European allies, and there was nothing left for Mexico to do but to procure means and prepare for defence.[64] Orders were given

ting forth its purport, namely, to exact from the Mexican authorities an efficient protection for the persons and interests of their subjects in Mexico, and a fulfilment of obligations assumed. *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 32–3, 729–30; *Lefèvre, Le Mexique et l'Interv.*, 298–303; *Buenrostro, Hist. Seg. Cong. Constituc.*, ii. 100; *Ferrer, Cuest. de Méx.*, 628–31; *Mexique, L'Interv. Francaise*, 39–49; *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, ii. 427–9; *Derecho Intern. Mex.*, 1st pt, 692–9.

[62] 1st. The U. S. would not deviate from their established policy of avoiding entangling alliances; 2d. Mexico being a neighbor with institutions similar to those of the U. S., the latter was friendly to her, and felt a deep interest in her safety, welfare, and prosperity; and therefore would not resort to coercive measures to obtain a redress of grievances, much less now that Mexico was suffering from intestine dissension, and was, besides, threatened with a foreign war; 3d. The U. S. had made through their minister a tender of pecuniary aid to Mexico to enable her to satisfy her foreign claimants, subject, of course, to the acceptance of Mexico and the sanction of the U. S. senate.

[63] France had been for some time shipping war material for her naval force in Mexican waters.

[64] The ultimate design of those powers was not now well understood in

at first to strengthen Vera Cruz and San Juan de Ulúa; but as science and experience alike had taught that Ulúa could not resist a serious attack, and Vera Cruz was nothing without the fortress, it was resolved to remove the artillery from the castle before the Spanish fleet should arrive, and it was partly done.[65]

Juarez succeeded in having a convention concluded on the 21st of November, between his minister of foreign affairs and Sir Charles L. Wyke, arranging every question at issue between the two nations, chiefly that which had resulted from the law for the suspension of payments.[66] Nothing came of this important agreement, however, for though it satisfied just demands, and involved no heavy sacrifices, congress disapproved it, and it fell to the ground, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Minister Zamacona with the president's approval.[67] President Juarez

Mexico. Some thought it was merely financial; others that it was political; and there were also a few who believed it intended to carry out the late British chargé's plan of a compromise between the contending parties. The fact was, that the powers had concluded, in the event of an impossibility arising from anarchy, to obtain redress by the mere occupation of the coast, that the forces might also occupy even the capital; and should the Mexicans of their own volition call for a European protectorate to eradicate tyranny, or to erect a stable government, France, England, and Spain would jointly coöperate to bring about their wishes. On the other hand, Juarez had been assured by President Lincoln that on the landing of European soldiers on Mexican territory the U. S. government would render Mexico such aid as it could afford.

[65] Fifty brass pieces were taken away and utilized elsewhere. There were left, however, 196 pieces, and a large supply of other war material. *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xv. 824–5; *Cortes, Diario Senado*, ii. ap. no. 85, 55–6; *Id., Congreso*, vi. ap. i. no. 138, 55.

[66] Previous conventions were declared to be in force, and new debts not included in them were recognized in the present one. Great Britain was authorized to have inspectors in the maritime custom-houses, and British consuls and the agents of the creditors were given the right of examining the books of those custom-houses. Efforts were made to induce Monsieur de Saligny to enter into similar arrangements, but he declined all proposals, and insisted on maintaining the interruption of diplomatic relations and quitting the republic. *Rivera, Gob. de Méx.*, ii. 625; *Cortes, Diario Senado*, ii. ap. no. 85, 19–22; *Cortes, Diario Cong.*, vi. ap. i. no. 133, 19–23.

[67] Zamacona represented to the chamber on the 25th of Nov. that in entering upon that arrangement the administration had obeyed the popular will, which had clamored for 'Transaccion con la Inglaterra y con la Francia.' Under it, the British minister, instead of making preparations for departure, would have tendered Mexico the moral support of his country in her progressive policy; and whatever influence that might have on the future action of France and Spain, Mexico would appear before the world giving her hand to her two natural allies, England and the U. S., the latter of whom

insisted on the convention being ratified, but to be again repulsed; and then the American minister retired the proposals he had made, which would have facilitated the arrangement of the foreign demands.[68] The persistence of congress brought on a ministerial crisis early in December, which the president could not avert, though he tried to retain Zaragoza, Balcárcel, and Gonzalez Echeverría, the last named having had the treasury in his charge only a few days. Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada, who had caused the crisis, was called on to form a cabinet, but declined, not being in accord with the president's policy.

The threatening attitude of foreign powers being now certain, several reactionary chiefs presented themselves to the government and tendered their services. Among them were Negrete, Velez, Argüellez, and others.[69] After a few days' reflection, Manuel Doblado, from whose patriotism and ability the country had great expectations, accepted the charge of relations, with the presidency of the cabinet.[70] There being a perfect accord of views between the president

had offered Mexico pecuniary means to cover during some years not only the obligations assumed in the British treaty, but all other international ones. The minister went into other details; but it all availed nothing; the clause of intervention in the custom-houses, without which guarantee the treaty would not have been entered into by England, was unacceptable to the representatives. The consequences were fatal. Zamacona resigned his position. His representation to congress and letters of resignation are given in full in *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xv. 1043–59; *Ferrer, Cuest. de Mex.*, 637–9. All further proceedings of conciliation were in vain; the British and French ministers left Mexico, the subjects of their nations as well as the Spaniards being left under the protection of the Prussian minister.

[68] He made, however, on the 11th of Dec., two conventions, one being postal, and the other for the extradition of criminals, excluding from surrender persons accused of political offences, and slaves. *Archivo Mex., Col. Ley.*, vi. 666; *Derecho Intern. Mex.*, 1st pt, 277–83.

[69] Zuloaga still claimed the presidency, had a cabinet, appointed governors, and wanted to collect taxes. *Le Trait d'Union*, Dec. 9, 1861; *Rivera, Gob. de Méx.*, ii. 626.

[70] The ministry was constituted as follows: Doblado, minister of relations and of government—this last again suppressed by decree of Dec. 16th; Ramon I. Alcaraz, oficial mayor, of justice pro tem. to Dec. 25th, when Jesus Terán became the minister; Echeverría, of hacienda; Zaragoza, of war till Dec. 22d, when succeeded by Pedro Hinojosa; Doblado, of fomento till the 16th of December, when the department was merged in that of justice. *Le Trait d'Union*, Dec. 23, 27, 1861; *Archivo Mex., Col. Ley.*, vi. 672; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, v. 470–2.

and Doblado, and the latter being on good terms with the congress, he asked of it extraordinary powers, which were granted at once without other restrictions than that every measure of the government should be directed to the preservation of the national independence and institutions, as well as of the reform laws.[71] Lerdo and his followers had insisted on the executive submitting to the approval of congress all action he might take in the foreign relations; but they were defeated. Congress closed its session on the 15th of December.

[71] Decree of Dec. 11th. *Archivo Mex., Col. Ley.*, vi. 655.

CHAPTER II.

FOREIGN INTERVENTION.

1861–1862.

Spanish Occupation of Vera Cruz—Action of the Mexican Government—Arrival of the French and British Forces—Allied Plenipotentiaries and their Differences—Joint Address to the Mexicans—Pecuniary Claims against Mexico—Negotiations with Juarez' Government—Convention of La Soledad—Reactionists under French Protection—Rupture among the Allied Diplomates—Spaniards and British Reëmbark—The French Throw off the Mask—Almonte Establishes a Government—French Reoccupation of Orizaba—Their March against Puebla and Repulse—Cinco de Mayo—Subsequent Liberal Reverses—Affairs at the Capital.

The invasion so long apprehended comes at last. Mexico, after having by almost superhuman efforts nearly brought to an end all opposition to her advancement in the scale of nations, is now to be checked by the active interference of powerful European monarchies priding themselves upon their high civilization. On the pretext of collecting money claims, and of demanding reparation of alleged grievances, to all of which the liberal government would have done justice in due time, they come to the aid of a corrupt party opposed to all progress. Two of the offenders, it is true, for their own special reasons, abandon the enterprise soon after its inception; but they should not be permitted to shake off their share of responsibility for the encouragement they gave the third one to pursue the work of destroying Mexico's free republican institutions, nor for the sad catastrophe that followed the failure to set up within her borders a monarchial government.

The invasion decreed by the three European powers became a fact on the 14th of December, 1861, when a Spanish fleet, commanded by the jefe de escuadra, Joaquin Gutierrez de Rubalcaba, and conveying an army of occupation, sailed into and without resistance took possession of the port of Vera Cruz.[1] General Gasset, commanding the land forces, occupied the city on the 17th, proclaiming martial law, and issuing a manifesto of a hostile nature; after which he assumed full control of the place, the ayuntamiento, which was the only authority left in it, having to submit to the force of circumstances.[2] Gasset's manifesto stated that he would hold the city in the name of the Spanish queen till the arrival of the commissioners of the powers to the London tripartite arrangement.

This act of Spain caused the utmost irritation in Mexico. The government, and particularly Doblado, displayed great activity. General Zaragoza started from Mexico with 3,000 men; and, notwithstanding the embroiled condition of affairs in the interior states from local issues as well as reactionary warfare, forces began coming from them to the capital. Juarez issued

[1] The fleet consisted of six frigates, six large war steamers, two war transports, and several chartered merchantmen, besides one steam-tender. The land force exceeded 6,000 men. *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xv. 820–4; *Lefèvre, Mex. et L'Interv.*, 305–20; *Méx., Rev. Filosóf. Hist. Polít.*, in *Doc. Hist. Méx.*, 1832–75, no. 10, 70–2; *Romero, Hist. Intrig. Europ.*, 60–6.

Matías Romero—Historia de las Intrigas Europeas que ocasionaron la intervencion francesa en México. Mex., 1868, 8vo, 259 pp. A lucid reply to a speech delivered by the French cabinet minister Billault, before the French legislature, on the 26th of June, 1862. It gives a history of the intrigues of the French government in the negotiations with England and Spain to bring about a settlement of their claims against Mexico, leading to the convention of London and the final intervention. The writer uses the correspondence between the commissioners of these powers and their respective governments as evidence of the animus that prompted their action. The work gives also other documents relating to the intervention.

In this connection may be mentioned *Circulares y otras Publicaciones hechas por la Legacion Mexicana en Washinyton durante la Guerra de Intervencion.* Mex., 1868, 8vo, 507 pp. This collection contains a series of circulars and other publications by the Mexican legation at Washington, based on official documents, relating chiefly to the withdrawal of the French troops from Mexico, other affairs connected with the imperial régime in that country, and the negotiation of Mexican bonds in the United States. It also embodies a brief biography of Benito Juarez.

[2] *Córtes, Diario Senado*, ii., app. no. 85, 49–54; *Id., Cong.*, vi., app. 1, no. 138, 51, 68; *Trait d'Union*, Jan. 3, 6, 1862.

on the 17th an address to the nation,[3] and made a requisition on the states for 52,000 men. He also extended the period of the last amnesty law, and decreed a tax of twenty-five per centum additional on all imposts, whether federal, state, or municipal. He permitted peaceable Spaniards to continue residing in the country; but as they were abused everywhere, they finally had to emigrate. He likewise established

VERA CRUZ TO PUEBLA.

a general tax of two per centum upon all property of the value of $500 or upwards.[4] General Uraga

[3] He set forth with moderation and dignity the pretexts Spain might have to wage war on Mexico, and summoning all Mexicans to the defence of their country, declared miscreants and traitors all who should join or aid the foreign invader. *Archivo Mex.*, *Col. Ley.*, vi. 655–6, 662–71, 687–90, 698–703; *Dublan* and *Lozano*, *Leg. Mex.*, ix. 344–6; *Le Trait d'Union*, Dec. 16–19, 1861.

[4] This brought on further reclamations, in which the Prussian minister took part, and Doblado sustained Mexico's right to tax foreign residents. The scarcity of money was such that Zaragoza's brigade was detained sev-

erected defences on the Chiquihuite, and held conferences at La Tejería with Wyke and Saligny, while Gasset made incursions into the interior for supplies, and to drive off annoying guerrilla parties. In these incursions toward La Antigua, Anton Lizardo, and on the Medellin road, he had many of his men killed and wounded, and some prisoners also fell into the hands of the jarochos. Martial law was declared in the states of Puebla, San Luis Potosí, Vera Cruz, and Tamaulipas.[5] Till the arrival of the British and French fleets, on the 6th and 7th of January, 1862, the Mexican flag waved side by side with the flags of the allied powers.

Mexico, at this critical period, was not free from her usual disturbed condition. In Yucatan the partisans of Acereto and Irigoyen were tearing one another to pieces, utterly disregarding the war of races which daily added to the number of its victims.[6] In Tamaulipas local dissension prevailed, the field of hostilities being Matamoros. On the northern frontier the Indians were depredating. In Zacatecas there were disgraceful acts against the governor. In the state of Mexico, Tulancingo was assailed by a reactionist party; Cuernavaca was occupied by Vicario; Actopan by Campos. In Jalisco, Lozada made himself master of Tepic. Marquez and Mejía carried on hostilities in the sierra of Querétaro and San Luis Potosí. Zuloaga, the self-styled president, through his so-called minister, Herrera y Lozada, in a circular of December 13th, had said that if the foreign powers were aiming at the conquest of Mexico, it should not be permitted; but he would favor the intervention if

eral days in Puebla for the want of the sum of $8,000, which with great difficulty he obtained from merchants. *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, ii. 627; *Id., Hist. Jalapa*, v. 484.

[5] The same measure was adopted for other states at different times as the enemy approached, and it was repealed when circumstances permitted it. *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, ix. 365-616, passim.

[6] Full particulars, with causes, may be found in *Navarro, Informe*, 65-176; and extracts from official documents in *Buenrostro, Hist. Prim. y Seg. Cong.*, nos 60-7, 511-19.

it intended to give the country a good government.[7] In much the larger portions of the several states the sentiment of nationality was strong, and manifested itself in their contributions of men and other resources for defence. Oajaca sent a brigade to reënforce the eastern army, and offered more. Most of the states behaved generously and patriotically. Not so Puebla and Tamaulipas.[8]

After the signing of the convention, the allied powers agreed that the expeditionary land forces should consist of about 6,000 Spaniards and 3,000 French.[9] England was to contribute with a strong naval division, namely, two line-of-battle ships, four frigates, several smaller vessels, and about 700 marines to land on the coast when necessary. The plenipotentiaries appointed were: Sir Charles L. Wyke and Commodore Dunlop, on the part of England; Dubois de Saligny and Rear Admiral Jurien de la Gravière, on the part of France; and General Juan Prim, conde de Reus and marqués de los Castillejos, was to represent Spain, both as diplomatist and commander of her forces. The larger contingent placed under his command, the prestige surrounding his name, and the esteem manifested toward him by Napoleon III., were naturally to give him a marked influence in the conferences of the plenipotentiaries. The others, though not his subordinates, had been recommended to show him special deference.[10] The

[7] 'Un gobierno justo y equitativo,' he termed it.

[8] *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, v. 482–5. On the 21st of Dec. was begun the publication of an interventionist organ, under the name of *Crónica del ejército expedicionario. Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xv. 831–2. Another journal, also upholding the intervention, existed before, called *La Unidad Católica*, which never uttered a patriotic sentiment.

[9] One regiment of marines, one battalion of zouaves, one of naval fusileers, one squad of chasseurs d'Afrique, artillery, engineers, etc. *Niox, Exped. du Mex.*, 733.

[10] Prim had married a Mexican heiress, Señorita Agüero, a niece of Gonzalez Echeverria, Juarez' minister of the treasury. He was a man of great ambition, swayed by liberal ideas, restless, inconsistent. In 1858, when Spain wanted to declare war against Mexico, he advocated in the senate conciliatory measures. *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 41. The same authority refers to the judgment formed of Prim by a German officer, who made his acquaintance in Turkey in 1853–4, and in Morocco in 1860—*Spanisch und marokanisch Krieg*,

instructions given the French admiral by his government, on the 11th of November, were to seize the ports on the gulf of Mexico, and hold them till a settlement was effected of all pending questions, collecting the customs duties for and on behalf of the three powers. Considerations of dignity, as well as the necessity of averting the dangers which would follow a long sojourn in the unhealthy climate of the coast, demanded that prompt and decisive results should be obtained. His attention was called to the objects of the tripartite convention, one of which was to support what was called the sound part of the population in its efforts to establish a stable and honest government.[11] The British representative was directed to strictly observe the article in the convention inhibiting all direct or indirect interference in the internal affairs of Mexico; and to bear in mind that all representations to the Mexican government were to be made jointly in the name of the three allies. He was told nothing about the English contingent marching into the interior. Owing to apprehension of trouble with the United States, on account of the capture by the United States steamer *San Jacinto*, Captain Wilkes, of the British mail-steamer *Trent*, England diminished the number of war-ships she was bound to despatch to the Mexican waters. Spain seemed, on the contrary, quite resolute. She accepted at once the French suggestion that the Spanish troops should be authorized to advance on Mexico. General Prim received similar

Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1863—who said that Prim was a brave man, who did not lack talents; a good speaker, and attractive, but without character, without moral force, and ridiculously vain. He possessed hardly a notion of military theory, mathematics, history, or geography. He was a soldier of fortune, reckless, adroit, who would risk everything, even his last piece, on a card. Capricious fortune had singularly favored him. Making allowance for exaggeration, the German officer's opinion may not be called altogether erroneous. And yet Prim's course in Mexico was independent and patriotic, and saved his country many complications and sacrifices, not to say disgrace.

[11] 'Celui de Juarez était qualifié d'insensé.' Those were his public instructions, but they were supplemented by confidential ones. Jurien was aware of the project to establish a monarchy; he was to support the movement, but not to start it. *Niox, Expéd du Mex.*, 44, 46.

instructions to those given to Jurien de la Gravière. He was to present his reclamations, according to the ultimatum sent on the 11th of September to the captain-general of Cuba, and to begin active hostilities if Mexico did not fully accept the conditions demanded. He was well informed that Spain intended the war should be carried into the interior.[12] Prim arrived at Habana on the 23d of December,[13] and was visited by Francisco Javier Miranda, known as Padre Miranda, and who might be called the chief of the monarchial party in Mexico, and General Miramon. The result of the interview was a loss of faith in the Spanish general.[14]

The French and English troops landed immediately after their arrival at Vera Cruz; and it became quite evident that their commanders were displeased with the premature coming of the Spanish force, and with General Gasset's proclamation in his queen's name.[15]

[12] Prim was confidentially advised of the plan to establish a monarchy in Mexico, which was attributed to the French government. He made the fact known in a speech before the Spanish córtes in 1863. But he was not instructed to lend his coöperation, because the candidature of an Austrian prince was distasteful to Spain. *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 46. There was some discrepancy between the Spanish foreign secretary and the ambassador at Madrid, on the monarchial plan. The former said: 'Al irse el general Prim le dí las instrucciones oportunas por escrito y verbalmente,' and yet he pretended to be ignorant of the project. *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 14–16.

[13] He was enthusiastically greeted by the Spaniards: 'Viva el vicerey de México, viva el nuevo Hernan Cortez (sic).' *Rapport du commandant du Milan*, in *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 53–4.

[14] Miranda wrote to Paris and Madrid that Prim was going to treat with Juarez' government. His letters were read by Gen. O'Donnell, prime minister, and Calderon Collantes, minister of foreign affairs, of Spain. *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 13; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xv. 839–40.

[15] The understanding had been that the forces of the three powers were to rendezvous at Habana. Spanish precipitancy, according to José Manuel Hidalgo, *Apuntes para escribir la historia de los proyectos de monarquía en México*, Mex., 1868, 102, enabled Juarez to make the Mexican people believe that the Spaniards were bent on reconquest. His policy then was to abuse Spain, representing her as an usurper, and to summon 'á la defensa de la independencia nacional' all the army officers, many of whom obeyed the summons only because of their belief that Spain's purpose was to reduce Mexico to a Spanish colony. Zamacois denies it, alleging that as early as Nov. 1st the government wrote Gov. Arteaga of Querétaro, taking for granted that the differences with England and France would be arranged, and adding that Spain's reclamations would remain unheeded, for the struggle with her would benefit both the country and the liberal party; 'serviria para unir estrechamente al partido liberal, y para estirpar una vez por todas, los abusos del sis-

This condition of affairs prompted France to send out another contingent of 3,000 men. After the second interview of the plenipotentiaries, Jurien clearly perceived the difference in their views, which was quite marked.[16]

On Prim's arrival at Vera Cruz a manifesto, said to have been prepared by him beforehand, was issued on the 10th of January by the five plenipotentiaries. This document, though containing some untruths, was more moderate and decorous in its tone than Gasset's proclamation had been; but it could not do away with the uncertainty as to the real intentions of the powers in combining their action in Mexican affairs. According to it, intervention in Mexican politics and administration was not thought of.[17] So said Saligny and Jurien, sent out by their wily master to place an Austrian prince on a Mexican throne; so said the Spanish ambassador, who well knew Napoleon's plan and was resolved to thwart it.[18] As for the English, all they wanted was a commercial and religious intervention; that is to say, to secure the payment of English claims through their inspectors of the custom-houses; to reduce the import duties; and to favor the

tema colonial.' Be it as it may, both France and England were displeased, and though they accepted Spain's explanations, were never fully satisfied. *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 54; *Cortes, Diario Senado*, ii., ap., no. 85, 5; *Id., Cong.*, vi., ap. i., no. 133, 33–4.

[16] 'Sérieux germes de dissentiment existaient entre elles.' *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 99–101; *Buenrostro, Hist. Prim. y Seg. Cong.*, nos 56–9, 326–51.

[17] In the first paragraph the Mexicans are assured that the expedition had been made indispensable to enforce the fulfilment of treaties constantly violated, and to insure protection to the subjects of the allied nations. They are next told that persons representing to them that behind just claims 'se ocultan proyectos de conquista, de restauracion, ó de intervencion en vuestra política y vuestra administracion, os engañan.' They further say that the allied nations had a higher purpose, more general and useful views, that of extending a friendly hand to a people who, though rich in the gifts of providence, were consuming their strength and exhausting their vitality by civil wars and perpetual convulsions. 'A vosotros, exclusivamente á vosotros, sin ninguna intervencion extranjera, os importa constituiros de una manera sólida y durable.' The Mexican people are asked to have faith in the disinterested intentions of the allies, to distrust the restless and evil-minded, and to let reason come to the front. *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 18–19; *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 136–9; *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 63–4; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, v. 492; *Trait d'Union*, Jan. 18, 1862.

[18] Prim well knew that Spain wanted to place a Spanish princess on this throne, 'para lo cual llevaba instrucciones secretas.' *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 20.

establishment of religious freedom in Mexico.[19] All this produced a dampening effect in reactionary circles. Such language was not what they had been led to expect. The allies had come to counsel, not to war against, Juarez and his party. Nothing worthy of notice occurred at the conferences of the plenipotentiaries till the pecuniary claims were made the subject of consideration. It must be borne in mind that at the first conference, on the 9th of January, Prim proposed, and his colleagues accepted, that, together with the joint note they purposed addressing to the Mexican government, each of them should furnish "a separate note of the reparations" demanded by his government. At the second conference Saligny manifested the impossibility of fixing the amount of the indemnities due French citizens.[20] At the third conference, on the 13th of January, in which the commissaries were to present their respective ultimata, Saligny failed to appear, and Jurien had to read the French ultimatum, which consisted of ten articles, some of which were incompatible with Mexican in-

[19] 'Era para ellos, como de costumbre, cuestion de algodones y de biblias.' *Id.* In the Spanish córtes it was later asserted that England's action in seceding from the intervention had been due to her opposition to the catholic church. *Córtes, Diario Senado*, ii., no. 95, 1126. The British demands were set forth in four articles: 1st, Mexico was to furnish a formal guarantee for the faithful execution in future of previous treaties between her and Great Britain; 2d, restore the $660,000 stolen by Marquez from the British legation, and $269,000 balance still unpaid of the Laguna Seca affair, with interest at 6 per cent on the former and 12 per cent on the latter; moreover, 6 per cent interest on sums that should have been paid, and were withheld by the law of July 17, 1861, suspending payments; 3d, to admit British agents at the ports with power to reduce import dues to one half, and to intervene the same as the Mexican officials in the collection of customs duties to insure a just and equitable distribution of the proceeds; 4th, the Mexican government was to proceed at once, in concert with the British minister, to the adjustment of all pending claims ascertained to be just. *Lefêvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 150–1.

[20] The other plenipotentiaries, admitting that they might find themselves in the same predicament, proposed to get over the difficulty by adopting a common form in order to bring about the immediate recognition of the reparations already accepted, and also in principle that of such as after examination should appear to be just and legitimate. This the British minister had intended should be afterward ascertained by mixed commissions. The French government had no idea of what amount should be claimed; at one time it thought of five or six million dollars, and never, even at a wild computation, exceeded ten million. *Romero, Hist. Intrig. Europ.*, 92–5.

dependence and sovereignty.[21] The pecuniary pretensions of the French, though not assailing Mexico's sovereignty, were no less unjust and exorbitant. The first claim was set down at twelve million dollars.[22] They wanted the immediate payment without allowing Mexico the right of examining into their justice through a mixed commission, as practised among civilized nations. The second pecuniary demand preferred by Saligny was that of Jecker and Company for fifteen million dollars, which the Spanish plenipotentiary, and with him Wyke and Dunlop, after a warm discussion, declared inadmissible.[23]

[21] Article 7th would give French agents interference in the administration of justice in cases where French subjects were concerned; and article 9th was to give the French control of custom-houses, the right to lower duties, etc. *Id.*, 97–9; *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 147–50; *Córtes, Diario Congreso*, vi., ap. 1, no. 138, 57–65.

[22] Wyke wrote his government, Jan. 19, 1862 (no. 30 of the British correspondence), that Saligny had fixed the unadjusted French claims at twelve million dollars, saying that he had not examined them, as this would occupy twelve months' time; but he supposed this sum to be within one million or two, more or less, of the amount actually due. Sir Charles assumes to explain the nature of these claims. Nineteen out of twenty of the foreigners residing in Mexico, he says, have a claim of one kind or another against the government, many of them being no doubt just; the rest he declares to be fabricated for the purpose of obtaining pay for some pretended grievance, such as an imprisonment of three days purposely incurred to set up a claim. *Romero, Hist. Intrig. Europ.*, 99–100.

[23] Here we have the true inwardness of the fraudulent claims. Jecker was a Swiss by birth, always known as such. It is not claimed that he became a Frenchman till March 26, 1862. Suddenly, without having resided in France or done service to that nation, he appeared as a full-fledged Frenchman, under color of which transformation his claims were advanced by Saligny. Wyke, in the despatch before mentioned, gives the history of Miramon's last financial operation. When his government was at the point of collapsing, Jecker & Co. lent it $750,000 in specie, at 5 per centum interest, as originally agreed upon, receiving therefor fifteen million dollars in treasury bonds, an infamous contract causing discontent throughout the country, and which neither the government of Juarez nor any other would ever recognize. *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, ii. 361; iii. 20–1; *Lempriere's Notes in Mex.*, 242. Wyke added that he had understood Juarez' government was disposed to pay the $750,000 with the interest due. *Méx., Legis. Méj.* (1856, July–Dec.); *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, viii. 628–9; *Archivo Mex., Col. Leyes*, iii. 929–32; *Méx., Mem. Hac.*, 1870, 475–6. Hidalgo, *Apuntes*, 104, claims that however onerous or even extortionate, 'nada tenia que ver en él el representante de Inglaterra,' who had opposed the pretension. 'El de España le secundó en esa resistencia.' He would have England and Spain complacently aid Saligny to rob Mexico. The Mexican government was not responsible. *Lefèvre, Mex. et L'Interv.*, 260. On the other hand, it was claimed that the affair might be looked at from a double point of view, namely, the private interests of Jecker and Company, which had become those of numerous Frenchmen and benevolent establishments, compromised by their bankruptcy; and those of the general interests of commerce which by the clauses of the Jecker contract were benefited by

According to the records of the treasury department of Mexico, her actual foreign indebtedness to July 12, 1862, would be $82,316,290.86.[24] The refusal of the Spanish and British commissioners to support Saligny's Jecker claim suspended the transmission of the collective note and ultimata, and on the 14th another note was drawn up,[25] which was conveyed to the city of Mexico by Brigadier Milans del Bosch, a bosom friend of Prim, Commander Thommaset of the French navy, and a British officer, escorted by Mexican troops, and delivered to the government, which initiated the negotiations.

The mission had a bad effect on the friends of intervention, who feared that their aspirations for a monarchy would be defeated.[26] Doblado answered the joint note on the 23d, inviting its authors to go to Orizaba with a guard of honor of 2,000 men, and promising that his government would send two commissioners to treat with them. He also informed

an important reduction of custom-house duties. *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 719-28.

[24] Due G. Brit., $69,994,542; to France, even including principal defrayed by Jecker to wage war against the legitimate government, with interest, $2,860,000; to Spain, $9,460,986. *Payno, Mex. y sus Cuest. Finan.*, 303-6; *Id., Cuentas, Gastos, etc.*, 749-56, i.-xxxvi.; *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 60-5; *Id., Mex. et L'Interv.*, 286-95, 343-9; *Cortes, Diario Senado*, ii., no. 78, 928, no. 85, 44-9, 57, 63-5; *Id., Cong.*, i., ap. 5, no. 4, 102-5, vi., ap. 1, no. 133, 13, 14, 57, no. 138, 44-9, 63, no. 149, 2970, no. 151, 3008-9; *Méx., Mem. Hacienda*, 1870, 409.

[25] Its contents were: Three great nations do not ally themselves merely to demand from a fourth in her distress satisfaction for grievances; their object is to extend a friendly hand, to lift without humbling. The suspicion that they will impair independence is absurd. They come to see, and if necessary, to uphold the regeneration of Mexico; to be present at her reorganization, without in any wise interfering in her form of government, or in her internal administration. The republic alone must decide what institutions are most suitable to its welfare, etc. *Hidalgo, Apuntes*, 105; *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 21-2.

[26] They pretended that monarchial ideas gained ground among all classes, and anxiously awaited the arrival of the foreign troops. *Hidalgo, Apuntes*, 106-7. This author, a rabid monarchist, pretends that Juarez had been virtually set aside by Doblado, who was feared by the ultra liberals, being suspected of favoring the intervention, and that Juarez was preparing to flee to Zacatecas. This assertion was false. Juarez on the 25th of January issued a stringent decree, countersigned by Doblado, to punish the nation's offenders, death being the penalty. *Rivera, Gob. de Méx.*, ii. 628; *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 23; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, ix. 367-71, 'une loi de terreur.' *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 77.

them that his government thought it expedient that the rest of the allied troops should reëmbark.[27] This answer was conveyed by Zamacona, who accompanied the allied envoys on their journey back.

Meantime the reactionary leaders were tendering their acceptance of and services to the intervention. About this time Almonte, Padre Miranda, and Haro y Tamariz landed in Vera Cruz, under the special protection of the French commissioners. Miramon came on the 27th of January upon the British steamer *Avon,* and was arrested by the British authorities on one of their frigates.[28] A little later he was ordered away, and returned to Habana.

Zamacona was cordially received by the allied plenipotentiaries; but the latter refused to accede to Doblado's request, and on the 2d of February signified to him the necessity they were under of providing a healthy locality for their troops,[29] and their intention of marching, about the middle of February, toward Jalapa and Orizaba, where they hoped to meet with a cordial reception. After some further correspondence, it was agreed that Doblado should meet Prim on the 18th, which was done, and a convention was

[27] It was a satisfaction, he said, that the three great powers were not banded to render fruitless in a single day a friendly people's heroic efforts of three years. His government trusted that the plenipotentiaries would return home carrying with them the evidence of Mexico's pacification through liberty and progress. As to the claims, all just ones would be recognized. He would not insult the allies by supposing that they had other views than those set forth in their note. The object of asking them to reëmbark and send away their armies was to give legal validity to the arrangements that might be consummated at Orizaba. *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 23–4; *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 76–7.

[28] When in Europe Miramon visited Spain, and it was supposed placed himself in accord with that government. *U. S. Exec. Doc.*, 1861–2. His coming with a passport under an assumed name had been announced. The British officials then gave notice that they would have him arrested, on landing, for his participation in the robbery of the British legation. The French representatives objected. Prim exerted himself to avert a rupture between the English and French. It was then arranged that Miramon's arrest should be before his landing. *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 75; *La Voz de Méj.*, Sept. 6, 1862. Arrangoiz claims that the English feared Miramon's prestige would upset Juarez in a few days. *Méj.*, iii. 25–6. Prim wrote his government how much trouble the incident caused, and of his action to preserve harmony.

[29] The Spaniards, out of 6,000 men, had now only 4,000 in healthy condition. The French had 400 or 500 sick. *L'amiral au ministre des affaires étrangères (15 Février)*, in *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 86.

signed on the 19th of the same month, at the town of La Soledad, as a preliminary of the negotiations about to be entered into. Under its third article the allied forces were to occupy Córdoba, Orizaba, Tehuacan, and adjacent country, with the express condition, stipulated in the fourth, that in the event of a rupture of the negotiations the allied troops were to retreat forthwith to the lines in front of the Mexican defences toward Vera Cruz, designating that of Paso Ancho on the Córdoba road, and Paso de Ovejas on the Jalapa route. Article sixth prescribed that on the allied troops beginning their march pursuant to article third, the Mexican flag was to be hoisted over Vera Cruz and San Juan de Ulúa. That convention was ratified by Prim's British and French colleagues on the same day, and by Juarez on the 23d.[30]

Doblado's diplomacy on that occasion has been justly considered a masterpiece. Under the preliminary convention Juarez was fully recognized, together with the independence and sovereignty of Mexico, as well as her ability to manage her own internal affairs; the London treaty was to some extent nullified, at least in spirit. The French, in order to carry out their schemes, had to ignore every principle of honor and decency, failing to comply with the stipulation that bound them, should the negotiations be interrupted, to recross the river Chiquihuite. Saligny accused the Mexicans of repeated violations of the convention, but he was not overscrupulous when needing a pretext to carry out the purposes of his crafty master. Jurien was simply his satellite.

The Spanish troops occupied Córdoba and Orizaba, the French Tehuacan, and the English remained in Vera Cruz, where the American frigate *Potomac* saluted the Mexican flag on its being hoisted. Doblado obtained other advantages, but it was soon noticed

[30] *Méx., Derecho Intern.*, 1st pt, 699–705; *Baz, Vida de Juarez*, 227–8; *Hidalgo, Apuntes*, 108–10; *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 85; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, ix. 386–8; *Buenrostro, Hist. Prim. y Seg. Cong.*, nos 76–9, 143; *Chynoweth's Fall of Max.*, 34 5.

that more Spanish and French troops came. On the 20th Prim wrote his government that the reactionary party was almost annihilated, so much so that during the two months the allied forces had been in the country no sign of such a party had been visible. Marquez, with a few hundred men, it was true, refused recognition of Juarez' government; but his attitude was not that of an assailant, but rather that of an outlaw hiding in the woods, who would soon have to submit. He added that the hopes entertained by the French commissioners of a facility to erect a monarchy were fast disappearing from their minds. The monarchial element, he said, was insignificant, and lacked the energy and decision which occasionally gives the victory to minorities.[31] Early in March General Comte de Lorencez arrived at Vera Cruz. Prim then wrote his government that Lorencez' arrival, and the expected coming of more French troops, had caused great alarm to the Mexican cabinet and the whole liberal party—an alarm which was augmented by the unreserved assertions in the French journals that the imperial troops had the mission of establishing a throne in Mexico, and of placing upon it Maximilian of Hapsburg. He feared such a project might bring on differences, not only between Mexico and France, but also between France and her allies. The coming of Almonte and his reactionary companions, and their intention of occupying quarters in the French camp to prosecute their intrigues under French protection, had prompted the Mexican authorities to apprise the plenipotentiaries of their determination to cause the capture and punishment of the nation's proscribed enemies entering it with evil intent. He feared that this might provoke a rupture of existing relations.[32]

[31] The monarchists declared Prim to be in error as to the reactionary strength, as well as to the number of their partisans. *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 31–2.

[32] Doblado's note of Apr. 3d demanded that Almonte and the others should be sent away from the country. The Spanish and British were in

On the 9th of April the allied commissioners had a stormy conference at Orizaba, the French, or rather Saligny, clearly indicating a high-handed course, ignoring the London convention of October 31, 1861, as well as that of La Soledad of February 19, 1862.[33] On the same day Minister Doblado was notified that in consequence of differences respecting the construction of the treaty of October 31st, the Spanish and British representatives had resolved to reëmbark their forces; after which the French army would concentrate at Paso Ancho, probably by April 20th, and forthwith undertake operations. Doblado, in his reply of April 11th, found unjustifiable the course of the French, and energetically expressed the determination of Mexico to defend herself to the last extremity, repelling force with force, and freely spilling her blood for the two great blessings achieved during the century, independence and reform. Commending the action of the Spanish and English representatives, he signified the readiness of his government to conclude treaties with them for the settlement of all pending questions.[34] General Prim would not tarry in Mexico long enough to conclude a treaty; but one was entered into by Doblado with Wyke and Dunlop, and ratified by Juarez, intended to settle the disputes with England, but it was more oppressive than the one made by Zamacona which the congress rejected.[35]

favor of acceding. The French thought otherwise, answering that Almonte was engaged by the emperor on a mission of peace. *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xvi. 110–12.

[33] A copy of the minutes of this conference may be seen in *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 40–58; *Hidalgo, Apuntes*, 125–34. Niox, *Expéd. du Mex.*, 122–6, 135–6, has a synopsis. See also *Lefèvre, Mex. et L'Interv.*, 424; *Id., Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 199–207.

[34] The above proposal was made known to the French, who declined to avail themselves of the same privilege. Doblado, in a private letter to Prim, urged him to accept his official offer, in which case he would visit Orizaba and meet him and his English colleagues. *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 61–5; *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 220–7; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, ix. 429–30; *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 146–52; *Manero, Rd.*, MS., 1.

[35] To obtain the money for immediate payments, Mexico made a treaty with the U. S., which was to lend eleven million dollars; a treaty that satisfied the British plenipotentiaries, but which their government used as a pretext for refusing to ratify their action. *Romero, Hist. Intrig. Europ.*, 242.

Doblado had expected no such solution of the difficulties. His plan had been to dally with the plenipotentiaries till the season of heat came with its heavy rains and yellow fever to play havoc with the allied troops. In the mean time his government might make preparation; it might secure the intervention, or at least the mediation, of the United States, which the allies would deem it the part of prudence to heed; as, according to news from Washington, the government was on the point of triumphing over the southern states in rebellion.

The French plenipotentiaries tendered their ships to convey the Spanish troops to Cuba, which Prim courteously declined; and on the 22d of April reembarked them on British ships for Habana, to which port he proceeded on the Spanish war steamer *Ulloa*. He remained there a few days, and returned to Spain by way of the United States. The Spanish government, which had disapproved in detail what Prim had done, was pleased with his conduct in retiring from Mexico, and so declared in the senate and congress of deputies, recognizing that he had faithfully construed the policy and instructions of his government.[36] The British government also approved the rupture. The last instructions of the French cabinet brought out by the comte de Lorencez and the increase of imperial forces in Mexico, together with the open encouragement given to the conservative and monarchial element, clearly showed its determination to demand serious and lasting guarantees from Mexico, and to root out from her soil republi-

[36] The subject was warmly debated in both houses of the Spanish córtes, with the result above stated, and with Prim's government assuming the responsibility for his course. *Córtes, Diario Congreso*, ii., no. 32, 475–6; iv., no. 94, 1865; no. 95, 1883; no. 98, 1942–56; no. 104, 2066–7; v., no. 120, 2380; no. 121, 2402; vi., no. 138, 101–5; no. 140, 2801; no. 141, 2805–7; no. 142, 2827–35; no. 143, 2855–7; *Id., Diario Senado*, ii., no. 70, 878; no. 81, 956; no. 85, 991–2; ap., no. 85, 101–5; no. 95, 1123. The queen also manifested her pleasure. *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 84–5; *Doc. Diplom. Gob. Esp. Sen.*, 1–262; *Prim, Discurso Sen. Esp.*, 1–26. The Mexican nation, through its congress, thanked the Spanish and British commissioners for their friendly course. *Buenrostro, Hist. Leg. Cong. Constituc.*, ii. 102.

canism, which Napoleon and his sycophants called anarchy. The French plenipotentiaries so understood it, and proceeded to carry out the predetermined measure. On the 16th of April they issued a proclamation at Córdoba, calling on all Mexicans friendly to the intervention to join their standard, disclaiming any intent to wage war on the Mexicans as a nation, and declaring it a piece of absurdity to believe that the government, born of popular suffrage, of one of the most liberal nations in Europe, could ever pretend to establish among a foreign people old abuses and institutions incompatible with the present age. They appealed to Mexicans to be the instruments of their own salvation; they wanted justice for all, and that without the necessity of imposing it by arms. And yet, while trying to make the Mexicans believe they had their future destiny in their own hands, the plenipotentiaries reminded them of the presence of the French flag firmly planted in Mexico, never to recede, and woe betide those who might attempt to assail it.[37] The next day appeared Almonte's manifesto calling on his countrymen to have faith in French assurances, and to unite their efforts with his to secure what he deemed a proper government.[38]

On the 21st of March the reactionary leader Antonio Taboada came to the French camp at Tehuacan, reporting his escape from a republican cavalry force, and that General Manuel Robles Pezuela, who had left the capital with him, was a prisoner, and

[37] 'Tienen en sus manos la suerte de Méjico; el pabellon francés se ha plantado en el suelo mejicano; este pabellon no retrocederá. Que los hombres de juicio lo acojan como un pabellon amigo; que los insensatos se atrevan á atacarlo.' *Le Trait d'Union*, ap. 21–24, 1862; *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 64–6; *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 101–32; *Romero, Hist. Intrig. Europ.*, 150–5, 160–5; *Chynoweth's Fall of Max.*, 37–8. Arrangoiz quietly remarks on the particular harmony existing between the last phrases, and the subsequent departure of the French troops from Mexican soil, 'de donde no habia de retroceder el pabellon francés.'

[38] 'Un gobierno tal como conviene á nuestra índole, necesidades y creencias religiosas.' *Buenrostro, Hist. Prim. y Seg. Cong.*, 331–2; *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 68.

would be shot. The fact was, that Robles had violated his pledged word to the government, and accompanied Taboada on his journey to the allied quarters. He was tried, convicted of treason, and shot on the 23d of March, at San Andrés Chalchicomula.[39]

There is a place known as Escamela, close to a ravine, the edge of which is called El Fortin. The French rear arrived at this latter place, which was covered by two small squadrons of horse, belonging to Porfirio Diaz' brigade stationed at Escamela. In this position 200 French cavalry and as many zouaves charged upon an advanced Mexican force,[40] which gallantly bore the brunt, three fourths of their number being killed or wounded. This was the first French victory of the war, and occurred before Prim's departure. On Diaz apprising Zaragoza at Orizaba of the occurrence, neither he nor Prim felt disposed to give it credence. However, Zaragoza repaired to Escamela, and soon convinced himself. A squadron of Oajaca lancers kept hindering the enemy's march, and a heavy guard covered the road leading to the Escamela plain. Diaz took personal command of this guard to protect the entrance to the plain, while Zaragoza with the brigade and train countermarched to Orizaba, where Diaz soon rejoined him. Together they continued the march to El Ingenio, where they passed the night. Meanwhile the French repossessed themselves of Orizaba, which they had evacuated some days before, in pursuance of the terms of the Soledad convention.[41] The reason alleged for this

[39] Robles had accepted Juarez' amnesty, and was living undisturbed at Guanajuato, under Governor Doblado's protection. Upon Doblado being appointed chief of the cabinet, Robles was allowed to go to Mexico on condition of keeping quiet. But he opened correspondence with Almonte and Miranda, and being detected, was ordered to go on his parole to live in Sombrerete, Zacatecas. Instead of journeying to the north, he attempted to join the foreign invaders. *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 206. He left a recommendation to his countrymen to accept the foreign aid to establish a good, orderly government.

[40] Said to be only of 40 men. *Diaz, Biog.*, 29.

[41] They were to commit no act of hostility till they had passed 'las cumbres de Atoyac y Chiquihuite.' *Diaz, Datos Biog.*, MS., 155.

violation of the treaty was, that a letter had been received from Zaragoza indicating that the safety of some 400 sick French soldiers in that town was endangered, which was purely subterfuge.[42]

Almonte sent emissaries into the interior to undermine the loyalty of the troops and circulate revolutionary plans, and had himself proclaimed president by Taboada and others at a pronunciamiento in Córdoba.[43] Orizaba seconded the movement the next day; and then Almonte, who had accepted the role assigned him, his ministers Colonel Gonzalez, Manuel Castellanos, and Desiderio Samaniego, Padre Miranda, and Haro y Tamariz, repaired to that city. The plan was also adopted by the city of Vera Cruz, and by Alvarado, Isla del Cármen, and other places.[44] On the 27th, by order of Almonte and Lorencez, Taboada left Córdoba for Orizaba with 300 Mexican cavalry, and the next day the French division, 6,000 strong, started on its march to Puebla. On the summit of Acultzingo was posted a republican force of 2,000 men, according to a liberal authority, or of 4,000, as

[42] Zaragoza wrote Lorencez that the French sick in the hospitals of Orizaba were under Mexican protection, and therefore needed no French guard. He discovered afterward that he had erroneously taken for a guard a number of convalescents, who were going with their arms from one hospital to another, and wrote again to correct his error, assuring Lorencez that the best care would be bestowed on his men. *Diario Debates 3 Cong.*, ii. 37; *Diaz, Porfirio, Biog.*, 29; *Buenrostro, Hist. Prim. y Seg. Cong.*, 329-31. The French general answered him in a friendly manner, all the while resolved to reoccupy Orizaba, on the plea, as he wrote the plenipotentiaries, that three of his soldiers had been killed in the environs of the French camp. *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 137-40; *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 69.

[43] The acta, dated April 19th, contained four articles. The first denied the authority of Juarez; the second recognized Almonte as supreme chief of the republic and of the forces supporting it; the third authorized him to arrange with the French officials for convoking an assembly to establish a government; the fourth expressed full trust in Almonte, whose services they declared most urgent. *Id.*, iii. 69-70; *Le Trait d'Union*, Apr. 30, 1862; *Méx., Mem. Hacienda*, 1870, 543; *La Voz de Méj.*, June 10, 1862; *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 132-5; *Lefèvre, Mex. et L'Interv.*, 449. That acta showed the signatures of the prominent residents, among them those of a number of Spaniards and others, who afterward publicly made known that their signatures had been appended thereto without their knowledge. Their letters were given to the public in *El Siglo XIX.*, and may also be seen in *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 233-5, and *Lefèvre, Mex. et L'Interv.*, 452.

[44] Manuel M. Serrano was made governor of Vera Cruz and Woll comandante general. Marin became comandante general of Isla del Cármen.

asserted by an interventionist, to prevent the passage of the French, who defeated that purpose, the Mexicans retreating to Ixtapa. On the 2d of May the French army and the troops under Taboada reached Amozoc, and on the 4th pitched their camp in sight of Puebla, Lorencez resolving to assail the city on the next day.[45]

The Mexican army had continued its retreat by way of Palmar, Acatzingo, and Tepeaca to Puebla, where it arrived on the 3d of May.[46] On the 4th Arteaga's division, now under command of General Negrete—its own commander being incapacitated for active service by a wound—occupied the Guadalupe and Loreto forts. The other forces took up quarters in the city, while the French passed the night in Amozoc.

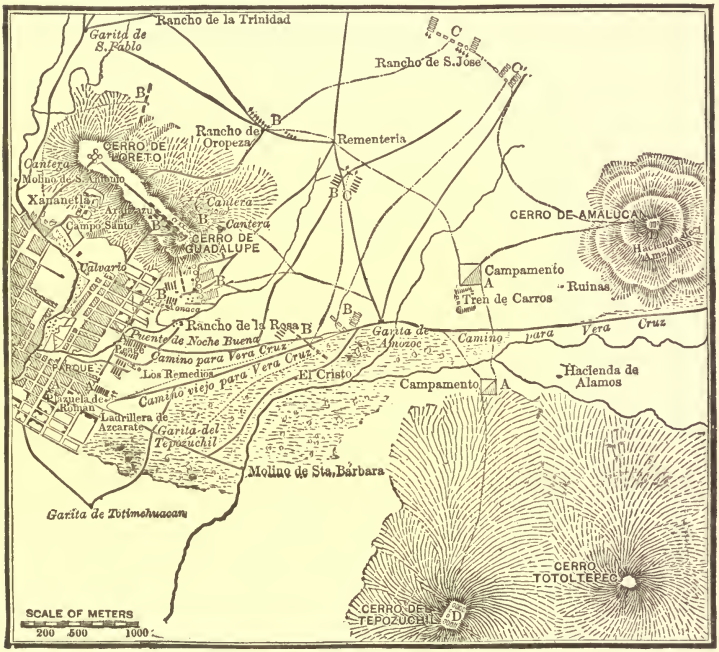
At 4 o'clock in the morning of the ever-memorable 5th of May, the Oajaca division, temporarily commanded by Porfirio Diaz, was stationed at the end of the street leading to Azcárate's brick-kiln, on the Amozoc road. The San Luis brigade was placed on the left of that division, excepting its corps of mounted carbineers, which was on the right in the rear of the brick-kiln. On the left of the Remedios chapel, and between it and the Guadalupe fort, the Toluca brigade under Berriozábal took its position. The squadron of lancers of this brigade joined the cavalry at the brick-kiln, under Colonel Álvarez. General Escobedo remained within the city in command of Tapia's brigade, whose commander had been appointed governor of the state. In front of the line formed by the Oajaca division and the Toluca and San Luis brigades

[45] We are told that Almonte and Haro advised the French general to attack an orchard of the convento del Cármen, opposite the fortified heights of Guadalupe and Loreto, which was not done. They had previously expressed the opinion that Lorencez should let Puebla alone and march on Mexico, which he would find defenceless. They thought that much bloodshed and loss of time would thereby be saved. *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 71; *Hidalgo, Apunt.*, 147.

[46] While those movements were going on, the reactionists, under Marquez, Benavides, Cobos, and others, were marauding in the district of Atlixco.

was placed a field-battery; and 400 steps in the van was stationed the San Luis battalion of riflemen. The rest of the artillery was in the Guadalupe and Loreto forts, and in the city. This arm was in charge of Rodriguez.

Soon after the Mexican forces had taken up their positions the enemy's division advanced, and when



Cinco de Mayo Battle-ground.

Explanation: heavy lines represent Mexican forces; light lines, French; A, 1st position of both armies; B, 2d position; C, 3d position; D, final position of French.

opposite the Guadalupe fort halted and planted its batteries to play upon it and the Loreto. After a brisk cannonade of two hours, a strong column, preceded by sharp-shooters, advanced upon Guadalupe by the northern side. Berriozábal was then ordered to reënforce the two hills.[47] A portion of the cavalry

[47] With the infantry of his brigade and the Reforma battalion. *Diaz, Biog.*, 32.

was divided into two bodies, one of which was placed under Colonel Álvarez, and the other under Colonel Trujano; the rest of that arm Colonel Félix Diaz commanded.

The French in their ascent experienced little opposition and but few casualties from the fort's guns, owing to the undulations of the ground. They had accomplished more than one half the ascent, when they were met by two battalions of Mexican infantry, which, after an exchange of shots with the enemy's sharp-shooters, returned to their position. The assailants continued the ascent, while the Mexican cavalry, under cover of a maguey-field, remained still; the infantry, equally protected, keeping up a brisk fire. The ascending column had by this time turned diagonally toward the right, as if to go up between the Guadalupe and Loreto. The two forts then opened fire to some advantage. The French now found themselves assailed from all quarters by infantry and cavalry, and compelled to retreat hurriedly and in disorder,[48] pursued some distance by the cavalry and infantry. But the pursuit was discontinued on the approach of another French column to the support of the defeated.

The two columns now pushed on together toward the Guadalupe and Resurreccion chapel, to protect which positions they were duly reënforced. The second attack on the east and north sides was made in three bodies, and it was much more vigorous than the first. The two which attempted an assault on the north side were completely routed, and the third reached the east side just as the others were repulsed, and fared alike.[49] The cavalry then charged upon the discomfited assailants, and prevented their reorganizing for further attempt.

[48] The battalions 3d of Toluca, Fijo de Vera Cruz, Zacapoaxtla, and Tetela, and Alvarez' cavalry, took part in the action.

[49] Zaragoza, in his official despatch to the war department, says, 'Tres cargas bruscas ejecutaron los franceses, y en las tres fueron rechazados con valor y dignidad.' *Diaz, Porf., Biog.*, 37-9; *Zaragoza, Defensa de Puebla*, 1-16;

During the heat of the fight on the hill, a no less severe struggle took place upon the plain on the right forming Zaragoza's front. General Diaz, with portions of his brigade and other troops, and two pieces of artillery, checked and drove away the French column which was marching against the Mexican positions. This column, like those repulsed from the Guadalupe, retreated to the hacienda San José Rentería, where preparations were made for defence.[50]

The two armies faced each other till 7 o'clock in the evening, when the French returned to their camp at Los Álamos, and thence back to Orizaba on the 8th,[51] there to await reënforcements which were on the way from France.

This success filled the government and its supporters with high hopes. Zaragoza received the thanks of congress, and afterward his delighted countrymen presented him a sword. Honors and rewards were decreed to the officers and men who took part in the action. Berriozábal, Negrete, Diaz, and the rest, for their gallant conduct, received their meed of praise.[52]

Zaragoza sent the government the medals and decorations found on the battle-field, as well as those taken from the prisoners; but Juarez returned them and liberated the prisoners, sending to the French lines the well ones first, and the sick and wounded after

Perez, Dicc. Geog., ii. 536–43; *Manero, Rel.*, MS., 1; *Diaz, Datos Biog.*, MS., 155–78; *Buenrostro, Hist. Prim. y Seg. Cong.*, 338–46, 364.

[50] Zaragoza added that owing to the absence of O'Horan's and Carbajal's brigades sent against the reactionists at Atlixco and Matamoros, his force was smaller than the enemy's, for which reason he had not attempted to attack. Gen. Diaz followed the retreating enemy until recalled.

[51] Niox, *Expéd. du Méx.*, 153–67, gives the French account of the military operations, setting the French loss at 476 men, of whom 345 were sick and wounded; and that only two sound men fell into the enemy's hands. Zaragoza in his report of the 9th says that though he could not give the exact number of the French casualties, they exceeded 1,000 killed and wounded, and 8 or 10 prisoners. Niox states the Mexican loss to have been 83 killed, 132 wounded, and 12 missing. The Mexican report gives 87 killed, 152 wounded, and 12 missing.

[52] The particulars may be found in *Diaz*, MS.; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, ix. 443, 458–9, 561–2; *Buenrostro, Hist. Prim. y Seg. Cong.*, 366; *Idem., Hist. Seg. Cong. Constituc.*, ii. 112, 127–9, 135–6, 306; *La Voz de Méj.*, June 21 to Sept. 6, 1862, passim; *Baz, Vida de Juarez*, 238–40; *Rivera, Gob. de Méx.*, ii. 630–1; *Méx., Diario Ofic.*, May 5, 1870.

their recovery, all provided with money for the journey. The wounded were kindly cared for, as they themselves acknowledged.[53]

Almonte and Saligny were not wholly free from disagreements, and Lorencez endeavored to reconcile them—a difficult matter, especially as Saligny and Lorencez were not the best of friends. The French attributed their defeat to the non-fulfilment of promises on the part of the reactionists, numbers of whom had remained neutral or undecided, while others had rallied round Juarez. In Guadalajara, the third city of the republic, the clergy had come out against Almonte's plan. The intervention could rely only on scattered bands, like those of Mejía and Lozada, and on the coöperation of Marquez, a man of some military ability, but belonging to the extreme reactionary wing, and justly accused of sanguinary instincts.[54]

Most of the conservative leaders had indeed kept themselves in the background on seeing the course of the Spanish and French diplomatic agents, and the treatment Miramon had received. However, the manifestoes of the French authorities, and of Almonte, reassured the wavering chiefs, and they soon began to join the latter with their forces, not giving any importance to the mishap the French experienced on on the 5th of May.[55] The guardian of the diocese of Puebla declared that as the French were the allies of the clergy, all who opposed them were ipso facto excommunicated, and their confessions would not avail them. He accordingly prohibited spiritual ministrations to the wounded liberal soldiers.[56]

[53] *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 243–8, 268–72; *Pacheco, Cartas* (to Drouyn de Lhuys), in *La Estrella de Occid.*, May 8, 1863; *Ortega, Parte Gen.*, 133–8.

[54] The above facts are corroborated by *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 78; *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 181, 190–1.

[55] This appears in the correspondence of Marquez and Mejía with Almonte. *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 72–8.

[56] So it was said to the father-almoner of the liberal forces. The correspondence appears in *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 245–6.

The conservative general Lopez on the 8th of May visited Almonte to tell him that Zuloaga, finding his presidential claims ignored, was endeavoring to prevent his, Almonte's, recognition by the reactionary forces. The latter recognized Almonte, however, and under Marquez and Vicario, started to join him at Orizaba. Marquez on the 18th reported his force at Barranca Seca kept in check by the republicans. The latter under Tapia were signally defeated by the reactionists, aided by a battalion of the French 99th under Major Lefêvre, after which the victors entered Orizaba. This defeat was soon followed by another of one of the brigades under Gonzalez Ortega, surprised in the morning of the 14th of June on the Cerro del Borrego by the French.[57] After which Gonzalez Ortega retreated to Santa María, Zaragoza having failed in an attack on Orizaba, made in ignorance of the affair on the Borrego, abandoned the heights of Acultzingo, and went off to El Ingenio. The Mexican army still had 12,000 men.

The government continued its efforts as best it could to meet the emergencies of the war. Among its measures was the appointment of Ex-president Comonfort, who had been in the country by permission several months, comandante general of Tamaulipas. Vidaurri's attitude, being suspicious, required close watching. The president demanded the contingent of troops and a personal tax from the states. He went to reside at Tacubaya, and accepted, on the 13th of August, the resignation of Doblado, which caused general surprise, for Doblado was regarded as having defeated the European intrigue. He had controlled public affairs during eight months with unlimited powers, as Juarez' minister-general, though some of his acts had met with public disapproval.[58]

[57] Capt. Detrie did it with his company of the 99th. The Mexicans had 250 killed and wounded, and lost 200 prisoners and three howitzers. Detrie was promoted. *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 80.

[58] He had opened relations in April and May, first with Marquez and next with José M. Cobos—the latter had superseded Marquez as chief commander

Juan Antonio de la Fuente, an enlightened, true-hearted patriot, and the author of the law on religious toleration, became Doblado's successor on the 25th of August.[59]

Meanwhile Juarez was busily occupied in removing obstacles to the execution of financial measures in the several states. At this moment, while his country was so insulted and maligned by Europeans, he endeavored to refute their lies by extending to foreigners the most considerate protection. The Mexican people, amidst these stirring events, quietly elected members to the third constitutional congress.

of the conservative forces by Zuloaga's orders—to prevail on them to aid in the national defence, and even offered to have an interview at Tetela with Cobos. He did not go, however, but sent two agents with certain proposals. The articles hostile to the church in the constitution of 1857 were the obstacle to the conservatives abandoning their hostile attitude. Cobos, in his manifesto from St Thomas of July 20, 1862, said that the agents assured him, in Doblado's name, that a movement was being arranged to do away with Juarez and the constitution of 1857, the nullification of the red party being the only means to end the internecine war; then to call the people to new elections, a provisional statute ruling meanwhile. Juarez out of the way, there would be no foreign war, and Almonte's treasonable plans would be defeated. Nothing came of the negotiations, because of the liberal victory of May 5th. Zuloaga and Cobos obtained from Almonte a safe-conduct and left the country. Zuloaga issued in Habana a manifesto explaining his conduct since the landing of the allies. *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xvi. 213–19, 227–9; *Zuloaga, Manif...á la Rep.* (Méx., 1862), 1–16. Another version is, that Juarez was jealous of Doblado, and had called him to his cabinet 'con la maligna intencion de nulificarlo;' that Doblado, after a conference with Zaragoza at Amozoc, went back to Mexico and asked Juarez to remove him from the command, which the president refused to do, whereupon Doblado resigned. But in order that there should be no bad impression in the public mind, he asked for another office, and a month later was made general-in-chief of the army of the interior. *Marquez de Leon, Mem. Póst.*, MS., 214–16.

[59] *Rivera, Gob. de Méx.*, ii. 632.

CHAPTER III.

FRENCH OCCUPATION.

1862–1863.

NAPOLEON'S INSTRUCTIONS—ARRIVAL OF FOREY'S ARMY—ZARAGOZA'S DEATH—FOREY'S FIRST MOVEMENTS—HIS NEGLECT OF THE CONSERVATIVES—THEIR SUBSERVIENCY—MARCH ON PUEBLA—INDECENT DEVICES—GENERAL CONDITION OF MEXICO—BOMBARDMENT OF ACAPULCO—SIEGE OF PUEBLA—FOREY OFFERS HONORABLE TERMS—THEY ARE NOT ACCEPTED—UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER—TREATMENT OF MEXICAN PRISONERS—AFFAIRS AT THE CAPITAL—FLIGHT OF THE GOVERNMENT—JUAREZ AT SAN LUIS POTOSÍ—THE FRENCH OCCUPY MEXICO—INITIATORY POLICY.

NAPOLEON and his cabinet approved the action of Saligny and his colleague; but in the chamber of deputies the republicans, orleanists, and legitimists jointly opposed the course of the imperial government in Mexico,[1] and found fault with Almonte for calling himself supreme chief and trying to establish a government. The news of the disaster of May 5th reached them on the 16th of June. Imprecations were heard everywhere against the Spanish government, Prim, and the Mexicans who had induced Napoleon to send out the expedition. After that the diplomatic functions were left in Saligny's hands. Napoleon wrote Lorencez not to be discouraged on account of the reverse at Puebla. He approved the protection afforded Almonte and other Mexicans who had sought it. He did not wish to force any form of government upon Mexico, desiring only her prosperity and independence in her relations with Europe.

[1]Among the prominent speakers were Jules Favre, Thiers, and Berryer.

He approved Lorencez' conduct, though misunderstood by some.[2] Nevertheless, on deciding to despatch more forces, General Forey was appointed commander-in-chief, with powers as plenipotentiary; and the emperor wrote him, on the 3d of July, giving his views as to the policy he was to pursue in Mexico.[3] The expeditionary corps placed under Forey's command was to consist of about 30,000 men.[4] Por-

[2] 'J'ai approuvé votre conduite, quoiqu'elle ne semble pas avoir été comprise de tout le monde.' *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 199.

[3] First, on arrival, issue a proclamation, the chief points of which would be suggested to him; 2d, to receive with the utmost kindness all Mexicans joining him; 3d, not to support the quarrels of any party—to declare that all is provisional till the Mexican people have spoken for themselves—to show a great deference for religion, but at the same time quieting the mind of the possessors of national property; 4th, to feed, pay, and arm, according to his means, the Mexican auxiliary troops, allowing them the most prominent places in battles; 5th, to maintain the strictest discipline in both the French and auxiliary forces, repressing vigorously any word or deed that might wound the Mexicans, it being necessary not to forget the fierceness of their character. On arriving in Mexico he was to summon the prominent men of all political shades who had joined him to form a provisional government, which would submit to the Mexican people the question of the political system that was to be definitively established; after which an assembly should be convoked according to Mexican laws. He was to aid the new government to secure regularity in the administration, specially of the treasury, for which competent men would be placed with them; not to force upon the Mexicans any form of government not to their liking, but to aid them to establish one offering stability, and which might secure to France the satisfaction of past grievances. Of course, if they preferred a monarchy, the interests of France demanded that they should be helped in that direction. The motives of France are then explained. Prosperity of America is necessary to Europe. France has an interest in the U. S. being powerful and prosperous, but cannot permit them to hold the whole gulf of Mexico, and control from there the Antilles and South America, and be the only dispensers of the products of the New World. He refers to the scarcity of cotton for the European factories. *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 212–16; *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 87–9; *Hidalgo, Apuntes*, 151–4; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xvi. 278–81; *North Am. Rev.*, ciii. 121–2; *Flint's Mex. under Max.*, 37–40; *Chynoweth's Fall of Max.*, 39–41.

Henry M. Flint, Mexico under Maximilian. The object of the author was to remove the prejudice existing in the United States against the government of Maximilian. He wrote the book before the emperor's downfall, his preface being dated Feb. 22, 1867. Flint maintains that Maximilian's government had 'done more for the prosperity of Mexico, more for the enlightenment of the Mexican people, during the three years of its existence, than any republican government in Mexico ever did in thirty, forty, or fifty years.' The author describes the deplorable condition of the country and people at the time of the intervention, and then narrates and discusses the political change which followed, showing himself so strong a champion of the anti-republican party as to classify the Monroe doctrine as absurd, and argue that it ought to be repudiated. A number of official letters and documents are supplied in this volume.

[4] Commandant D'Ornant of the general staff was sent out to make preparations for the coming army, and arrived at Vera Cruz July 26th. The com-

tions of it had been arriving from time to time, and on the 21st of September the new commander landed in Vera Cruz, where, owing to the bad condition of the roads, he had to tarry till the 12th of October, seeing the havoc caused in his army by the black-vomit.[5]

Some days before the coming of the third expedition Mexico and the liberal party sustained a heavy loss in the death of Ignacio Zaragoza, the hero of the Cinco de Mayo, which took place at Puebla on the 8th of September, caused by typhoid fever. The nation had centred its hopes in him; and he has since been recognized as a true type of republicanism and patriotism, united to a sterling character.[6] The government paid his remains the highest honors, and they were conveyed to their last resting-place attended by a large concourse of all classes.[7]

Forey reached Orizaba on the 24th of October, and on the 10th of the following month Lorencez, who had been permitted at his own request to leave the country, started on his return to France. Forey's first proclamation, dated at Vera Cruz September 20th,[8] but made public a few days later, was a repetition in different words of the sentiments expressed in former documents of the French plenipotentiaries.

munications being interrupted, he could not get to Lorencez' quarters, but advised the latter, by a letter in cipher, taken by an Indian, of the near arrival of reënforcements with Forey, and of the emperor's order for a march straight on to Mexico. On his return to France he described matters in Mexico as being in a bad way, and the condition of the French force as deplorable. *Niox, Expéd. du Méx.*, 196–7. The French expedition was reënforced in Feb. 1863 with 400 or 500 negroes from the Soudan, furnished by the khedive of Egypt, and secretly embarked on the 8th and 9th of January. They were intended for special service on the coast.

[5] The fever season had passed, but the massing of a large force in the city revived the malady, filling the hospitals with sick French.

[6] Marquez de Leon says that he loved his country, was greatly moved by the sufferings of the soldiers, and detested immorality in every form. *Mem. Póst.*, MS., 216.

[7] The national congress in after years erected a monument to his memory, the corner-stone of which was laid by Juarez, Sept. 17, 1869. *Baz, Vida de Juarez*, 242; *Rivera, Gob. de Méx.*, ii. 633; *Diario Debates*, 10th Cong., ii. 751; *Diario Ofic.*, Sept. 29, 1869; *La Voz de Méj.*, Oct. 7, 1862; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xvi. 274–5.

[8] *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 218–19.

It was the old war-cry of the military party of France, calling, as Edgard Quinet said, armed invasion a war for civilization. On the 26th Forey suppressed Almonte's authority, which having been set up without the nation's sanction could not be, as he alleged, approved by the intervention.[9]

Forey forgot his instructions to treat the Mexicans with benevolence, and thus win their coöperation. He, and with him nearly all his officers, assumed the haughty air of conquerors, thus belying the pretended object of their mission. Mexicans, either civil or military, were not treated as friends and allies, but rather as objects of contempt. To rule the country according to his own will, he appointed Commandant Billard director of policy. The director knew no more of the country whose political affairs he was to direct than his commander. Forey's ideas were at variance with those of the conservatives, whose coöperation was needed to render the French intervention effective. In Córdoba and Orizaba he issued new proclamations,[10] and lost much precious time at the last-named place, which seemed to offer him many delightful pleasures. He might have been in Mexico by the middle of November, for the Mexican government was not prepared to withstand such a force. Instead of making a rapid movement, he sent General De Bertier with a brigade to Jalapa, and encamped the main army in Orizaba and the surrounding country. Gonzalez Ortega who now had the chief command of the liberal eastern army, lost no time in fortifying Puebla, bringing artillery and supplies in the face of De Ber-

[9] Almonte was ordered to dissolve his cabinet and aid in organizing the Mexican army. *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 92; *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 217–18. He remained in the country as a private citizen till he was again called to do Napoleon's work, and for his subserviency was made a knight grand cross of the legion of honor.

[10] The second one was disliked in France, and the minister of war advised Forey 'de ne pas faire abus des proclamations.' *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 221. Manuel Payno, ex-minister of the treasury, sent a long letter to Forey on claims of the allies, giving the history of each and accompanying documents. *Payno, Carta*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 1832–75, no. 6, 3–79.

tier from Perote, a place the French could have taken the first day, meeting with little or no resistance.[11]

Gonzales Ortega having sent Forey a few Frenchmen of the wounded in the affair of May 5th, together with a zouave's medal, the French commander transmitted a copy of his last proclamation, adding that he received Ortega's courteous letter as one from a brave soldier, and not from the government he was serving, with which he, Forey, could not correspond without repugnance. He also expressed the wish that Ortega's sword would be in the near future employed in a better cause. This insult to the Mexican government, accompanied by a hint that Ortega should become a traitor, wounded him deeply. The Mexican general replied with dignity on the 16th, assuring Forey that whatever ground the diplomatic question might be placed on by military events, the French representative would have sooner or later to treat with the chief magistrate holding his powers from the nation, and whose generosity had released the French prisoners. He further said that the true interests of France did not lie in coöperating with a few malecontents to upset a government sustained by the Mexican people, nor in waging war against a nation entirely in sympathy with liberal France. As for himself, leaving aside his personal regard for Juarez, he would have Forey understand that he was freely serving his country as an independent citizen.[12] He concluded to return Forey's letter and proclamation, which, he said, could have no place among his records. There were at this time between 300 and 400 Mexican officers of all ranks without troops in

[11] Forey neglected Alvarado, Medellin, and Tlacotalpan, strategic points whence the liberals frequently cut off supplies from Vera Cruz. Soon afterward he also abandoned, about the 19th of January, 1863, Tampico and Tuxpan which, being on the seaboard, could have been held with insignificant forces. But he wanted all his strength for Puebla. One of the French gunboats got aground and had to be destroyed. *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xvi. 335–43.

[12] He was not beholden to the government. A free republican, not even a soldier by profession, he had come from a long distance to render his best service to the government chosen by the people. *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 259–60, 264–67.

the French camp; and wishing to do service even as private soldiers, organized themselves into a battalion, called the Legion de Honor, and made General Taboada their commander. To counteract the bad feeling of the policy observed by Forey and his agent Billard, Almonte issued a proclamation to assure his friends that he would remain with the French until the intervention produced the beneficial effects intended when the London convention was signed October 31, 1861.[13]

Many complaints having reached Napoleon's ears, Billard was restored to the military service, and Saligny, toward the end of January 1863, assumed the position left vacant.

Meanwhile the days darkened at the capital. Heavy taxes were decreed, also a loan of thirty million dollars wherewith to erect defences in the city, and to furnish supplies to Ortega's army.[14] The government had been over a year without customs revenue from Vera Cruz. The French received mules and supplies from the United States; but war material, so much needed by Juarez' government, was not allowed to be exported thence.[15] Congress, on the 10th of December, decreed that French prisoners should be treated by the Mexicans as Mexican prisoners were treated by the French.[16]

The people manifested a determination to sacrifice everything for freedom and independence. Ortega's plan of defending Puebla was approved, and Comon-

[13] This manifesto bears date Jan. 12, 1863. *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, 107–10. The conservatives lost early in this month one of their chief men, in the death of Haro y Tamariz at Orizaba. *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xvi. 343.

[14] A personal tax of three reales, when not paid in coin, had to be made good with work in the fortifications. This tax, yielding more abuses than money, was substituted by a loan of $600,000. Negotiations were begun in New York to raise the 30-million loan. *Rivera, Gob. de Méx.*, ii. 633. *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, ix. 527–9, 565, 575, 578–81, 588–9, 636, 654; *Diario Debates*, 3d Cong., i. 135–8; *Diario Ofic.*, Oct. 10, 1868; *La Voz de Méj.*, Dec. 30, 1862.

[15] *U. S. Govt Doc.*, 37th Cong. 3d Sess., Sen. 24, 389–90.

[16] *Buenrostro, Hist. Seg. Cong. Constituc.*, 349–50; reiterated by the president Aug. 16, 1863. *Méx., Últ. Notas Diplom.*, 17–31.

fort, who had reached Mexico about the middle of October, was to aid him. Juarez seemed resolved to defend his country at all hazards. Congress, however, just as the people were ready to sustain him, and when the foreign invading army was already 15,000 strong, deprived him of the ample powers he had to make war. But it soon receded from that position and issued a manifesto accepting war with France, and granting the executive the fullest powers for six months, or till one day after its reassembling.[17] Comonfort, who had been restored to the rank of general of division, was placed in command of the army of the centre, together with that of the federal district, which was under martial law. Congress closed its session about the middle of December.[18]

The French had allies not only in Marquez and others acting with him, but in the reactionary forces of the interior which constantly distracted the government.[19] The rebels of Colima, 2,000 strong, attacked Guadalajara and were repulsed. The region of Tepic, as usual, was in a disturbed state. On the 10th of January, 1863, a French squadron bombarded Acapulco about eight hours, doing much damage. The next two days it fired on the fortifications, three of which were silenced. In the evening of the 12th the squadron sailed out of port.

The French generals Bazaine and Douay went up the mesa or tierras altas in January, this being the first French movement toward Puebla. On the 3d of February Taboada's brigade, of which the legion

[17] *La Voz de Méj.*, Nov. 29, 1862. The decree was issued Oct. 27th; the time was extended May 27, 1863. *Buenrostro, Hist. Seg. Cong. Constituc.*, 178–85; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, ix. 548–9, 622.

[18] Among its last acts was one on the 13th of Dec., declaring null all acts of the so-called authorities appointed by the invaders. The law also nullified all contracts executed before or authorized by them; and provided that traitors should not be favored in any arrangements the government might enter into with France. *Buenrostro, Hist. Seg. Cong. Constituc.*, 373; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, ix. 566; *Diario Debates*, 3d Cong., i. 159–61.

[19] These forces depredated, and presented at times a threatening attitude in various parts. Bands of highwaymen infested Durango, Zacatecas, and other states.

de honor formed a part, started from Orizaba, accompanied as far as El Ingenio by some French officers and a number of citizens. Early in this month Cuapiaxtla was occupied, and the next place entered by the auxiliaries was Huamantla. Comonfort then extended his army of the centre to the town of Ixtacuixtla, and went to Tlascala to see to its defence. Marquez established his headquarters at Ixtenco. Juarez visited Puebla in February and reviewed his army. Gonzalez Ortega had been working incessantly on the fortifications. The city was surrounded by nine important outworks, besides other minor fortifications, with ditches, ramparts, and parapets. The following were the names of the nine forts, and hills on which they were built, namely: Guadalupe, on the hill of the same name; Independencia, on La Misericordia; Zaragoza, on Los Remedios; Ingenieros, on the Totimehuacan; Hidalgo, on the Cármen; Morelos, on the Parral; Iturbide, on the San Javier; La Reforma, on the Santa Anita; Cinco de Mayo, on the Loreto.[20] The inner line depended upon the blocks of buildings, strong where they centred around some one of the numerous churches and convents with their massive walls. These had parapets, and were crenellated, and connected across the streets by a network of barricades with embrasures, the number of cannon being about 200.[21]

At last on the 23d Forey began his march, after a

[20] The defence of the line comprised between forts Cinco de Mayo, Guadalupe, and Independencia was intrusted to Gen. Berriozábal of the 1st division, with generals Hinojosa, Gayoso, and Osorio under him; that between forts La Reforma or Demócrata and Iturbide, to Gen. Antillon of the 3d division, with Col Macías and Gen. Rojo under his orders; that between forts Hidalgo and Morelos, to Gen. Alatorre of the 4th division, with Gen. Ghilardi and Col Auza, in command of those forts respectively; that between forts Zaragoza and Ingenieros was in charge of Gen. La Llave of the 5th division, the forts being commanded respectively by generals Pinzon and Patoni. *Ortega, Parte Gen.*, 15–16; *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 250–1, 256–7; *La Estrella de Occid.*, Jan. 16, 1863.

[21] Gen. Mejía, commanding a detached brigade, was under the immediate orders of gen. headquarters, and had charge of the interior defences. Gen. Negrete, commander of the 2d division, formed with it the general reserve of the army corps.

five-months sojourn in the country, waiting, it was said, for his siege artillery. His army was near Amozoc early in March, and on the 10th Ortega declared Puebla under martial law. Four days later he invited families to leave the place at as early a day as possible, and notified foreign consular agents that an attack was impending. On the 16th the French were in front of Puebla at the hacienda de Álamos, and took possession of the Navajas and Amalucan hills, opposite and to the north of those of Loreto and Guadalupe. The next day they occupied those of El Tepozuchil and La Resurreccion, and pitched camps in Amalucan, Álamos, Navajas, and Manzanilla. Going round the position, they appeared on the Mexico road, occupying the San Juan hills,[22] where Forey established his headquarters, and thus completing the line of siege. On the 21st they occupied La Noria and the church of Santiago. From that day began the actual fighting between besiegers and besieged, and five days later the bombardment with eight mortars and fifty heavy pieces of artillery, after two assaults on Fort Iturbide had been repulsed.

The army under Ortega at the beginning of the siege consisted of a little over 22,000 men. The general staff was as follows: quartermaster-general, Gonzalez Mendoza; chief of artillery, Paz; chief of engineers, Colonel Colombres; chief of medical department, Ignacio Rivadeneira; inspector-general, O'Horan.[23] The division commanders were generals Berriozábal, Negrete, Antillon, Alatorre, La Llave, and Antonio Álvarez, who had charge of the cavalry.[24]

[22] This position, though advantageous for its elevation, was not fortified, because it would have called for isolated defences with a large garrison.

[23] The army was formed of 8 sections of artillery, each brigade having 4 batteries; 5 divisions and one brigade of infantry; one division and two brigades of cavalry. Gen. Orders of Feb. 19th, in *Diaz, Porfirio, Biog.*, 40.

[24] In command of brigades were Porfirio Diaz, who in after years became president of the republic, Hinojosa, Lamadrid, Ghilardi, Mora, Patoni, Pinzon, Ignacio Mejía, and Carbajal, of the rank of general, and colonels Caamaño, Rioseco, Escobedo, Prieto, Macías, Herrera, Auza, Yarza, and Ayala.

From French sources we have it that the investing force consisted of 26,300 men.[25] Every assault except the last made on Fort Iturbide—which resulted in its capture on the 29th of March[26]—had been repulsed. The taking of this fort cost a good deal of blood. Before that whenever a body of the besieged troops wished to break the lines, it rarely found difficulty in doing so.[27] After the loss of the Iturbide, Ortega strengthened his second line running between forts Hidalgo and Reforma, his left being supported by the former and his right by the latter.[28]

Forey now began a systematic inroad on the line of house blocks behind the Iturbide works, and his success from the first caused much alarm among the besieged. General Diaz, who had been commanding Berriozábal's second brigade, was detached and placed in charge of the most exposed quarter, consisting of seventeen blocks, the strong point of which was the Iriarte house, or meson de San Márcos. He planned a new system of defence, but before it could be completed, the French, who had worked the whole day at opening breaches and advancing their guns, came upon him in force. Toward sunset the balls crashed through the masonry of the San Márcos, and soon made yawning breaches at both extremes. Then,

Col Prisciliano Flores was adjutant-general of infantry, and Col J. Nicolás Prieto of cavalry. *Id.*, 41–2, 44.

[25] Eighteen thousand infantry, 1,400 cavalry, 2,150 artillerymen, 450 engineers, 2,300 troupes d'administration. 2,000 Mexican allies. *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 247. Arrangoiz, *Méj.*, iii. 112, gives the force at 36,000, which is probably somewhat in excess, 'tan superior al sitiado, en número, disciplina, y recursos.'

[26] This was effected by first capturing El Penitenciario, which had not been at first fortified; the fall of the Iturbide following as a consequence. According to Arrangoiz, Forey might have taken it the same day that he came in sight of Puebla. *Méj.*, iii. 111.

[27] In the night of April 13th, O'Horan and Col Vicente Riva Palacio with about 1,500 cavalry broke the lines and marched to Tlascala through a narrow road, though guarded by the French 89th, a number of whose men were slain and wounded, and some taken prisoners. The escaping force did not lose a man.

[28] At this time Comonfort, in order to carry out a plan of attack, asked Ortega for 5,000 or 6,000 men, who were not furnished him, for obvious reasons. Juarez in a confidential letter justly approved of Ortega's action. *Ortega, Parte Gen.*, 65–6.

under cover of the gloom, a party of zouaves made a dash for the nearest breach leading into the first court, which they gained, driving the defenders into the inner court; but they were not permitted long to hold so important a position. Diaz rushed to the spot, and reanimating his men,[29] they charged upon the assailants and drove them from the place. By 10 o'clock the meson had been recovered, and the breaches were soon after repaired. This success was followed by another after the reveille along Cabecitas street, where a conflict had raged, the line here being wider, and the number of contestants larger. The gaps were soon filled, and the damages duly attended to. Rest was needed, but the French were roused, and allowed no time to be lost. Assaults were made at different points during the day, specially in Cholula street, where Colonel Manuel Gonzalez, who in after years became president of the republic, though wounded, made a stout resistance, and thus aided Diaz in repelling the assailants.[30] San Márcos was also attacked, but without other result than adding to the heap of dead and wounded. On this line, as well as at the advanced points, the besieged several times repulsed the invading army, several columns of which were taken prisoners. One breach was defended forty days. The eastern army never lost a foot of the position, holding it till the 17th of May.[31] After several checks, notably one in the position of Santa Inés, April 25th, Forey entertained the idea of suspending operations till heavier siege-guns could be procured, or till he had taken the city of Mexico; but

[29] Loading with stones, there being no other projectiles at hand, a gun that covered the entrance, he fired it at the zouaves, causing much havoc among them.

[30] Diaz himself speaks in glowing terms of Gonzalez' gallantry. In the general orders of that day the deeds above related received special mention. *Diaz, Datos Biog.*, MS., 183–90; *Diaz, Porfirio, Biog.*, 46–8.

[31] Berriozábal, La Llave, and others tried more than once to induce Ortega to evacuate the place to save the army. Gen. Paz also spoke to him on the subject, but merely in compliance with the request of others. His own opinion, like Ortega's, was to hold the city until necessity demanded its abandonment. *Ortega, Parte Ofic.*, 72–4, 102–10.

neither proposition was regarded with favor by his generals.[32] And it was then resolved to push the operations against the southern side, which was the next weakest line. Even here the besiegers made little progress. Diaz and his troops were now enabled to render efficient service where danger most demanded it. The besiegers, on their part, felt more encouraged on hearing that both ammunition and food were becoming scarce within the walls.

At a conference, invited by General Forey, and held between him and Lieutenant-colonel Togno, an aide-de-camp of Ortega's, the French commander spoke of the uselessness of Ortega's tenacious defence, carried so much beyond the requirements of military usage, and seemingly for the sole purpose of winning renown. If such was the case, he need go no further; fame should be his, and he might now well give up the struggle for humanity's sake. He expressed his readiness to grant honorable terms of capitulation, and assured Togno that he would sooner or later take the city. He knew that the garrison was suffering for want of provisions. If Ortega did not surrender the place till after the rainy season had set in, he, Forey, would strengthen himself therein, and march on to Mexico during the coming winter. Yet more: the wily Frenchman threw out the bait of the presidency to the Mexican commander, as an inducement for him to surrender, accompanying it with certain propositions, which, if accepted, would facilitate a settlement of the questions at issue.[33] Were

[32] The suspension of assaults was apparently from necessity. Ortega believed it so, and when rumors reached him—most of them traceable to the French camp—that a general assault was contemplated to obliterate the repulse of the 25th of April, he did not heed them. Niox has it that in this affair the left column of the French lost 9 officers, and the right 1 killed, 5 wounded, and 2 missing; 27 men killed, 127 wounded, and 176 missing. Later information showed, in addition, 130 men, of whom 7 were officers, had been made prisoners. *Expéd. du Mex.*, 272.

[33] 'Let him make himself the president of the Mexican republic, and the question is at an end; let him agree that new elections for chief magistrate of the nation be held, and the question likewise ends; and if to carry out either of these projects he should encounter any difficulties, the French army will support him; if he will not admit these propositions, tell him to make

none of them accepted, he would like an interview with Ortega, at such a place as the latter might designate. To all which Ortega verbally instructed his aid to say to Forey that his proposals all involved French intervention in Mexico's affairs, and would not be entertained. He refused to hold any conference.

In the lines defended by La Llave, Berriozábal, Porfirio Diaz, and Auza, subterranean galleries were made to blow up the buildings occupied by the French. The mines were completed, but there was no powder to charge them with. Toward the end of April there was nothing that could be utilized for food but the horses, mules, and dogs, and of these there were none by the 10th of May.[34]

On the morning of the 8th of May there was heard in Puebla a brisk firing from the direction of San Lorenzo. Comonfort had not even hinted to Ortega a movement by way of San Lorenzo. The uncertainty of the garrison continued the whole of that day and the greater part of the next; it was only late in the afternoon of the 9th that news of the disaster experienced by Comonfort the previous day reached the city. Forey himself wrote Ortega that his army had defeated Comonfort's at San Lorenzo.[35] It was indeed too true that the army of the centre, in attempting to introduce a train into Puebla, had been routed by Bazaine and Marquez, and had afterward retreated to Tlascala. Ortega, while yet in time, and before this terrible disaster befell the army, had thought of abandoning the city, but he was kept back by the hope of relief; and after the San Lorenzo defeat, he endeavored to effect that purpose but failed.

me others equally honorable for both France and Mexico.' *Ortega, Parte Gen.*, 161–3.

[34] This state of things was formally made known in the general order of May 17th. *Diaz, Porf., Biog.*, 48–9.

[35] Comonfort lost 1,000 killed and wounded, 1,000 prisoners, among whom were 56 officers, eight pieces of artillery, and a number of other arms, three flags, 20 loaded wagons, 400 mules, sheep, etc. *Ortega, Parte Gen.*, 164–9; *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 274–8; *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 113.

So the defence continued a few days longer with the little powder on hand, till the 16th, when there was nothing left; ammunition and food, all had been consumed.[36] Not a line or sign had been received from Comonfort. In view of the situation, a council of war was held, which resolved that the general-in-chief should endeavor to obtain from the French a capitulation, with the privilege of marching out of the city. This was not acceded to by Forey.[37] At a council of war it was decided, and at one o'clock in the morning of the 17th of May the order was issued, to destroy all the armament; after which the white flag for surrender without conditions should be hoisted, the officers being left free to act as they pleased.[38] The money in the military chest was to be distributed among the rank and file. The plan was carried out on the 17th, Forey being apprised that the general, field, and company officers awaited his pleasure, as his prisoners, at the palace.[39] Ortega and the officers of all ranks refused to sign paroles as required of them by the French commander.[40] According to the his-

[36] The rations served out to the garrison on the 15th and 16th of May consisted of a decoction of orange-leaves.

[37] He agreed to grant everything but that Ortega's troops should remain in condition to continue the war against France, as that would be but a change of position. The chief of staff said that no doubt his commander would allow the garrison all the honors and guarantees, but if they destroyed their arms before surrendering, as had been hinted, all prisoners falling into his hands would be transported to Martinique. Forey seemed to disapprove of the remark, and energetically said: 'I transport to Martinique robbers, banditti, but not brave officers, such as those forming the garrison of Puebla.' *Ortega, Parte Gen.*, 190–2.

[38] Forey claimed, on the 20th of May, that the surrender had been forced by his fire of the 16th on the Totimehuacan, which had done great damage to the works, and exposed their weakness on the east side. His words to the bearer of a flag of truce were, that if the garrison waited for a general assault he would, under the laws of war, put it to the sword. *Lefévre, Doc. Maximiliano*, 276.

[39] A little before 3 A. M., and before the message was forwarded by the hands of released French prisoners, Ortega received a note from Gen. Yañez, dated at the bridge of Texmelucan, May 14th, at 6:30 P. M., saying that Comonfort had gone to Mexico; that the disaster of San Lorenzo had not been so great as Forey represented it to Ortega; but the troops of the central army certainly were too much demoralized to be led into battle. An hour later the artillery was blown up.

[40] *Ortega, Parte Gen.*, 203–4, 210–13; *Diaz., Datos Biog.*, MS., 192; *Diaz, Porf., Biog.*, 48–50.

torian of the French expedition, Puebla surrendered with 150 pieces of artillery. The number of prisoners is set down at 26 generals, 303 superior officers, 1,179 subalterns, and 11,000 rank and file.[41] Over 2,500 dragoons had escaped from Puebla during the operations. The French casualties, as given by Niox, were: killed, 18 officers, 167 rank and file; wounded, 79 officers and 1,039 rank and file, many of whom afterward died from the effects of their wounds. The same authority adds that 5,000 of the Mexican rank and file were made to serve in Marquez' army, 2,000 were employed in destroying barricades and intrenchments, and the rest were put to work on the railroad.

The siege of Puebla, though it ended in a success for the French, must be admitted to have shed no glory on their arms. No great military skill was displayed; and, indeed, it seems as if Forey's purpose had been to go on the Fabian plan, rather than to conquer the enemy by repeated hard blows. The siege was certainly prolonged beyond necessity, when we consider that the place was defended by a garrison of militiamen, whose officers, from the general-in-chief down, had not, with some exceptions, been educated for the profession of arms,[42] and that it had been hastily, and in a measure imperfectly, fortified to withstand the assaults of a powerful foreign army directed by scientific commanders.

[41] *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 282. There is considerable discrepancy on this point. Forey reported 26 generals, 225 superior officers, 800 subalterns, 16,000 rank and file, 150 cannons, a large quantity of muskets and ammunition. Almonte spoke of 26 or 28 generals, 1,200 officers, 12,000 men, 280 useful cannons, 10,000 muskets, and much ammunition. An officer of Marquez says that only 30 guns had been burst, and there were found over 200 guns, many muskets, and some ammunition. *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xvi. 472–3. A Mexican official list, made on the 17th of May, gives 21 generals, 280 superior officers, and about 1,120 subalterns. *Diaz, Porf., Biog.*, 50–79. Negrete and Régules had escaped. *Rivera, Gob. de Méx.*, ii. 636. Ortega stated that there were missiles, but no powder.

[42] It has been said that Juarez gave Ortega the command, though believing him incompetent for it, because the nation had come to look upon him as a great man. He hoped that what Ortega lacked of military skill would be supplied by some of his subordinates. A sinister purpose in connection with Ortega was also attributed to Juarez. *Marquez de Leon, Mem. Póst.*, MS., 217–19.

Ortega and Forey had a conference on the 19th, when the former assured the Frenchman that he would find the great mass of Mexicans resolute to defend the national honor. He was soon contradicted, however, by his ecclesiastical fellow-citizens; for on the same day, the cathedral of Puebla being in gala dress, they received the invaders, chanting a te deum, and with every demonstration of joy.[43] At the same time the field and company officers, including some of Ortega's aides-de-camp, were made to start, on foot and unarmed, for Vera Cruz; and on the next day Ortega and the generals received orders to prepare for departure on the 22d for France as prisoners.[44] Their journey was made in carriages closely guarded. At the town of Morelos, Ortega heard that his officers were treated by a French naval officer as convicts; that one captain had been shot, some prisoners allowed to starve, and other outrages committed.[45] He became very indignant, and determined to escape, whatever the consequences. His purpose was finally effected, though not until hundreds of his fellow-prisoners had got away. Most of the escapes were between Orizaba and Vera Cruz. Ortega, La Llave, Patoni, Pinzon, García, and Prieto liberated themselves at Orizaba; and Berriozábal, Antillon, Porfirio Diaz,[46] Ghilardi, Negrete, Caamaño, and others at different places.[47] So that by the time of embarkation at Vera Cruz the number of prisoners was greatly reduced.[48]

[43] See his *Parte Gen.*, 215.

[44] It is alleged that this course was adopted because, most of the officers being old guerrillamen, it was dangerous to let them remain; 'exaltés et dangereux, étaient fort gênants.' *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 282.

[45] Among them the execution of a private, whose body was thrown on the road by which Ortega and his companions were to pass a few minutes later. The above-stated facts were communicated by Ortega from Zacatecas, Sept. 16, 1863. *Parte Gen.*, 216–23.

[46] Diaz got away the day before the prisoners were despatched to Vera Cruz, and together with Berriozábal went to Mexico and tendered their services to the government. *Diaz, Datos Biog.*, MS., 193.

[47] The comforts and facilities afforded the prisoners by their countrymen at Orizaba angered their captors. Fifteen young women were for that reason imprisoned, of whom Guadalupe Talavera was long kept in durance. *Iglesias, Interv.*, ii. 52–3.

[48] The number actually sent was 13 generals, 110 field-officers, 407 subal-

The news of the capture of Puebla was received in France with great rejoicing.[49] Very different was the effect in Mexico of the fall of this city and the dissolution of the army of the east, which the government announced in feeling terms to the country. The survivors of the campaign were awarded privileges and honors.[50] The French commander-in-chief appointed Colonel Brincourt chief commandant of Puebla, and directed him to reorganize the local administration, Saligny and Almonte designating the persons to whom the administrative offices were to be intrusted. Pursuant to the suggestions of the former, and of Budin, chief of finances, he adopted a number of important political measures.[51]

terns. *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 282–3. On the 15th of Oct., 1863, and 15th of Apr., 1864, the prisoners were offered a return to Mexico if they would submit to the government set up in Mexico by the French intervention. Some accepted the offer and were sent back. The rest, 126, of whom Gen. Epitacio Huerta was the highest in rank, were retained till after Maximilian's acceptance of the Mexican crown, when they were released; but no provision was made for their support or transportation. They suffered greatly, but managed to find their way back to Mexico. *Lefévre, Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 323, 338–41; *Huerta, Apuntes*, 1–92.

[49] *Niox, Exped. du Mex.*, 283–4.

[50] The families of the prisoners were afforded relief, or at least it was decreed to them. *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, i. 32–3, 37; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, ix. 614–20, 628–31; *Diario Debates*, 3d Cong., ii. 34; *Ortega, Parte Gen.*, 249–52. *Jesus Gonzalez Ortega, Parte General que da al Supremo Gobierno de la Nacion, respecto de la defensa de la plaza de Zaragoza*, Méx., 1871, 8vo, 252 pp. This is a full and detailed report made from Zacatecas on the 16th of September, 1863, to the minister of war of Mexico, by the general-in-chief of the late eastern army and comandante general of the state of Puebla, of the operations of the siege and defence of the city of Puebla-Zaragoza, beleaguered by the French army under General Forey, from the 3d of Feb. to the surrender of the place on the 19th of May, and subsequent acts connected with the disposal of the Mexican prisoners by the French commander-in-chief. It is a clear exposition of these events, stated apparently with a view to furnish the facts without reservation or exaggeration.

[51] A journal was established in French and Spanish, entitled *Moniteur Franco-Mexicain, Bulletin des actes officiels de l'Intervention.* The land custom-houses were restored. A decree of May 21st, to sequester the property of all persons bearing arms against the intervention, did not meet the views of the conservatives, and caused in its application many embarrassments, and was later disapproved by the French government, and consequently annulled. Another of May 22d prescribed the revision of sales of mortmain estates, that is to say, of the ayuntamiento and several benevolent establishments, sales ordered by Juarez' government, of which a large number were said to be tainted with fraud. May 27th, the exportation of coin, and of gold and silver in any form, was forbidden. On the day of the feast of corpus christi, Forey, for effect, caused his troops to march in the procession. The organization of courts was decreed and their emoluments were fixed. *Mex., Boletin*

Upon the receipt in Mexico of the disastrous news from Puebla, President Juarez placed the federal district under stringent martial law, accepting Comonfort's resignation of his command. He demanded forces from the states; and believing the defence of the capital possible, stated in a proclamation his resolve to carry on the war to the last extremity, refusing to listen to any peace overtures from the French. But the defence of the capital was impossible, 14,000 men, which was all the force the government had, not being enough for the purpose. Congress understood it at once, and authorized the president to do everything possible to defend the country. His almost unlimited powers were to hold good till thirty days after the reassembling of the chamber. The only restrictions placed upon him were in regard to arrangements with the enemy.[52] It also ordered that the chief federal authorities should transfer themselves to San Luis Potosí. On the 31st of May congress closed its session. Pursuant to the decree, Juarez, accompanied by the greater part of the public officials, left the capital for San Luis Potosí,[53] where on arrival

Ley. Imp., 11–36; *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 286–7; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xvi. 474–5.

[52] He was strictly forbidden to enter into treaties or diplomatic conventions admitting foreign interference in the country's affairs. *Rivera, Gob. de Mex.*, ii. 636; *Id., Hist. Jalapa*, v. 576.

[53] The departure, though rather precipitate, owing to a despatch from Gen. Diaz based on reports of his scouts that the French were on the march, was effected in good order, taking away artillery, money, archives, etc. *Iglesias, Interv.*, ii. 5; *Marquez de Leon, Mem. Pół.*, MS., 231; *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, i. 9–13; *La Voz de Méj.*, July 16, 1863. Forey knew it the next day, but did not send a force in pursuit. *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 115.

José M. Iglesias, Revistas Históricas sobre la Intervencion Francesa en México. Mexico, 1867, 1868, 1869. 12mo, 3 vol., pp. 540, 463, and 690. Iglesias, a minister under Juarez in 1866, etc., and later aspirant to the presidency, began in April 1862, at the instance of the Juarez minister of relations and government, to write a series of articles for newspapers on the progress of the French intervention, and the consequent civil war between the republicans under Juarez and the Franco-Maximilian party. These articles at first were issued nearly every month, later at longer intervals, and ceased in Oct. 1866. At the request of the editor of the *Diario Oficial* they were published afterward in 1867–9 as a feuilleton—since the circumstances of their previous appearance had made them but little known—and then put into book form. In the preface Iglesias promised to fill the gap from the middle of 1866 to the triumph of the republicans, when leisure permitted. Written at the various headquarters of Juarez in his retreat northward before the French,

he issued a proclamation on the 10th of June, setting forth the reasons for abandoning the capital. He sent circulars to all the governors, investing them with ample powers,[54] and forthwith organized his government.[55] He drew resources from Matamoros, where, in consequence of the civil war in the United States, an active trade was carried on.

The most active measures were at once adopted for an energetic struggle in defence of the sovereignty of the country and its republican institutions. Both the general and state officers used their best endeavors to organize military forces; and by the latter part of June there were concentrated in Querétaro about 12,000 men of all arms. We are assured, however, that even at this critical period intrigues were going on around Juarez, who was led by Plácido Vega, it is said, to believe that Ogazon and Doblado had placed a numerous army under General Marquez de Leon to overthrow his government. The result was that Ogazon threw up his office of governor of Jalisco. Doblado received orders to surrender his

Iglesias, as a member of the official circle, was of course perfectly acquainted with the republican plans and movements, and could have given the best possible history thereof; but the articles being for publication, he evidently dared not reveal these facts, and confined himself to those relating to already known campaigns, and to one-sided statements tending to awe the enemy and to encourage republicans. The chief contents of the articles are reviews of foreign relations, French, English, Spanish, and American debates, and popular views of the Mexican question; ironic and bitter denunciations and comments on the imperialist administration; and short and hasty reviews of military movements for the month, etc. All the articles are compiled with little regard for exactness or completeness; many are jumbled and full of empty talk —repeated in the various letters—on foreign affairs and policy. The material on the French, imperial, and foreign affairs, being obtained from the newspapers of the time, has its value, but is impaired by hasty concoction and one-sidedness; the other smaller portion on republican movements is guarded, garbled for prudential reasons, and superficial.

[54] He gave them authority to act in urgent cases when unable to receive timely instructions from the government. *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, ix. 623–7; *Méx., Mem. Hacienda*, 1870, 586; *La Voz de Méj.*, July 11, 1863; *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 277–9.

[55] His cabinet ministers then were: Juan Antonio de la Fuente, of relations; Jesus Teran, of justice; José Higinio Nuñez, of the treasury; Felipe B. Berriozábal, of war, who was, Aug. 18th, succeeded by Comonfort. Fuente being sent on a foreign mission, Manuel Doblado took his place from Sept. 3d to 10th, when he was succeeded by Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada. Teran resigned Sept. 1st. The cabinet on the 10th was formed with Lerdo, José María Iglesias, Nuñez, and Comonfort.

command to Antillon, and Marquez had to turn over his to J. M. Arteaga.[56]

In a circular of the minister of war to the governors, after speaking of the evidences of hatred to the invaders displayed on the journey, and of the necessity of forgetting party dissensions to think only of saving the country, they were reminded that authorities set up by the foreign bayonets were spurious and did not constitute a government, the government both de facto and de jure being in existence; and therefore, the republic could not and would not be bound by any treaties, compacts, or pledges, or by any acts of commission or omission of those functionaries, so-called.[57] The governors replied with assurances of their unswerving fidelity to the republican government.[58] Several of the states, San Luis Potosí at their head, having contemplated a coalition for their common defence, to which Zacatecas refused her assent, the president disapproved the scheme as unconstitutional.[59]

The reactionists at the capital lost no time in their preparations for coming events, their action being

[56] Doblado advised Marquez to obey without a murmur, using these words: 'Deje V. que se pierda la situacion bajo la responsibilidad de estas gentes; nosotros la levantaremos mas tarde.' *Marquez de Leon, Mem. Póst.*, MS., 231–2 The republican cause had now to mourn the death of one of its most trusty adherents, Gen. La Llave, which occurred on the 23d of June. Funeral honors were paid his remains on the 27th. *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, i. 36; *La Voz de Méj.*, Aug. 8, 29, 1863.

[57] The circular, which is dated June 13, 1863, further says that all Mexicans exercising functions derived from the French source are offenders against the laws of the country and liable to severe punishment. *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, ix. 627–8; *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, i. 13–15. On the 29th of September of the same year Mexicans were forbidden to hold office under a foreign government. *Id.*, 146–8.

[58] It was evident that with the exception of 'un miserable puñado de traidores' the whole country rejected the French intervention. *Iglesias, Interv.*, ii. 9.

[59] Under article 111. Minister La Fuente's circular was dated June 27th. *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, i. 38–40. A few days previously, on the 22d, the president had to decree the state of Durango under martial law, because of a military emeute headed by Col Tomás Borrego. Gen. José M. Patoni, the constitutional governor, was reinstated. *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, ix. 630, 632–3.

directed by General Bruno Aguilar. On the first of June, at a public meeting, they adopted a preamble and resolutions to accept the aid of and submit to the foreign intervention.[60] José Mariano Salas, the ex-president, assumed ad interim the military command of the city. Bazaine's division of the invading army entered it on the 7th of June, occupying the main entrances, and tendering protection to the reactionary party against the enraged populace. The reception of the French in Mexico has been represented by Forey and others as so full of enthusiasm that it almost verged on delirium.[61] It is more than likely that the interventionists had prepared beforehand some exhibition of the kind.[62]

A committee of reactionists, presided over by Juan N. Pereda, laid the aforesaid preamble and resolutions before Forey, who rode into the city of Mexico on the 10th of June, with Almonte on his right and Saligny on his left, and immediately after made Lieutenant-colonel De Potier commandant of the district. A local government was organized;[63] a press law was enacted, claimed to be liberal, but in reality very restrictive, inasmuch as no discussion was permitted upon the laws and institutions, and much less upon religious topics. Sales of property by liberals after

[60] The resolutions were: 1st, cheerfully accepting the generous aid of the French emperor, they placed themselves under Forey's protection; 2d, Forey was asked to call a meeting, the most numerous possible, to represent all classes, and the interests of parties willing to recognize the intervention, the most prominent for science, morality, and patriotism, consulting Almonte in the choice; 3d, the board, then given the name of Junta Calificadora, was to assemble on the third day from its convocation, and within eight days to decide on the form of government the nation was to be permanently placed under; and to choose a provisional government to hold power till the permanent régime should become installed. *Acta de los Traidores*, in *La Estrella de Occid.*, July 24, 1863; *Rivera, Gob. de Méx.*, 637; *Domenech, Hist. du Mex.*, iii. 120–7.

[61] Hidalgo, the monarchist, says that the troops were almost covered with flowers. *Apuntes*, 170–3.

[62] It has been asserted that the flowers thrown at the feet of the soldiers were paid for with French money. *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 280–1; *Méx., Boletin Leyes*, 1863, 45.

[63] See decrees of June 13th and 14th, appointing an ayuntamiento, and Azcárate as prefect. *Méx., Boletin Ley.*, 1863, 37–9.

a certain date were annulled, the object of which was a sort of moral suasion through the pocket of the individual.[64]

Forey issued a long proclamation on the 12th, declaring the military occupation an accomplished fact. The 10th of June, he said, must have caused all delusions to disappear, convincing the late government of its impotence to retain the power it had made such a wretched use of.[65] About the political question he gave the Mexicans much advice, freely using the words 'fraternity, concord, and true patriotism'; they were to be no longer liberals or reactionists, but become Mexicans; meaning, it is presumed, that they should be of one mind, and cheerfully accept the intervention, which would make them all very pious conservatives. He promised much that he knew he could not accomplish, nevertheless he found many to believe him. The country had been disturbed so many years, and ruin had overtaken so many, that there were not wanting some who were really disposed to accept anything. There were, however, certain words in the address which produced disagreeable impressions on the ultra conservatives and clericals,[66] who saw in them the true inwardness of Napoleon's instructions to Forey on the religious question; he was to show much deference for religion, and at the same time give assurance to the possessors of national estates. Thus the people of Mexico were soon made aware that the policy of the French government was wholly at variance with the national thought and

[64] Budin, the financial man, thus explained it: 'Para volver á traer á mejores sentimientos hácia su propia patria' those who were serving in the republican ranks. *Méx., Boletin Ley.*, 1863, 36–47; *Periód. Ofic. Imp. Mex.*, Aug. 4, 1863.

[65] *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 289–90; *Méx., Boletin Ley.*, 1863, ap. 489–93.

[66] Bona fide purchasers of nationalized estates would be protected in their possession, but fraudulent sales would be subject to revision. The catholic religion would be protected, and the bishops recalled to their dioceses. 'Je crois que l'Empereur verrait avec plaisir qu'il fût possible au government de proclamer la liberté des cultes, ce grand principe des sociétés modernes.' *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 290–2.

traditions. He remarked further, that the courts would be organized so that they should in future administer justice uprightly, and not sell it to the highest bidder.[67]

[67] In this connection, says Arrangoiz, *Méj.*, iii. 119–20, Forey knew not what he said, as on other occasions he had blundered in his sayings and doings, and thereby had done serious damage to the conservative party. Arrangoiz denies that justice was sold in Mexico, unless in as rare instances as in any other country.

CHAPTER IV.

MONARCHISM.

1863.

GOVERNMENT MEASURES—JUNTA SUPERIOR DE GOBIERNO—PROVISIONAL EXECUTIVE—FOREY'S ACTS LEGALIZED—ORDER OF GUADALUPE—ASAMBLEA DE NOTABLES—ITS INAUGURATION AND SUBSERVIENCY—CREATION OF A THRONE—IT IS OFFERED TO FERDINAND MAXIMILIAN OF HAPSBURG—REGENCY OF THE MEXICAN EMPIRE—MONARCHIAL SCHEMES IN MEXICO—THEY ARE CONTINUED IN EUROPE—FRENCH PREVARICATIONS—SPANISH AIMS—SELECTION OF MAXIMILIAN—HOW EFFECTED—HIS PAST RECORD—ACTION OF THE AUSTRIAN EMPEROR—POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE work of establishing a government under French supervision was initiated with Forey's decree of June 16, 1863, authorizing the nomination by the emperor's minister, Saligny, of thirty-five Mexican citizens to form a Junta Superior de Gobierno, that is to say, a governmental board,[1] to elect by absolute majority three citizens, who were to form the chief executive authority.[2] The junta was likewise clothed with power to choose 215 Mexican citizens, without distinction of rank or class, aged twenty-five years and upwards, and in full possession of all their civil rights, who, associated with the junta superior, were to constitute an Asamblea de Notables. The duty of this

[1] The junta was to meet two days after the publication of the decree of its appointment, presided over by the senior in age, and the two junior members were to act as secretaries. *Méx., Boletin Ley.*, 1863, 48–54; *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 292–3.

[2] Two suplentes, or substitutes, were also to be chosen. Among other duties of the junta were to constitute itself into several sections for deliberating on affairs of the various departments of government, such as relations, treasury, war, etc.; when called upon by the executive, to sit as a general assembly to treat of matters of high import.

assembly was to decide upon a definitive form of government, by the votes of at least two thirds of the members. If, after three days' balloting, the requisite majority had not been obtained, then the junta superior was to dissolve the assembly, and call other 215 citizens, with the privilege of reëlecting some of the members of the preceding one. After determining the form of government, the asamblea was to give its attention to such affairs as might be brought before it by the executive. The first session of this body was to last five days, the executive having the privilege of extending it. Its work was to be done in secret session, but its resolutions or acts authenticated by the president and secretaries might be given to the press.[3] The members of the executive were required to distribute among themselves the six government portfolios, appointing and removing their subordinates. They were jointly the executive, and as such might promulgate or veto, as they deemed proper, the resolutions of the asamblea de notables; and their functions were to cease immediately upon the installation of the definitive government proclaimed by said assembly.

Pursuant to that organic statute, Forey, on the 18th of June, confirmed the nominations made by Saligny to constitute the junta superior de gobierno.[4] This body became installed on the 18th, and on the 21st elected the three persons who were to constitute the executive authority, namely, Juan Nepomuceno Al-

[3] Neither the members of the junta superior, nor those of the asamblea, were to receive any pay.

[4] Among its members were some who had prominently figured in the country's past history, such as José Ignacio Pavon, Manuel Diez de Bonilla, Teodosio Lares, Francisco Javier Miranda, generals Mora y Villamil and Adrian Woll, Fernando Mangino, Juan Hierro Maldonado, General Santiago Blanco, and others. *Méx., Boletin Ley.*, 1863, 55-6; *Periód. Ofic. Imp. Mex.*, July 21, 1863; *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 283–4; *Zarco, La Junta de los 35*, in *La Estrella de Occid.*, Sept. 11, 1863. This last authority positively asserts that upwards of six out of the 35 were beggars, 'vivian de pedir limosna,' which guaranteed their christian humility, and stamped the new order of things with an almost democratic origin; there were also among them a number of decrepit men and imbeciles.

monte, Mariano Salas,[5] and Pelagio Antonio de Labastida y Dávalos, archbishop of Mexico. For substitutes were chosen Juan Bautista de Ormaechea y Ernaiz, bishop of Tulancingo, and José Ignacio Pavon. The executive elect qualified on the same date, Bishop Ormaechea filling pro tempore the chair of Archbishop Labastida, who was absent in Europe.[6] The triumviri, on assuming their functions the 24th of June, issued an eminently conservative-clerical manifesto, which for the time brought peace upon the pious souls that had been so greatly disturbed by Forey's proclamation of the 12th.[7]

Juan Nepomuceno Almonte, thus made a member and actually chief of the triumvirate, was reputed to be a son of the illustrious priest Morelos. The name Almonte came to him in this wise: His father, whenever a battle was impending, would order the boy carried *al monte*, that is, to the woods, and thus he was reared on the battle-field during the wars of independence,[8] for which reason his military record was

[5] A biographical sketch of his early life was given in this work at the time he became president of the republic.

[6] There is no evidence that Pavon had any part in the acts of administration. The following persons were appointed under-secretaries: José Miguel Arroyo, for foreign affairs; José Ignacio Anievas, Felipe Raygosa, José Salazar Ilarregui, Juan de Dios Peza, and Martin de Castillo y Cos, respectively for government, justice and ecclesiastical affairs, fomento, war, and treasury. *Domenech, Hist. du Mex.*, iii. 123–4; *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 122; *Iglesias, Intervencion*, ii. 15–27.

[7] Forey had, on the 23d, announced the appointment of the provisional chiefs, thanking the people for what he called their active and intelligent cooperation. The triumvirate's address reviews the past, and promises that the Franco-Mexican army would pursue the constitutional government till it surrendered or was driven from the country. As to the religious question, the Roman worship was now restored and free; the church would exercise its authority without having an enemy in the government; and 'el Estado concertará con ella la manera de resolver las graves cuestiones pendientes,' or in other words, pending questions would be referred for settlement to the papal court. The atheism and immoral anti-social propagandism, which they unblushingly declared to have been under a cloak established in the schools and colleges, would cease. 'La instruccion católica, sólida, y mas estensa posible,' would engage their especial attention. Difficulties with foreign powers would be arranged, and with the protection of France and the other nations Mexico would be respected abroad. *Méx., Boletin Ley.*, 1863, 59–60, ap. 493–8; *Periód. Ofic. Imp. Mex.*, July 21, 1863; *La Voz de Méj.*, Aug. 27, 1863; *Flint's Mex. under Max.*, 42–8.

[8] To amuse him, Morelos organized a company of boys of his own age,

made to date from 1815. He was educated in the United States, and the principles, both social and political that he acquired there, influenced a considerable portion of his public career. A resolute enemy of the Spaniards, he, with many other prominent Mexicans, saw in them the constant disturbers of Mexico's peace, and heartily joined Guerrero's supporters. In 1830, when serving in the national congress, he became an object of government persecution, and had to conceal himself. About that time he was chief editor of *El Atleta*, and, with others, accused President Bustamante's administration of permitting foreign intervention in Mexican affairs. The paper succumbed under the heavy fines imposed by the government, till the press and type were sold by auction.[9] In 1839 his political ideas had become much modified, as a member in the cabinet of a conservative administration; but he still had faith in the ability of the country to recuperate itself. It was then that he proposed that all persons encouraging foreign power in Mexico, or the dismemberment of her territory, should be declared guilty of treason, and the measure became a law. Almonte was in 1840 and later one of the most pronounced enemies of monarchial schemes for his country. In 1841 he was accredited as minister plenipotentiary to Washington, and held the position till 1845, during which period he exerted himself to ward off a war between the two countries. The annexation of Texas being authorized by the American congress, he went back to Mexico, where he continued to fill important positions, invariably opposing measures against the clergy. It is said that in 1846 he persuaded President Paredes to seek European aid

which was known as the 'compañía de los emulantes,' of which Almonte was made captain. The boys used to appear at the intrenchments. One day they triumphantly brought in a dragoon as prisoner, though the latter said that he was on his way to surrender to Morelos. *Alaman, Hist. Méj.*, ii. 528.

[9] He accompanied Santa Anna to Texas in 1836, and was taken prisoner at San Jacinto on the 21st of April. Conveyed with his chief to the U. S., they returned together the next Feb. on the man-of-war *Pioneer*. He continued in the military service and rose to the rank of general of division.

against the United States. He was then appointed minister to France, but did not go there,[10] and it has been charged against him that he never accounted for $20,000 that had been advanced to him.[11]

During the war with the United States Almonte served part of the time as secretary of war, and performed other important work in defence of the country, but does not seem to have done anything on the battle-field. His name figured at one time as a candidate for the presidency. He had some disagreement with Santa Anna, and resigned. His candidature for the executive office was again brought forward in 1849, to be defeated. Presidential aspirations became a passion with him; disappointment soured him, and every opponent was looked on as an enemy.[12] During Santa Anna's last dictatorship Almonte took no part in political affairs. After its overthrow, President Comonfort sent him in 1856 as minister plenipotentiary to London, where, neglecting his proper duties, he devoted himself to the promotion of foreign intervention and monarchial schemes. His course was such that upon Comonfort's downfall he was accredited by the succeeding conservative administrations as minister in Paris, and later also in Madrid. His participation in the European schemes has been partly alluded to elsewhere, and the rest will appear in the course of this history. Almonte was the first to write a treatise on the geography of Mexico.

Archbishop Labastida was born in the city of Zamora and state of Michoacan on the 21st of March,

[10] Arrived at Habana, he found Santa Anna was on the point of returning to Mexico, and came back with him.

[11] The fact appeared in a manuscript record of 197 pages found in Maximilian's private office. The notes to the manuscript are in French, many of them in the handwriting of Félix Eloin. The document was later lodged in the foreign office of Mexico. *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 318; *Traidores pintados por sí mismos*, in *Libro Secreto de Maximil.*, 1–2.

[12] It has been said against Almonte that he denied recognition to his mother, and never offered her any assistance though she lived by alms. *Cabezút, Los Tres Malditos*, in *La Estrella de Occid.*, Dec. 25, 1863.

1816.[13] Having been nominated by President Santa Anna as the successor of Bishop Becerra at Puebla,[14] his preconization took place the 23d of March, 1855; and on the receipt of his bulls, he took the constitutional oath before the president, and was consecrated in the cathedral church of Puebla, by his friend Bishop Munguía, on the 8th of July. The new diocesan prelate devoted himself vigorously to the duties of his office, applying his exertions especially to the acquisition of sisters of the sacred heart. Two months later he started upon a pastoral visit of the diocese, which was presently interrupted by the annulment by political events of ecclesiastical privileges. It is unnecessary to repeat here the particulars of his expatriation, which have been set forth in narrating the occurrences of that period. Suffice it to say that it is believed the motives prompting his action were pure, and in keeping with the good qualities of his heart and mind. He did, or allowed to be done,

[13] His parents, Manuel Luciano de Labastida and Luisa Dávalos y Ochoa, were of pure white blood, in good social standing, and possessed a moderate fortune, which was inherited by their son. In 1831, after a course of preparatory instruction, young Labastida entered the ecclesiastical seminary of Morelia, where by his superior talents, application, and amiable character he soon won himself a distinguished place. At the consecration of Bishop Portugal he was afforded the opportunity for a display of his attainments in philosophy, mathematics, and belles-lettres, being rewarded therefor with a scholarship, to which was added permission to study law, though it had been founded exclusively for that of theology. On the 18th of July, 1838, he received the order of subdeacon, and the next year was admitted to the bar. About this time he was appointed professor of grammar, belles-lettres, and philosophy, a position that had been declined by Clemente de Jesús Munguía, who later became bishop, and first archbishop of Michoacan. These two personages bore for each other a life-long friendship, and in their career, both literary and ecclesiastical, advanced side by side. They not only held professorships in their alma mater, but also important ecclesiastical offices in their diocese. They became prebendaries, and five years after canons. Finally they were proposed together for the mitre of Michoacan at the death of Bishop Portugal. Munguía became the bishop, and had Labastida with him as his provisor, vicar of nuns, and in his absences left him as guardian of the diocese. The latter was also proposed for the new mitre of San Luis Potosí, which was not conferred on him, as it seems, he was reserved for higher places. *Sosa, Episc. Mex.*, 229–32; *Alm. Calend. Galvan.*, 1864, 47–50.

[14] For what it may be worth, reference is made to a report circulated at this time, that he paid the pope's legate 400 doubloons, or $6,400, for his mitre. *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, 318. This statement, together with other things not creditable to the archbishop, was secretly communicated to Maximilian. *Maury, Biog. de Monseñor Labastida*, 53–62.

what he considered proper in defence of the interests of religion and the church, though always endeavoring to avoid conflicts with the civil authority. During his ten months residence in Puebla, and notably during the siege of 1856, he gave proof of pastoral purity, charity, and zeal, as well as of fortitude and abnegation.[15] The bishop sojourned in Cuba till he obtained leave of the pope to reside in Rome. In this forced absence from his native country he visited the chief cities of Europe, Palestine, Egypt, and India. Miramon's government accredited him as minister plenipotentiary near the papal court. On the 11th of October, 1863, he arrived at the city of Mexico as archbishop.[16] Labastida's acts as a member of the government created under the auspices of French bayonets will appear in describing current events. It will be well to say, however, that though some of his acts laid him open to severe criticism on the part of a large portion of his countrymen, not even his political opponents failed to hold him in respect, both as a man and prelate, and certainly no one ever accused him of being an enemy to his country. After his separation from political complications he was engaged exclusively in his prelatic duties. In 1867 he attended the ecumenical council at Rome, and was on the committee of ecclesiastical discipline. In May 1871 he was back in his diocese attending to its affairs, ever deserving to be classed among the most distinguished of Mexico's ecclesiastics.

Juan B. D'Ormaechea had been a member of the junta of reactionary notables, and for his services in the cause of reaction had been rewarded with the newly created mitre of Tulancingo. He was more diplomatic than his metropolitan, whom he represented in the triumvirate.

[15] Such is the character generally given of him. *Sosa, Episc. Mex.*, 231.

[16] He had been so proclaimed March 19, 1863, and together with his friend Munguía, received the pallium on the next day at the hands of Cardinal Antonelli. The ephemerides of his private and public life may be seen in *La Voz de Méj.*, July 8, 9, 10, 1881.

The executive gave the force of law to all of Forey's decrees to the 25th of June, including one to outlaw malefactors and bring them to trial by a French court-martial.[17] This act displeased a large number of citizens, who could not see the propriety of Mexicans being tried by French officers. The fact is, that the triumviri forming the executive were controlled by their French superiors.[18] The order of Guadalupe was restored by decree of June 30th, on the plea of respect for Pope Pius IX., who had sanctioned it, and for the foreign sovereigns and distinguished personages on whom it had been conferred.[19]

The junta superior appointed[20] the so-called notables who were to constitute the assembly, and, conjointly with the above-named body, were to meet on the 8th of July, to determine the future form of government. It is hardly necessary to say that the so-called notables were, with a few exceptions, who also called themselves monarchists, the mere tools of the reactionary plotters.[21] Teodosio Lares was chosen president, and Alejandro Arango y Escandon and José

[17] Decrees of June 20th and July 1st. *Mex., Boletin Ley.*, 1863, 57–8, 95–6. *General Forey, Coleccion Completa de los Decretos Generales Expedidos por* ...Mexico, 1863, 8vo, pp. 40, contains a collection of decrees issued by General Forey, the principal of which order a reduction of import duties, the confiscation of the property of persons taking up arms against the French intervention, the appointment of a commission to regulate the matter of municipal property sold at inadequate prices, as also the privileges of the press. Others relate to the organization of the government and the establishment of courts-martial for the suppression of banditti.

[18] Forey was at the head in military matters, Saligny in political affairs, and Budin in financial matters.

[19] Instituted by Iturbide in 1822; abolished after his dethronement; revived by Dictator Santa Anna in 1853, and again definitively suppressed by his successor in 1855. It is here revived a second time, and its grand cross conferred, perhaps pensioned with $2,000 a year, on Forey and Saligny by their creatures. *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, 320–1; *Méx., Derecho Intern.*, 3d pt, 695–706; *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 123; *Méx., Boletin Ley.*, 1863, 91.

[20] June 29th, *Méx., Boletin Ley.*, 1863, 66–8.

[21] It has been asserted that the clothing with which some of the members presented themselves was bought with French money. *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 327. This has been denied, and pronounced 'la calumnia de un republicano francés.' *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 124. Henry M. Flint, who in his work, *Mexico under Maximilian*, approves the acts of the French and the whole affair of placing Mexico under a monarchy, assures us, on page 55, that the assembly of notables comprised the men who had in 1848 and 1849, and again in 1860, 'implored the United States to save Mexico and give her a good government,' which is quite possible.

María Andrade became the secretaries. The committee named to report on the form of government to be adopted consisted of Ignacio Aguilar, Joaquin Velazquez de Leon, Santiago Blanco, Teófilo Marin, and Cayetano Orozco.[22] After the assembly had been thus constituted, the triumviri, who had arrived at the palace midst the ringing of bells and the thunder of artillery, were introduced into the assembly-chamber by Bishop Ramirez, Doctor Sollano, generals Marquez and Mejía, and two licentiates. Almonte and his colleagues and Lares, the president, took seats under the canopy. Forey and Saligny sat opposite the table. The under-secretaries of state were mixed in with the members of the assembly. Generals Bazaine, Douay, Castagny, Andrade, and Herran, with their aids, occupied tribunes reserved for representatives of the army.[23]

Almonte, speaking for the executive, frankly set forth the gravity of the situation, and of the action the assembly was to take in deciding upon the future of Mexico. He laid stress on the calamities of the last forty years, abstaining, however, from suggesting any particular form of government. Not so Lares, who, assuming to know the proclivities of the body he presided over, in his answer to the executive set down conclusions significant of a preconcerted declaration in favor of monarchism. It was now clear that it had all been arranged beforehand. The holy ghost had been invoked, with prayers and masses, for its aid in a not particularly holy business. For several days before the farce was played every one of these notables knew that his part in it was to proclaim a monarchy, with Maximilian of Austria as the puppet ruler. Barrès, editor of *L'Estafette*, was instigated to say that if a foreign prince was not called to the throne, the French troops would go away, and leave

[22] The three first named were ministers during Santa Anna's dictatorship. Marin held the same position under Miramon, and all were rank reactionists.

[23] The tribunes were filled with spectators, among whom were many women.

the interventionists to their own resources.[24] After listening to Almonte's and Lares' remarks, and looking into Forey's and Saligny's faces, the assembly went into secret session. The committee on the 10th made their report, which, it is said, was read amid great applause.[25] Its author was Ignacio Aguilar, the person who planned the plebiscit for Santa Anna, and gave him the title of 'alteza serenísima.' His picture of the evils Mexico had undergone from the year of independence till 1857 was, to say the least, highly colored.[26] It did not in all its points meet with the approbation of those calling themselves the oldest and firmest monarchists; but in consideration of the idea proclaimed, and of certain paragraphs they deemed truthful, it was accepted as a whole. The document terminated with the following propositions: 1st, the Mexican nation adopts for its form of government a moderate, hereditary monarchy, with a Roman catholic prince; 2d, the sovereign will assume the title of 'emperor of Mexico'; 3d, the imperial crown of Mexico is tendered to his imperial and royal highness Prince Ferdinand Maximilian, archduke of Austria, for himself and his descendants; 4th, in the event that, owing to circumstances impossible to foresee, Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian should not take possession of the throne tendered him, the Mexican nation appeals to the benevolence of his majesty Napoleon III., emperor of the French, to nominate another catholic prince.[27]

We are told by the friends of the scheme that the

[24] *Iglesias, Interv.*, ii. 45–6. The proceedings of this memorable day were fully described in *L'Estafette*, Saligny's organ.

[25] Hidalgo, *Apuntes*, 174, assures us that it stirred a deep enthusiasm, and was afterward read with much interest and appreciation in Europe.

[26] Arrangoiz, *Méj.*, iii. 125, declares it exaggerated. Of course the constitution of 1857 and the reform laws were the reactionists' eye-sore, and made their patriotic hearts bleed. They alleged that Mexico had been during forty years ruled by robbers, vagabonds, and incendiaries, forgetting that their own party had ruled the greater part of that time, and that some men, now members of the asamblea de notables, had committed the worst outrages recorded in Mexican annals.

[27] Chynoweth, *Fall of Max.*, 43–4, gives a translation of the propositions as they were passed.

propositions were received with the warmest satisfaction, by an immense concourse of people of all classes thronging the galleries of the chamber, the spacious corridors and courts of the government palace, and the great plaza of the cathedral. There is no doubt of it. The theatrical exhibitions prepared to grace such occasions have been applauded often enough in Mexico and other places. The populace is fickle; money properly distributed will work wonders. French rulers and Mexican reactionists well knew how to manipulate such evolutions.[28] The propositions having been approved,[29] they were on the 11th published by edict. The assembly gave a vote of thanks to several persons for their labors in favor of a monarchy.[30] On motion of Bishop Ramirez, José M. Andrade, and Secretary Arango, it was resolved that a copy of the proclamation of a monarchy should be forwarded to the pope, beseeching his blessing on the work now inaugurated, and on the prince chosen by the nation. On the 13th a committee of the assembly waited on the triumviri, and placed in their hands the record of their resolutions, among which was one adopted on the 11th, on the title to be borne by the executive, namely, that of Regencia del Imperio Mexicano.[31]

[28] The minister of relations of President Juarez called them 'demostraciones de júbilo arrancadas por obra de la policía.' *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, ix. 645. Strange though it may appear, notwithstanding the repeated occasions offered since the landing of the French expedition, neither the men who thus truckled to Forey and Saligny, nor even the most hardened conservatives, had, till the arrival of the expedition at the capital, made any public demonstration in favor of the monarchial form of government.

[29] The first by 229 ayes against 2 nays; the second and third unanimously; the fourth by 211 against 9. Arrangoiz has it that only 15 of the members failed to sit. Lefèvre makes it 19; the former asserting that some were prevented by sickness, and the greater number belonging to the moderate liberal party had kept away from fear of losing a comfortable position, rather than from political conviction. The truth is, that those persons declined the doubtful honor of belonging to such a body.

[30] Napoleon and Eugénie, Forey and the Franco-Mexican army; Saligny; Wagner, minister of Prussia; t'Kint de Rodenbeck, chargé from Belgium; Padre Miranda, Gutierrez de Estrada, Andrade, Hidalgo, and others. In their modesty, they actually omitted to thank themselves. It was also decreed that a bust of Napoleon III. should be placed in the hall of congress. *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 130; *Hidalgo, Apuntes*, 175–6; *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 294–5.

[31] To last till the sovereign's arrival. *Méx., Boletin Leyes*, 125–6.

After this pronunciamiento—to use a favorite Mexican word—arrangements were made to obtain adherence thereto by cities and towns not occupied by republican forces. The acts of acceptance were duly forwarded to the monarch elect in Europe. The asamblea de notables then addressed a communication to Forey, congratulating him on the series of victories which had brought him and his army to the capital, and assuring him Mexico would ever remember his name with respect and gratitude. The notables wished his name to be accompanied in history with the unanimous testimony of their warm acknowledgment.[32]

Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Hapsburg, or Fernando Maximiliano, as he was known in Mexico, second son of Archduke Franz Karl and Archduchess Sophie, and a brother of Franz Joseph, emperor of Austria, was born in Schoenbrunn on the 6th of July, 1832. After completing a classical education and mastering six languages, he devoted himself to the study of branches required for the naval profession which he had adopted, and with the view of acquiring a practical knowledge of its duties, he made several voyages. He also visited some of the most prominent countries in Europe and the Orient. In 1854 he was summoned to Vienna to assume the command in chief of the Austrian navy. In 1856 he travelled in northern Germany, France, and Holland, and was in Paris a fortnight as the honored guest of Napoleon III., who placed at his disposal the palace of Saint Cloud. It was then that the most friendly relations were established between Napoleon and Maximilian, destined to be subsequently interrupted by events in Mexico. The latter paid a visit in 1857

[32] The document concludes with the following words: 'Acepte, pues, V. E., este voto de gracias, que en medio de los mas vivos aplausos le dirige la asamblea, y con él el homenage de nuestro respeto.' The signatures of Teodosio Lares, president, Alejandro Arango y Escandon and José María Andrade, secretaries, are affixed thereto. *Tovar, Hist. Parl.*, i. 362.

to England, and a second one to Belgium, where he wedded the princess Marie Charlotte Amélie, afterward known in Mexico as Carlota, a daughter of King Leopold I. and his queen, Louise of Orleans.

On the arrival of the young couple at Milan, September 16, 1857, they were the objects of a popular ovation. They visited together Sicily, southern Spain, the Canaries, and Madeira, the bride sojourning at the last-named island till her husband's return from a voyage to Brazil. Maximilian afterward introduced many improvements in the Austrian naval service, directed the construction of a navy-yard at Pola, and the rebuilding of that town. By his orders the frigate *Novara* made a voyage round the world, and the sloop of war *Carolina* a scientific one to the coasts of South America.

At this time the emperor, his brother, desiring that he should take part in civil affairs, appointed him governor-general of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, retaining at the same time the command of the imperial navy.[33] His two years' tenure of office was at a stormy period, a violent commotion then raging among the Italians; but by his liberal and conciliatory spirit, Maximilian won their esteem, even though they were earnest in their resolve to throw off the Austrian yoke, and link their fate with a united Italy. It was said at the time that the Austrian government, then among the most despotic in Europe, relieved him of the office because of his liberalism. Whether true or not, the world gave Maximilian credit for his good administration.[34] After his release from the cares of state he fixed his residence in the

[33] He was a hard worker, often beginning the day at 5 o'clock in the morning.

[34] The British government testified to it in a despatch of Jan. 12, 1859, to Lord Loftus, ambassador at Vienna, saying that it acknowledged with unfeigned satisfaction the liberal and conciliatory spirit shown by the Lombardo-Venetian government while it was in charge of Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian. *Gutierrez de Estrada, Fern. Max., Notic. Biog.*, 21–7. See also *Maxim. y Carl., Adven.*, 11–17; *Rivera, Gob. de Méx.*, ii. 644–5; *Maximil., Docs*, 53–4.

picturesque palace of Miramare, furnishing it with magnificence and taste, and there devoting much of his time to scientific, artistic, and literary labors. Several works are witnesses of his industry; namely, *Sketches of Travel, Voyages to Brazil, Aphorisms, Marine Objects, Austrian Navy.* Two volumes of his poetical compositions were likewise published.

The question to be now elucidated is how the plan of a monarchy for Mexico came to be considered, together with the grounds for its authors' convictions that it could be carried out, firmly and permanently setting up a throne. When we consider the wars for national independence which culminated in Iturbide's defection from the royal cause, the throne raised for him, and from which he was hurled in a few months, the efforts made to restore him to that throne terminating with the catastrophe at Padilla, we should feel that Mexico's monarchy was a myth but for the fact of its ending with a bloody episode, which proved that the republic could not forgive even the liberator for having dared to wear a crown. The occurrences which filled the country with sorrow for all time to come, the subsequent persecution of the liberator's friends, and of the Spaniards, who were suspected of plotting to restore the Spanish king's domination over Mexico,[35] ought clearly to demonstrate what were the feelings of the masses, and of the thinking class, on the matter of the form of government. Afterward, amid the direst calamities of civil commotion, through a long period of years, there never was any indication that the Mexican people desired a monarchy.[36] There was nothing to make the generation living forty years after the expulsion of that system, when

[35] See *Hist. Mex.*, vol. iv., this series.

[36] There was no reason why they should. The Mexicans, the few that visited Spain only excepted, had never known their monarchs. They had merely seen the viceroys, who ruled according to their own judgment, respecting the manners and customs transmitted from remote times. The monarchy left on Mexican soil neither the interests of a secular nobility, nor even a moral interest.

it was forgotten, and republican life and language had become a part of Mexican nature—there was nothing, I say, to awaken in these latter-day Mexicans a desire for the restoration of an order of things which they never had known, and never had been taught to venerate.[37]

Turning to the earlier years of the republic, and noting the deadly animosity existing between the escocés, or centralist party, and the yorkino, or federalist, it will be remembered that the remnants of the former in their efforts to rally and face their opponents always showed timidity, because a hated name bore them down—that of monarchists, as the people insisted on calling them. At last, when a writer called them conservadores, they clutched at the new name that should enable them to make recruits, and they again became a political party; but it was a republican party, and as such was sometimes in power, and at others in the opposition, but under no circumstances pretending to advocate monarchism.[38]

In September 1840 José María Gutierrez de Estrada—the man so prominent in the events of 1861 and subsequent years connected with the monarchial scheme — returned to Mexico, after an absence of some years in Europe, when the expediency of a change in the constitution was publicly discussed. Declining a position in the cabinet and a seat in the senate, Gutierrez availed himself of the opportunity to bring forward the ideas he had become imbued with in his European travels—the establishment of a monarchy in Mexico. In a pamphlet, accompanied with a letter to President Bustamante, he endeavored to show[39] that Mexico would never enjoy peace and

[37] Prim wrote Napoleon III., March 17, 1862, that there were few men in Mexico imbued with monarchial sentiments; that a few rich men, possibly, would accept a foreign monarch, who might retain his throne as long as French bayonets supported him; but those men could do nothing for him after the supporting force had left; he must then fall. *Veritas*, *Nuevas Reflex. Cuest. Franco-Mex.*, 116–18; *Lefèvre*, *Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 292.

[38] The old leaven still worked, however, among a limited number of the party, who showed their hand in 1844, as will be made to appear.

[39] He ably displayed the best records of the monarchial system, and de-

welfare till she discarded the republican form of govment[40] and accepted the monarchial, with a foreign prince for the first occupant of the throne.

The publication of such a document—at a time of popular excitement, when the people wanted to do away with the central régime existing since 1835, and to restore the federal constitution of 1824—may well be imagined. The government did not prevaricate on that occasion. The author was treated as a political heretic; his letter and pamphlet were condemned as scandalous, offensive to the nation, and in the highest degree unconstitutional.[41] During his subsequent residence of many years in Europe he did not lose sight of his pet scheme. Its introduction in Mexican politics was again tried during Herrera's administration in 1844, the remnants of the monarchists coming together and resolving to strike a blow at their federalist foes.[42] A revolution broke out, headed by General Paredes, which is fully detailed in the proper place. If we are to believe Gutierrez, Paredes was the active instrument of the monarchists.[43] Whatsoever their number—and it could not be large—they certainly had no strength to effect the transformation,

picted the republican calamities of Mexico. *Gutierrez de Estrada, Carta dirij. ...Presid.*, 3–96. Gutierrez de Estrada really had come to believe that a monarchy was the only remedy for Mexico's ills; he can scarcely be called a traitor. *Diaz, Datos Bioj.*, MS., 67.

[40] He said it was unsuited to the manners, customs, and traditions of the Mexican people, for everything in the country was monarchic.

[41] The copies offered for sale were gathered in and submitted to the action of the criminal court, which had declared the production subversive and seditious. See order of the minister of the interior, Oct. 21, 1840, to governors, etc., in *Méx., Col. Ley. y Dec.*, 1839–40, 796–7. In a proclamation the president called Gutierrez a traitor and political transfuge, who had gone to Europe a republican and come back a monarchist. Several political leaders, among them Santa Anna and Almonte, published strong protests against the pamphlet. Indeed, its arguments were treated with scorn; and the author's countrymen heaped reprobation on his head, and he was obliged to quit the country as a public satisfaction. On the other hand, European monarchists highly commended his effort. But though his personal friends, relatives, and former political associates were often afterward in power, no administration dared to give him permission to return. He became an old man in exile.

[42] It was the most favorable opportunity they could have desired to carry out their views. *Gutierrez de Estrada, Méx. y Europa*, 33–4; *Rivera, Gob. de Méx.*, ii. 282–3.

[43] It will be remembered that Paredes' manifesto reminded the people of the benefits they had enjoyed during the Spanish domination.

notwithstanding Gutierrez' assertion that they comprised the first men in the country for their social standing, the greater portion of the clergy,[44] and all who had changed their opinions as a result of their past experience. It was quite evident that without European aid the so-called monarchist party was powerless.[45]

Coming now to the French intervention period, with Juarez' triumph over Miramon, the ascendency of liberal republican principles was for a time considered as permanently secured. But it was not yet to be so; for the reactionists, though in a hopeless minority, and without means to push their pretensions, would not, as we have seen, give up the contest. Hopes were held out to them from abroad. The plan to continue the civil war was adopted at Tlalpan, January 18, 1861, under the leadership of Leonardo Marquez. It was to be, they said, a fight for law and order. At the same time, a number of their affiliated, residing in Paris, went to work at the French court to obtain help, and later, through the influence of the exiled bishops, the pope favored their plans; but it appears that at first they only hoped for aid to restore their strength, without any thought of the European powers entertaining the idea of a monarchy in Mexico. The thought was, most probably, put into their heads by Napoleon III., who saw his opportunity in the disturbed political condition of the United States, and especially after the latter refused to take part in the intervention proposed. The reactionists in Mexico had no idea, at least expressed, of any form of government other than the republican, as was made evident in their organ.[46] Then again, we have the evidence

[44] And yet the ecclesiastical chapters refused funds for the support of Paredes' army, though the cathedral of Mexico had been asked only to loan $98,000 monthly during one year, that is to say, $2,400,000 from all the dioceses.

[45] Gutierrez Estrada in 1846 laid before the British and French governments a memorandum containing his views on the necessity of their affording such aid. Extracts from that document were given to the press by him in 1847, Francisco Javier Miranda being the responsible editor.

[46] They had set up what they called a supreme government at Zimapan, in the present state of Hidalgo, and had an organ, the *Boletin Oficial*, which in

of one of the most prominent leaders of the party, José María Cobos. In his manifesto published at Saint Thomas he clearly gives the views of his party, after the French had invaded the country, and they were republican.[47]

It has been asserted that the same persons who invited foreign intervention had hoped for aid from the United States government; and when it failed them, raised a large fund—not less than eight million dollars from Mexico alone—and proposed to a number of influential men in the United States to join them in establishing a stable government in Mexico. It has been further stated that a number of the most distinguished officers of the United States army were enlisted in the cause. A government, with probably an Iturbide at its head, but with the administration of affairs in the hands of United States citizens, was to be created.[48]

The Mexican monarchial scheme was not taken up at hap-hazard and at the eleventh hour by the French government. Billault, the minister, denied that it had originated with his government. In a speech of June 27, 1862, in the French chamber, he stated that numerous Mexicans[49] had declared themselves in favor

its first number said that the conservative party abhorred and rejected every scheme tending to diminish or imperil the national independence. In the second number it advocated centralism in the form proposed in 1855; and in the sixth the language was most explicit: 'piensa que conviene al país la forma de gobierno republicana, representiva, popular, central.' *Veritas, Nuevas Reflex. Cuest. Franco-Mex.*, 111–12.

[47] He proposed to Almonte, then placed in power under French influence, to shape his policy on a conservative basis, 'sin mezcla de monarquía extranjera, por la que nadie opinaba.' *Romero, Intrig. Europ.*, 46–7.

[48] These facts were divulged by Sylvester Mowry, who added that a document embodying the statistics and plan of the enterprise, prepared by a leading man of New York, assisted by Gen. McClellan, C. P. Stone, himself, and several of the first men for talents, influence, and wealth, was laid before Napoleon III., who perused it with pleasure and profit. Success was certain; but the U. S. government, whose neutrality had been asked, interposed its authority, and the project was reluctantly abandoned. *Flint's Mex. under Max.*, 34–6. Mowry, like Arrangoiz, would have the world believe that only the conservatives and their clerical allies, with perhaps a few of the less objectionable liberals, had anything at stake in Mexico worth protecting.

[49] Gutierrez Estrada, Padre Miranda, José Hidalgo, Muñoz Ledo, Almonte, and others. Most of them, if not all, had been in Paris a long time, and knew little or nothing of the real state of affairs in Mexico. They were not

of monarchy as the only form of government capable of restoring order in Mexico; that several presidents[50] had intended to open negotiations in Europe toward securing it for their country; that several statesmen[51] believed it the only recourse to end the anarchy kept up by a few hundred men, who to hold the central power were ruining the people; and finally, that it was thought a foreign prince would be more acceptable than a Mexican one, as he would awaken less rivalry, better control the situation, and present a stronger and more lasting arrangement. Billault added that Archduke Maximilian would be the best qualified prince for the position.[52] Be it remembered, that, according to this minister, the matter had been broached in a diplomatic conversation, as a suggestion, subject at all events to the will of the people. It was said—after the French reverse at Puebla, but before the arrival of Forey's army—that Billault was careful to avoid even a semblance of rivalry between the allied powers, and was, therefore, very reticent as to the real motives prompting the choice of Maximilian over other princes equally entitled to be candidates.[53]

true representatives of their country, and had no authority to speak for it. What they wanted was to come back supported by foreign bayonets.

[50] Referring no doubt to Santa Anna, Zuloaga, and Miramon. The latter may have asked for intervention for his own purposes. Zuloaga's opinion on the subject was the same as Cobos'.

[51] The French ministers, and Mon, the Spanish ambassador in Paris.

[52] Domenech thought him unfit for it. His words are, 'il crut que le Mexique était une succursale de la Lombardie,' and that by enacting good laws he would be Mexico's benefactor. *Hist. du Mex.*, ii. 363.

[53] Spain had her projects, though her government made a denial. Calderon Collantes, minister of foreign affairs, on the 9th of April, 1862, at an interview with Arrangoiz, exhibited much displeasure at the selection of an Austrian instead of a Spaniard. He pretended ignorance of the plan; but it was mere pretence, for Almonte had divulged it to him in Dec. 1861. Collantes thought it was yet time to propose the Spanish princess Isabel, marrying her to the reigning prince of Roumania. But as she was a mere child, he next mentioned the sister of Queen Isabel II., and her husband. Hidalgo asserted that the monarchists had, through Gutierrez and himself, tendered the crown to Isabel's brother-in-law, the duc de Montpensier, who neither accepted nor declined it. Arrangoiz wrote to Paris to ascertain if any change could be brought about, and the answer was published in *La Época* of Madrid, on the 23d of April, 1862. Hidalgo and the others believed in Maximilian's friendship for Spain, which that prince was manifesting at this time, but in the course of events they discovered their mistake. Prim's abandon-

Napoleon had said that he had no candidate of his family. Mexico would not for a moment think of a British protestant prince. As for Spain, a large portion of the Mexican people would look on the selection of a Spanish prince as a reconquest of their country. Moreover, the three allied powers, it was decided, should be left out of any combination by which either of them would have an undue advantage in Mexico. Maximilian was then selected and accepted by France and England. Hidalgo has it that Gutierrez de Estrada had ascertained, early in October 1861, that the archduke would accept the throne on two conditions: 1st, that Mexico should spontaneously ask for him; 2d, that the support of France and England should be given him. It was on these conditions that Maximilian, on the 8th of December, in a letter to Gutierrez de Estrada, answering one dated October 30th from several Mexicans, gave in his acceptance of the crown.[54] The question would remain unsolved but for certain circumstances that throw light upon it, showing that the treaty of peace at Villafranca between France and Austria might be mixed with Mexican affairs.

An article in the Italian journal *Nuova Italia* said that one of its friends had seen in the office of Count Cavour, Piedmontese minister of foreign affairs, an Italian map wherein the island of Sardinia and Liguria were indicated as possessions to be ceded to France, the former in compensation for the abandonment of Gaeta and the recognition of the new kingdom of Italy, and the latter in exchange for the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom.[55] The latter exchange

ment of Mexico put an end to Collantes' schemes. *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 7–8, 17, 82–4; *Hidalgo, Apuntes*, 50, 71–4, 86, 94.

[54] Maximilian's letter was forwarded by Gutierrez to Ignacio Aguilar for the benefit of their accomplices. *Gutierrez de Estrada, Méx. y el Archid.*, 18; *Domenech, Hist. du Mex.*, ii. 364–9. The subject occupied the attention of the Spanish ministry and congress. *Córtes, Diario Senado*, ii., ap. no. 85, 84–8; *Id., Congreso*, ii., no. 45, 747–55, iii., no. 54, 953; vi., ap., i., no. 138, 53, 84–8, no. 139, 2772–5, no. 140, 2789–91, no. 141, 2813–17, no. 142, 2838–9.

[55] The first part of the programme, it is said, failed, owing to British agencies.

was supposed to be connected with Mexico in this way: the republican government was to be destroyed, and replaced by an Austrian archduke, with the hope of negotiating afterward with his brother the cession of Lombardo-Venetia.[56]

We must now ascertain when, how, and by whom the propositions were made in Vienna. The *Gazette*, a semi-official organ of the Austrian government, said, in August 1863, that in the autumn of 1861 both the chief and representative of the Mexican monarchists, then in Paris, confidentially asked if, in the event of an initiative by France, with England's sanction, an Austrian archduke were invited to occupy the throne of Mexico, specially naming Ferdinand Maximilian, there would be good reason to apprehend a repulse. It was then asserted that the archduke would not refuse the crown if his brother, the emperor, approved of the arrangement. The answer was, that no such proposals could be considered unless conditioned upon guarantees of success to secure the dignity of the archduke and of the imperial house. The Austrian court resolved to maintain a passive attitude, without approaching France or England on the subject, and quietly awaited the formal tender on the basis of the conditions it had demanded.[57]

[56] This province was to be conveyed to Italy in payment for Liguria, which was to become French. Parisian correspondence of *L'Escaut*, Aug. 16, 1863. The *Presse* of Vienna, without a clear explanation, also spoke of a demand in compensation as of a very probable thing, declaring beforehand that the Austrian government would not assent thereto. *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 297–8; *Romero, Intrig. Europ.*, 53. Hidalgo, *Apuntes*, 72, pronounces the exchange of Venice for Mexico a 'cuento inventado por la malicia.' It may have been a flight of imagination, but as Hidalgo from his own interested motives has indulged in such flights, his assertions are not entitled to credence unless corroborated from reliable and unbiased sources.

[57] The document, as semi-official, could not be explicit. As a matter of fact, it said too much and too little: the former, inasmuch as it stated that before the signing of the London convention of Oct. 31, 1861, the Austrian government had been confidentially approached to ask if Maximilian would accept a throne in Mexico, if called thereto by France, with England's sanction; the latter, because the article spoke only of the chief and representative of the so-called monarchial party of Mexico, who could be no others than Gutierrez and Almonte, and these persons had no authority to speak for a party not existing. It is clear that the overtures emanated from some personage occupying a higher plane in the official world. *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 299–300.

Another Austrian organ, *Le Mémorial Diplomatique*, confirmed the foregoing statement, adding that Emperor Franz Joseph had left to his brother the right of accepting or not the proffered crown at the proper time. However, he sent, immediately after the receipt of the confidential overtures from the French court,[58] Count de Rechberg, his minister of foreign affairs,[59] to Miramare to apprise Maximilian of what was in reserve for him on the successful issue of the French intervention, and the expression of the will of the Mexican people, together with the personal benevolent feeling of Napoleon III.; and it was left to Maximilian to decide for himself. The archduke appeared much moved at this manifestation of goodwill on the part of the French emperor. Now, this semi-official statement does not agree with Hidalgo's version, and never having been contradicted by the imperial government, it must be accepted as the true one, even though it overthrows Billault's and Hidalgo's stories, as well as Thouvenel's sincerity. Therefore, it would seem that it was Napoleon himself who made the communication to Franz Joseph, and that Almonte went to Vienna as a bearer of confidential despatches.[60]

Amidst all that, Billault, on the 26th of July, 1862, in answering Jules Favre, affirmed that the French army, on marching upon Mexico, would appeal to the people of the country to ascertain if they wished or not to support what he called the tyranny of Juarez; and when hard pressed by his opponent, declared that if the nation reëlected Juarez, the French government would acquiesce without demur.

[58] Mons. Thouvenel, French minister of foreign affairs, being asked by Lord Cowley, British ambassador, denied it; that is to say, he did not deny that there were negotiations with the court of Vienna, but pretended that they were carried on between that court and some Mexicans. *Cortes, Diario Senado*, ii., ap. no. 85, 3.

[59] Maximilian, in his memorial to Gen. Escobedo, May 29, 1867, speaks of it, without naming the individual, as a 'persona de alta gerarquía de Austria.'

[60] It is at least certain that the French rendered secret aid; and it is also a fact that the negotiations between Paris and Miramare lasted eight months. *Kératry, Max.*, 7.

Saligny, on the contrary, resorted to no subterfuges. He said plainly that the object of the intervention was not to find out the opinion of the Mexicans on the form of government, but to fix in the family—that is to say, among the conservatives—the basis of the establishment that Mexico anxiously expected from the friendly interposition of the third Napoleon. The official newspapers received orders to prepare public opinion for this much-desired monarchy, and Almonte, on his return from Vienna, sailed for Vera Cruz, where he arrived early in March 1862. We have already seen what he did.[61]

While the aforesaid proceedings were going on in Europe, which culminated in Mexico as I have detailed, the government of the United States, being occupied with its internal war, was simply a looker-on, pursuing a prudent course. Secretary Seward, on the 15th of December, 1862, wrote Matías Romero, Mexican representative at Washington, that as war existed between France and Mexico, the United States must "act in regard to it only on the principles which have always governed their conduct in similar cases." Upon Juarez' abandonment of the capital, the minister of the United States, Corwin, declined his invitation to follow him to San Luis Potosí. This course was approved by Seward. On the 26th of September, 1863, the French being in possession of the capital, and a crown having been tendered to Maximilian, Seward wrote the ministers of the United States at Vienna and Paris, and on the 23d of October to the minister at the British court, that the American government would pursue a policy of strict neutrality.[62] From the words and spirit of the secre-

[61] A Colonel García surrendered Almonte's correspondence to the Mexican government; hence Doblado's request to the allied plenipotentiaries for Almonte's expulsion, and the latter being taken under the protection of Lorencez and Saligny.

[62] To the minister in Vienna he said: 'The United States are not indifferent to the events which are occurring in Mexico. They are regarded, however, as incidents of the war between France and Mexico.' To the min-

tary's correspondence, it appears that if an imperial government were firmly established in Mexico, by the consent of the Mexican people, the United States government would hold friendly relations with it, as it was doing with Brazil. But the course of the Washington cabinet toward Maximilian's government, and its continued recognition of that of Juarez, made it evident that in its estimation the empire lacked stability, and its fall, after the French intervention should cease, must follow.

ister in Paris he stated that the U. S. 'have neither a right nor a disposition to intervene by force in the internal affairs of Mexico, whether to establish and maintain a republic, or even a domestic government there, or to overthrow an imperial or a foreign one, if Mexico chooses to establish or accept it. The U. S. have neither the right nor the disposition to intervene by force on either side in the lamentable war which is going on between France and Mexico.' To Minister Adams he used these words: 'The U. S. can do no otherwise than leave the destinies of Mexico in the keeping of her own people, and recognize their sovereignty and independence in whatever form they themselves shall choose that this sovereignty shall be manifested.' Much discussion was had in the U. S. congress and press on the Mexican question, many seeing in the European proceedings a violation of the Monroe doctrine; but a perusal of Monroe's words will clearly show that there had been as yet no attempt at violating that principle. *U. S. Govt Doc.*, Cong. 37, Sess. 3, House Ex. 1, 307–441, passim; *Id.*, vol. vi.; *Id.*, House Journal, 702; *Id.*, Cong. 38, Sess. 2, Sen. Ex., 11, 33; *Id.*, *Foreign Affairs*, 1862, 193, 338–40, 350–7, 377–8, 384–5, 392, 400–5; *Id.*, 1863, pts i.–ii., 638–762, 1335–41; *Id.*, 1864, pt ii., 710–11, 936; *U. S. Govt Doc.*, Cong. 37, Sess. 3, Sen. Journ., 578; *Id.*, Sen. Miscel., 13; *Mex. Affairs*, in President's Mess., June 16, 1864; *N. Am. Rev.*, ciii. 137–42.

CHAPTER V.

MAXIMILIAN, EMPEROR OF MEXICO.

1863.

INHERENT IDEA OF EMPIRE—MONTEZUMA, ITURBIDE, MAXIMILIAN—FORCED ADHESIONS—CHARACTER OF THE REGENTS—DEPUTATION TO MAXIMILIAN —HIS ACCEPTANCE—MAXIMILIAN AND CHARLOTTE, THEIR CHARACTER AND PERSONAL APPEARANCE—IMPERIALIST SUCCESSES—MOVEMENTS OF THE JUARISTS—ARRIVAL OF THE ARCHBISHOP—BAZAINE—FRENCH POLICY —ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES—FALL OF MORELIA—DEATH OF COMONFORT—FURTHER FIGHTING.

THE prospects of a stable government could not fail to appeal widely to the people, even if introduced under the hateful though imposing auspices of French armies. Property holders had everywhere suffered greatly from ravages and forced contributions, and the effect of this extended also to a wide circle around them, which otherwise, with true Mexican volatility, was ready to welcome any change, especially for the pomp and glitter of a court. The cause of religion found naturally a large following, influenced in particular by the women, who, seeing little in war but its horrors, naturally preferred a prince of peace of fair features and glittering paraphernalia to the more logical and patriotic liberalism. As for the Indians, living for themselves and clinging rather to the past, the revival of the empire struck in some of them a sympathetic chord, which set in vibration the memories of recent colonial times, with their substantial privileges and exemptions, and above all, traditions of the golden ante-Cortésian period, as recalled in the imperial coat of arms, with its eagle on

the sea-girt nopal.[1] Conservative organs kept before the people these and other benefits, and wherever French sway prevailed, the new order of things found ready acceptance, and acts of adhesion to the empire flowed in freely.[2] Not that all this was spontaneous.

The provisional government did not fail to preserve the originals of such acts. Thus we find that J. M. Arroyo, under-secretary for foreign affairs, on the 7th of August requested his colleague of the home department to furnish him, for the use of the regency, all documents bearing on the subject, duly indexed. Those records showed that from June 12th to August 7th—that is to say, nineteen months after the landing of the allied commissioners, sixteen months after Lorencez occupied Orizaba, in open violation of the preliminaries agreed upon at Soledad, and nearly three months after Forey himself entered Puebla—there were just forty-five acts of adhesion to the empire, among which, if we except the capital, only five towns were really important ones, and that the number of inhabitants who subscribed to the proposed change were 154,592. Not even these had been spontaneous acts. The important towns alluded to were Córdoba, Vera Cruz, Orizaba, Puebla, and Toluca: the three first named had been under the control of the French arms from the first days of the military operations; the fourth, having been taken by assault, had to submit to the will of the conqueror; and the fifth, situated only sixteen leagues from Mexico, had ever

[1] Designated by Maximilian's decree of June 18, 1864. *Méx., Boletin Ley.*, 1864, 32. The arms issued by the regency differed in many respects with more marked allusions to the empires of Iturbide as well as Montezuma. The eagle was crowned, and the angular shield, surmounted by the Aztec crown with even feathers, had on either side a christian sceptre and the hand of justice, while below protrude the native iztli sword and quiver, holding the collar of Iturbide's order of Guadalupe, entwined by laurel and oak sprigs. This rested within an ermine-lined inperial mantle, lifted at the corners by a band of green, white, and red, the national colors, on which was inscribed, Religion, Independence, and Union. The decree for this was dated Sept. 20, 1863. *Id.*, i. 295–6.

[2] As may be seen from the lists presented almost daily in *Periód. Ofic.*, July 1863 et seq., and other journals. In *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, i. 78–81, 151–2, etc., may, besides, be found formal and early notices of prominent Juarist deserters.

shared, nolens volens, the fate of the capital. These and subsequent acts were made to appear as the will of the Mexican people.

Only too frequently the oath was taken with apathetic obedience to the authority in control, and liberal journals were filled with notices of forced compliance.[3] Among the notable adherents was Miramon, who had made his way from Matamoros to Mexico through the heart of the constitutionalist country.[4]

The Juarez government did its best to counteract imperialist influence, by offers of pensions and offices, which circumstances prevented it from fulfilling; by threats of confiscation and death, which were carried out only in the rare places where it managed to regain a temporary control;[5] and by annulling the acts of the imperial administration, empty declarations which could not be enforced. In the circulars issued to local authorities and foreign powers, the new government was branded as a cloak to cover French designs to transform Mexico into a colony. It was a gross infringement upon national rights, at first attempted under pretence of flimsy claims like Jecker's, and of paltry debts which the republic had offered to pay. The acts of adhesion to the empire were forced and fictitious, and emanated from an insignificant portion of the country; for the republicans held possession of nearly all the territory. The people were stirred against the invaders by enumerations of outrages on

[3] Confirmed, indeed, by peremptory orders in *Id.*, i. 222–3, such as holding owners of country estates responsible for their laborers. *Periód. Ofic.*, Aug. 11, 1863. See also *Léfèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 327, 407–18; *Voz Méj.*, Nov. 10, 1863. Bribes in the shape of offices and pensions were also tendered.

[4] In a letter of July 30th to Gen. Forey, he expresses himself in favor of the monarchy, as the only means to save the country. *Periód. Ofic.*, Aug. 6, 1863. In Aug. several Juarist chiefs gave in adhesion, as Col Manuel Prieto, Rodriguez, Roldan, Castillo. Forey and others loudly proclaimed that the adhesions flowing in from every place as occupied by French armies were sufficient proof of popular approval of the empire. His letter to Napolean of Sept. 14th. *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 136.

[5] The decrees to this end are given in *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–9, i. 41–3, 46, 93–6; *Derecho, Intern. Mex.*, pt iii. 817–24; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, ix. 652–4, 659–65; *Diario Deb.*, 7th cong., i. 258, 268, 290, 376, 428, 456, 489–90, 1271; *Méx., Boletin Ley.*, 1863, 269–70. No officials were permitted to remain in places occupied by the foe. Even indirect favoring of the imperial cause involved the penalties imposed on traitors.

sacred institutions, on feeble women and defenceless prisoners; and reminded that as the Spanish armies had been driven from the soil, so could the less numerous French forces—already humbled by their inglorious defeat at Puebla.[6]

Among the first acts of the regency was to appoint a commission under the presidency of José María Gutierrez de Estrada,[7] to convey to Maximilian the resolution of the assembly, and offer him the crown. This was formally done at Miramare, on October 3, 1863; the archduke replying that, flattered as he felt by the predilection of the Mexicans for his house, descended from Charles V., yet he recognized that "the monarchy can be reëstablished on a legitimate and solid basis only by a confirmatory vote of the entire nation freely expressed. On the result of this general vote of the country must therefore depend the acceptance of the proffered throne... In case the election of the noble Mexican people, as a whole, falls upon my name, I shall be ready, with consent of the august chief of my family, and with reliance on the aid of the Almighty, to accept the crown."[8]

[6] See proclamations and despatches in *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, i. 53–67, dated July 22d and 28th. Governors of states issued similar or additional appeals. Among other acts of Juarez were the withdrawal of Mexican consuls from France, and the order for French agents to leave Mexico. Several other cousuls fell under temporary or perpetual ban. Governor Tapia of Michoacan issued, July 12th, a decree confiscating the property of all adherents of the empire, in case the regency did so with republican followers.

[7] Who had figured as minister of state and envoy, like several of his colleagues. The others were Velazquez de Leon, ex-minister of fomento and director of the mining college; Ignacio Aguilar y Marocho, and Francisco J. Miranda, ex ministers of justice; Gen. Woll, a prominent military man; José Hidalgo, ex-chargé d'affaires; Suarez Perido, conde del Valle and José Londa, landed proprietors; Antonio Escandon, banker; and Angel Iglesias y Dominguez, secretary of the commission, a descendant of the famous corregidor of Querétaro. *Estrada, Discurso*, 1. Zamacois adds Tomás Murphy, and Domenech omits two of the names. Estrada and three others, then in Europe, were joined there by the rest, who left Vera Cruz Aug. 18th, the party reaching Trieste on Oct. 1st.

[8] He concluded by promising to follow the example of his brother by opening to the country the wide road of progress, under a constitutional régime, based on order and morality, and guided by equity. Parties must forget their quarrels, and unite to place Mexico in the eminent position among nations for which she is destined. He alluded to the glorious initiative of the French emperor that had made this regeneration possible. The full text, delivered

Notwithstanding the clearly expressed condition of acceptance, Arrangoiz, among others, intimates that Maximilian ever manifested an extreme eagerness for the glittering bauble from Anáhuac. Such was not, however, the impression left on the commission, to judge from their letters, filled with the most glowing accounts of the wealth and magnificence surrounding the archduke. For a brother of one of the leading sovereigns of the world, with a certain claim upon the Austrian crown, with great palaces and estates—for such a man to abandon this lofty position, and leave behind the centres of culture and society, for an insecure throne in a remote and half-barbaric country, torn by civil war and offering comparatively fewer comforts, this seemed to them a sacrifice.[9] But they forgot for the moment the hollowness of much of the pomp spread before them, that poverty lay behind in the shape of pressing debts, and that family discord aided ambition.

Miramare, the residence of the emperor elect, was certainly worthy of the praise lavished upon it. Upon a tiny promontory, not far from Trieste, rose the castle out of the waters of the Adriatic. Behind extended the gently sloping hills, transformed from craggy rocks into a paradise of lawns and groves, flower-beds and groups of rare plants, with fountains and brooks fed from the wooded crests above.[10] The place had been made additionally attractive to the Mexicans by sumptuous banquets, during one of which they beheld from the sea the palace and grounds illuminated, with a predominance of Mexican national colors in various designs.[11]

Personally, the archduke impressed them with his majestic bearing, and tall, imposing figure, six feet

in French on both sides, may be found in *Méx.*, *Boletin Ley.*, 1863, 541–7; *Estrada*, *Discurso*, 3–22; *Niox*, *Expéd. du Mex.*, 326–8, etc.; *Miramar á Méx.*, 7–13.

[9] Letters in *Zamacois*, *Hist. Méj.*, xvi. 759, 776, 777–8.

[10] A pleasing view of the place is given in *Miramar á Méx.*, 14.

[11] Domenech, *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 371, sneers at 'empléomanie,' as prevalent among the commission. Arrangoiz wrathily objects. *Méj.*, iii. 150.

two inches in height, his high forehead and clear, blonde complexion, with flaxen hair and full, glossy beard, both parted in the middle; gentle blue eyes, and the frank, intelligent expression denoting both the zealous student and the active sailor-prince, the latter character marked by more than one trait, such as walking with hands behind the back. The peculiar Hapsburg underlip, thick, protruding, and semi-cleft, stamped his lineage, and kindness and refinement his every movement.

With the archduchess, Marie Charlotte Amélie, the commissioners were even more pleased. Tall and dignified like her husband, with the same gentle, open face, oval in form, curved at the temples, and readily moved, the expression had something more spiritual, impressed also by the infantile sweetness of the mouth; while the brown and flashing bright eyes and corresponding hair, heavy and deep auburn, were features that could not fail to win sympathy among Mexicans. The readily distended nostrils of the slightly aquiline nose denoted a brave as well as emotional nature, confirmed by a certain firmness about the chin. A daughter of Leopold of Belgium, the Nestor of kings, she had with the Bourbon blood of her grandmother, the holy queen, wife of Louis Philippe, derived a gravity of manner increased by a too strict companionship with persons of mature years.[12] She seemed as one in whom joyous childhood had been stunted amidst the cold rigidity of the palace, and a strained precocity fostered under constant and severe lessons. She appeared, moreover, as one weighted with the scholarly talents of the father, who sought to perfect her at-

[12] She was born June 7, 1840, at Laeken palace, near Brussels, and received at the font the names Marie Charlotte Amélie Auguste Victoire Clementine Léopoldine. Her mother, Queen Louise of Orleans, died in 1850, leaving two other children, Leopold II. and Philippe, Count of Flanders. As a child, Charlotte was occupied chiefly with religion and etiquette, having but little recreation. Later she rarely attended balls, and then gave her hand only to men of royal blood. *Hall's Life Max.*, 21–3, 35 et seq.; *Estrada, Méj.*, 40–2.

tainments by admitting her even to the ministerial council-chamber. In 1856, at the age of sixteen, she met Maximilian, who, passionately fond of travelling, had from Egypt drifted through France in this direction. It was purely a love affair; yet not altogether displeasing to the king from a diplomatic standpoint, for he readily granted his consent, and in the following year they were united. As consort of the governor-general of Lombardy, she gave ample evidence of her training in state matters, and became the admired counsellor, while the practice of christian virtues endeared her to the people.[13]

Meanwhile affairs in Mexico continued, with French coöperation, to unfold an ever more and more flattering aspect for the imperial cause. Juarist guerrilla forces hovering in and around the lake valley were defeated one after another,[14] and the large command under Lejoa was routed on the road to Cuernavaca by General Vicario, with a loss of nearly three hundred men and a large quantity of stores. This was followed on July 29th by the fall of Cuernavaca, a natural stronghold captured by a well-calculated charge.[15] The republicans with indomitable energy formed anew after every defeat, and during the following month, into September, we find Fragoso, Ugalde, and other chiefs descending now on one place, now on another, sacking and burning,[16] or attacking some convoy and harassing larger forces. When a place

[13] She accompanied her husband on several trips, one taking him to Brazil, while she stayed at Madeira, the recollections of which place she embodied in *Un Voyage*, in her vernacular French, displaying her cultivated mind, her reflective disposition, and her refined taste. She was quick to learn, and could speak and write German, English, Spanish, and Italian. *Kollonitz, Court Mex.*, 56.

[14] Fragoso and the priest Dominguez, with 600 cavalry, were put to flight on Apam plains by Larrauri; Tulancingo was evacuated; attacks on Zumpango and Ozumba were repulsed by the inhabitants.

[15] The defenders Gelista and Vasco were not well organized; hence the main reason for the easy capture. A French column under Col Lefèvre cooperated, and a triumphal entry was held July 31st.

[16] Such as Chapa de Mota and Tepejí. An attack on Ixtlahuaca was repulsed.

was once occupied by the French, the Juarists regarded it as fair prey; and the inhabitants were consequently obliged in self-defence to arm against, even if their sympathies might under other circumstances have turned toward, the republican cause.[17]

Pachuca and Tulancingo were entered by Franco-Mexican forces already in July, to serve as radiating points for other advances. A part of Mejía's division won a fight on the road to Guanajuato, and another was gained in Puebla.[18] Not long afterward the garrison of Chalchicomula gained Perote, and some French vessels from Vera Cruz took Tampico on August 11th, preparing thence to enter the surrounding district. Yet these were after all petty operations, although the last blow was severe in its effect on Juarist supplies. The French were only waiting for the end of the rainy season to advance against the main forces of the republicans. As it was, the imperialists claimed in the beginning of August to hold over sixty towns and hamlets along the line from Vera Cruz, and to control a circuit of fully twenty-five leagues round the capital. Two months later, when the French main body was only preparing to set out, the actual gain was not much greater, but minor and advance forces were keeping up the fight with alternating advantages in all the central provinces from Jalisco and San Luis Potosí into Oajaca.[19]

Undismayed as ever by the gathering storm, Juarez strained every nerve to fortify himself against it, mainly with regard to obtaining funds to sustain armies, for men could readily be had. On July 31st a contribution of one per cent on all capital above five

[17] This happened at Ozumba, Zumpango, Izúcar, Cholula, Tehuacan, and other places, several towns uniting at times for defence while awaiting aid.

[18] The former by Chavez over O'Horan; the latter resulted in the taking of San Juan de los Llanos by Rodriguez.

[19] Details concerning the operations may be found in *Periód. Ofic.; Estrella de Occid.; Sociedad; Voz de Mej.; Estafeta;* and other newspapers of the period. Also in *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xvi. 622 et seq.; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, v. 582 et seq.; *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 285, etc.; *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863-7, i. 241-60; *Laurent, Guerre*, 79, etc.

hundred pesos was ordained throughout the country, to cover the budget for six months;[20] also an impost on goods entering San Luis Potosí, the actual headquarters of the republican government. Another source was the severe sequestration decree of August 16th, applied to all adherents of the empire, and directing the immediate sale of their property to the best bidder, the product to be divided between the republican treasury and those injured in body and estate by the war, as well as active adherents of the cause.[21]

The imperialists sought to counteract this by declaring annulled any sales or gifts by the Juarists, and by affirming a former decree of confiscation, yet explaining that it would be applied only against those bearing arms against the empire, other seizures being provisional, to withdraw resources from the enemy.[22] This was certainly a less exacting measure than that of Juarez, at least on the face; and a still more effective order was the suppression of forced levies, which was intended to conciliate the Indians and lower classes. Yet contributions, fixed and casual, had to be continued, although they were less burdensome than those enforced by the other side,[23] owing to the flow of funds from France; and retaliations, often most terrible, were exacted by either side upon towns and districts which had, under pressure, yielded allegiance to the other.[24]

[20] Payable in two instalments. *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, i. 75–7. For efforts to raise loans in the U. S., see *Legac. Mex.*, 195 et seq.

[21] The sale money from city property to be divided into three equal parts —for the treasury, for wounded and widows and orphans, and for indemnifying those who had suffered confiscation at the hands of the enemy. Of country property, one half was to be distributed among active republican adherents of the district concerned, and the other half sold and divided as above. Details follow as to the classes embraced in the confiscation, and other points.

[22] Decree issued August 21st. *Méx., Boletin Ley.*, 1863, 240–2. On Oct. 8th the confiscation decree against Puebla republicans was set aside out of pity for their families.

[23] The unusual quota from industrial establishments ordained in July may serve as an indication.

[24] Forey inflicted, Aug. 27th, a heavy fine on Tlalpan for the murder there of a French soldier, and threatened to kill one prominent hostage for every

Owing to differences of opinion, due mainly to a senseless outcry against the management of affairs, a new Juarist cabinet was organized September 1st, with Governor Doblado of Guanajuato for minister of relations, Ex-president Comonfort for war, and Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada for justice, Nuñez remaining in charge of the treasury. Doblado could not agree upon certain fundamental points, however,[25] and resigned within a week, whereupon Lerdo assumed his portfolio, José María Iglesias replacing him. Among reasons for the preference shown Doblado was his influence in Guanajuato, with its vast resources, and his diplomatic skill. Otherwise doubts were cast on his fidelity to Juarez, although nothing could be said against his loyalty to the cause in general.[26]

Even greater changes were about the same time taking place among the imperialists. Archbishop Labastida arrived at Vera Cruz on September 17th, the day after the national festival, attended by the prelates of Michoacan and Oajaca. His advance to the capital was a triumphal march, evoked partly by his long absence, but due more to his character as joint regent, and above all to the victory by the

imperial adherent who might be assassinated. Even the friendly journal *Pájaro Verde* raised an outcry against this.

[25] On the preservation of fuero privileges for deputies and other high functionaries. *Veya, Doc.*, i. 42. Zamacois assumes that Doblado's suspension of the subsidies granted to Zarco and Zamacona, editors of *Diario Oficial* and *Independencia*, created a breeze which resulted in his separation. *Hist. Méj.*, xvi. 689–91. Zarco was president of the chamber of deputies. *Diario Debates*, 3d Cong. 2d Sess., 55–9.

[26] Notwithstanding the momentary suspicions roused by his peculiar tactics against the foe, Iglesias vouches for him. *Revistas*, 59. He resumed his governorship Nov. 9th, Rodriguez having managed it meanwhile. Zacatecas was at the time ruled by Gen. Ortega, Michoacan being on Oct. 30th transferred to Berriozábal by Gen. Uraga, who had shortly before succeeded Comonfort here, and who now took control in Colima, Jalisco being in charge of Gen. Arteaga. *Estrella Occid.*, Jan. 1, 1864; *Romero*, in *Juarez, Vida*, 49. Vega seems bitter against Doblado. *Doc.*, i. 175–7. The southern states were reorganized by Gen. Diaz after Oct., Col Ballesteros receiving charge of Oajaca, Col Gregorio Mendez of Tabasco, Col Pantaleon Dominguez of Chiapas, Gen. Peraza of Yucatan, and Col Pablo García of Campeche, Gen. García remaining in Vera Cruz, Gen. Fernando María Ortega in Puebla, and Antonio Rojas in Tlascala. *Diaz, Biog.*, MS., 196; *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, 111–12. Gen. Patoni had charge of Durango.

church over liberalism personified in his appointment and arrival. Arches covered the approaches to prominent places, flowers were strewn along his path, gorgeous processions met him at every turn, and vivas rent the air. The prelate took his seat among the regents October 18th, hitherto filled by Ormaechea,[27] resolved above all to protect the interests of the church, with a zeal fortified by a long residence in the holy city, and regardless of political exigencies.

The more diplomatic Ormaechea had prevailed on his colleagues to suspend the circulation of bonds and notes issued by the Juarez government against confiscated and sold church property, and to stay building operations thereon by new holders. So vast, however, was the proportion of foreign interest in these estates, held actually or nominally by Frenchmen in particular, that Almonte and Salas were persuaded by the new French commander to repeal this act, and very properly recognize all sales so far made, till Maximilian himself should decide, after consulting with the pontiff and council.[28] Labastida protested against this legalization of church plunder, as he termed it,[29] and finding that he could not be persuaded, the other regents, under French stimulus, ignored him and his further protests against the legality of acts issued by an incomplete regency. The supreme tribunal also taking the latter view regarding this body, Almonte and his colleague soon after removed the judges, including Pavon, their president, and substitute regent.[30] This created a strong feeling, which was

[27] Among new appointments were, for prefect of the capital, Villar y Bocanegra, and for chief of police, Col Carbajal Espinosa, a historian of Mexico.

[28] 'Las ventas hechas conforme á la ley quedarán sancionadas y únicamente sujetos á revision los contratos fraudulentos.' *Méx.*, *Boletin Ley.*, 1863, 421 etc. This was the result of a conference held Oct. 20th between the regents and Bazaine and Budin, commissioner of the treasury.

[29] Arguing that the sales were all fraudulent in being made either privately or secretly, or at so low a rate that only too often a rental for three years sufficed to cover the price. The annulling of sales could affect only a small number of holders—differently estimated by conservatives at from 2,000 to 9,000—while their legalization would alienate the devotion of millions. See journals already quoted, for Oct. and Nov.

[30] And eleven others. *Méx.*, *Boletin Ley.*, 1864, 23–4, 30–2, giving also new

fostered by the clergy, and manifested partly in flaming circulars against the French and their adherents or tools.[31] It also caused a split among the conservatives into progressionists and retrogressionists, the latter joined by the devout, and by such men as Anievas, assistant government secretary, who now resigned, and later by Estrada,[32] but the former readily winning over a host of republicans, owing to the liberal policy pursued with regard to church affairs, leniency in confiscation, and other matters.

The French policy toward the country had lately assumed a decided tone. The sequestration decrees of Forey, which had created wide-spread dissatisfaction, and induced the Juarists to issue even more severe retaliative decrees, and the clerical tendency of himself, as well as Saligny, which threatened also French interests, were not to the taste of Napoleon. The recall of both reached Mexico in August, tempered, especially in Forey's case, with a semblance of preferment.[33] The latter was replaced by General

judges. The appeal against this act is presented in *San Miguel, Expos.*, 1–32. No substitute was called to fill Labastida's place, which gave further cause for protest; but since both substitutes were strong churchmen, they were not desirable. Iglesias, *Revistas*, ii. 185–7, laughs at the illegal regency manœuvred by the French general. It is stated that the substitutes were offered Labastida's seat, but declined. *Estrella Occid.*, Dec. 18, 1863.

[31] The government found it necessary to come forth in a proclamation against the unjust insinuations made regarding its motives. *Méx.*, *Boletin Ley.*, 1863, 419–21. Bazaine was roundly accused of having a personal interest in church property, and it was stated that he had orders to dissolve the regency unless it obeyed him. This was unlikely, however, for Napoleon would hardly venture to take autocratic measures that would strengthen the Juarez party and rouse the watchful U. S. while undermining the basis for the empire.

[32] As an instance of deep religious feeling, Zamacois relates that a circus manager lost a fortune by using a confiscated convent for the performance. 'Ni una sola señora, ni una sola familia decente llegó á pisar el circo.' *Hist. Méj.*, xvi. 844. Arrangoiz denies a split. *Méj.*, iii. 177.

[33] Forey, now marshal of France, passed with a diplomatic mission through Washington. Frank and unpretending, he possessed a kindness of heart which was strikingly manifested in his treatment of children. His farewell address of Sept. 30th, in *Periód. Ofic.*, Oct. 3, 1863, etc., expressed a hope for the union of parties, which had been his aim. While many conservatives regretted his departure, that of Saligny drew forth numerous though vain remonstrances, as in *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 329–31. He left Mexico only at the close of Dec., with the young wife there taken. The prospect of a senatorship, held out to him by De Morny, was not fulfilled. *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 136; *Cronista*, Aug. 28, 1863. *Boletin Ofic.* (Puebla), Aug. 29, 1863.

Bazaine,[34] who assumed command on the 1st of October. The instructions given him by Drouyn de Lhuys express clearly enough the course now intended to be pursued, reiterating as they do the contradictions and fallacies that France aimed at no conquest, colonization, or special privileges, but merely to secure the payment of claims and the possession of guarantees for the future, in the regeneration of the country from its hitherto anarchic condition—a regeneration left wholly to the good-will and patriotism of the people, and purely seconded by France, in the interest of themselves and of Europe generally. Bazaine must accordingly take steps to let the true popular vote regarding the proposed government find expression, and promote the fair election of officials, for the existing institutions of the country appeared satisfactory enough. The emperor deplored the sequestrations, outlawing, and restrictions hitherto imposed, and forbade also any reactionary or exclusive policy that might prevent the conciliation of parties. The army should be reorganized, with honorable prominence to native troops, and steps taken to hasten the object of the intervention, so as to shorten the French occupation.

While this document by no means disclosed several ultimate considerations, including financial matters, Sonora colonization, and the like, it served, aside from its direct object, in allaying, for a time at least, many rising doubts, notably in the United States. Napoleon recognized that the struggle in the northern republic must soon end, and that however weakened, it would have surplus armies enough to render itself formidable. He evidently did not believe wholly in the confederacy, or he would have recognized it. Then again, by observing neutrality, he hoped to

[34] He was a man of fifty-two years, descended from a military family, and had won his earliest laurels in Africa, distinguishing himself later in the Crimea and in Italy, as general of a division. A knowledge of Spanish acquired in a campaign against the Carlists served greatly to favor him in Mexico.

secure a similar attitude toward himself. Meanwhile, he sought to open the way for a graceful retreat by declarations like the preceding. Unfortunately, the very eagerness to save appearances carried operations in Mexico upon fictitious ground, to the discomfiture of many calculated plans for the material prestige as well as Mexican regeneration. For the present, the deferring of the church-property question gave rise to conflicting doubts; the upholding of the incomplete regency, without appeal to the assembly, was arbitrary; and promises and reports were made to create illusions, many of them bitterly shattered already at the outset, by neglecting to protect, against the vengeance of the Juarists, towns and districts that had been induced to swear allegiance to the empire. These and other acts served to rouse distrust, even to create enemies, and to neutralize more or less the liberal and conciliatory policy which promised to win adherents.[35]

Bazaine's direct share in shaping the new policy was manifested in a proclamation of October 8th, promising to sincerely carry out the programme of June 12th, by causing the sequestration decree of Forey against republican adherents in Puebla to be annulled,[36] and by effecting the reorganization of the Mexican army for more thoroughly coöperating in the ensuing campaigns. One of the principal reforms was to forbid the demoralizing presence of women, who accompanied almost every corps, embarrassing operations, plundering, and spreading vice and disaffection. The regular army was placed under Marquez, and the auxiliary under Mejía, Vicario, and others.[37] These

[35] The fact that the movement was led by a foreign power, hated for its superiority and success, must operate against it to some extent; and superstition, class, and race feeling, and party spirit and ambition, were still too strong for indulging the hope that a voluntary fusion might be effected, like that under the plan of Iguala. Napoleon wrote decisively against any reactionary policy, although not objecting to temporizing in order to keep the clergy in good humor. Comments in *Domenech, Hist. Mex.*, iii. 95 et seq.; *Iglesias, Interven.*, ii. 184–919; *Kératry, Max.*, 25–8.

[36] *Méx., Boletin Ley.*, 1863, 386–7.

[37] For regulations and leading generals, see *Id.*, 304–14. The decree was issued Sept. 25th, so that Forey contributed his aid.

troops were not numerous, and forced levies being suppressed for reasons of policy as well as military efficiency, a militia was created, under the term Guardia Civil, for the defence of towns and districts. It embraced all able-bodied Mexicans between the age of eighteen and fifty, and was maintained by regulated contributions.[38] An appeal was also made to the Indians in Aztec, rousing their superstition in behalf of religion outraged by liberals, and stating that the empire was spreading fast over the country.[39] The French forces consisted at this time of 34,700 men, including 1,700 cavalry, 2,270 marines, 3,100 artillery, and 3,500 belonging to the commissary and other departments, with 8,700 horses and mules, 80 cannon, and a number of trains. The troops, mobilized at the opening of the actual campaign in November, are placed at 14,000 French and 7,000 Mexicans.[40]

The Juarist forces embraced about this time five divisions, under the direction of Comonfort, minister of war, the eastern of about 3,000 men under Porfirio Diaz, another under Governor Doblado, who had over four thousand men and large means in Guanajuato, Jesus Gonzalez Ortega, the defender of Puebla, Uraga, Arteaga, Negrete, and Berriozábal ranking among the other leading generals. In Durango, Governor Patoni was actively providing resources, with the coöperation of Chihuahua and Sinaloa; and in Puebla and Tlascala, and other directions, fresh troops were forming, although to a great extent by levies.[41] The minister at Washington was meanwhile

[38] Those on duty alone received pay. Armament, medicine, instructions, and pensions, if the fund permitted it, were covered. The decree is dated Oct. 3d. Regulations were also issued for maintaining the efficiency of strongholds. The country was placed under French military laws while the war lasted. Rules in *Id.*, 432–8.

[39] The original text is preserved in *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xvi. 1051–2.

[40] Capt. Niox of the staff gives exact details in his *Expéd. du Mex.*, 328–30, 335–7. He estimates the Mexican troops at about 13,000. A small but famous band among the French was the guerrilla party, operating in Vera Cruz under Col Dupin, whose deeds are recorded by Kératry and others, and in *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 419–33.

[41] The above apportionment underwent certain changes, however, Antillon being alluded to shortly after as commanding the second division. *Estrella*

preparing to obtain loans and armaments in the United States;[42] but to obtain any active sympathy from the government was hopeless, for it could not venture to increase complications while engaged in its exhaustive struggle with the rebellious southern states.[43] Even arms bought in the United States had to be smuggled out of them, so as not to expose the authorities to complaints on the part of France.[44]

There was need for exertion, because the fighting, although still of a desultory nature, was as a rule unfavorable to republican arms. Mejía had taken Actopan in Mexico, and several other reverses followed in this state.[45] So also in Puebla.[46] In Vera Cruz,

Occid., Nov. 13 and Aug. 7, 1863. Niox, *Expéd. du Mex.*, 336, estimates the forces at 8,000 under Negrete, between San Luis Potosí and Pachuca; 4,000 under Uraga, in Michoacan; 4,000 under Álvarez, in Guerrero; and 5,000 under Diaz, to move into Puebla and southward. See other estimates in *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 384-7; *Vega, Doc.*, i. 141, 214, 218-19, 223-4; *Diario Ofic.*, Oct. 3, 1863, etc. Niox estimates the republican.

[42] A new minister, Fuente, had left for Washington in Sept. *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863-7, i. 164. Romero nevertheless figures throughout as Juarist representative.

[43] The main fear was naturally a recognition of the confederacy by France and other powers, which might at best lead to reënforcements for the southern states. The caution of Seward is well instanced by a letter to Minister Corwin in Mexico, who had taken Prussians and other foreign residents under his protection, cautioning him not to rouse the susceptibilities of the government. *Id.*, 93-9; *Foreign Affairs*, 1-253, 38th Cong. 2d Sess. The enlistment of men for the Juarez army had been forbidden, in a special note from Seward of Oct. 29th. An agent from Sonora and adjoining states, of more than doubtful influence, sought about this time to arrange with the Washington government for a cession of these states, in view of the French advance. Little attention was accorded to him. *Voz Méj.*, Feb. 23, 1864. South American states were not illiberal with sympathy for Juarez, but that was all. See correspondence in *Id.*, Aug. 1–Nov. 3, 1863.

[44] In the autumn of this year Gov. Vega of Sinaloa went to California to buy arms, the amount drawn from the custom-house of Mazatlan for the purpose being over $260,000. For documents of instruction, vouchers, and invoices, see *Vega, Doc.*, MS., i. 7 et seq.; *Arellano, Cuenta*, MS., 1-17. The trouble and detention with the 11,000 rifles, etc., are related in *Vega, Deposits*, MS. Subscriptions were also received in California for campaign and prisoners' fund. *Voz Méj.*, Feb. 28, 1863, and following numbers.

[45] The force holding Actopan amounted to 1,300 men under Herrera and Cairo. Cabrera was among the guerrillas elsewhere defeated. In return, one party under Martinez and others gained a temporary advantage at Tlalpan by descending from the Ajusco Range, and in the following month of Nov. they captured a convoy for Cuernavaca. A few days later Giron, Fragoso, and Romero were routed near Otumba. *Periód. Ofic.*, Sept. 10, Nov. 24, 26, Dec. 1, 10, 12, 19, 1863, etc.; *Voz Méj.*, Oct. 15, Nov. 10, Dec. 10, 1863, Jan. 5, 1864, etc.

[46] Where Visoso of Chautla gained advantages over republican guerrillas,

Jalapa was surrendered to the imperialists by Luciano Prieto, after vain effort on the part of the Juarist governor, Miron, who had warning of the treachery, to capture the place.[47] Higher up, in Tamaulipas, the French had gained a foothold in Tampico, as related, and were pressing the Juarists to extreme measures, such as declaring the province in a state of siege. This roused the discontent of the garrison at Matamoros, and caused a pronunciamiento against Governor Ruiz, who thereupon took the field against his rival, Serna, regardless of the cause he was imperilling. The latter prevailed, but the condition of affairs remained doubtful.[48]

CAMPAIGN IN MICHOACAN.

and Gavito relieved Coayuca besieged by them. *Periód. Ofic.*, Sept. 12, 19, Nov. 26, 1863; *La Voz de Méj.*, Nov. 12, 1863.

[47] Miron retired with his 800 men toward Cotastla. This occurred in the latter part of Oct. The French guerrillas under Dupin were keeping clear the vicinity of Vera Cruz city. *Id.*, Oct. 13, 15, Dec. 22, 1863. In Tabasco were also certain movements. *Id.*, Oct. 15.

[48] *Iglesias, Revistas*, ii. 225. This incident led to a singular conservative fiasco. José María Cobos, a Spanish adventurer who had risen from a contraband trader to the rank of general under Zuloaga, was at this time a refugee in Texas. His rank and antipathy toward the French caused him to be summoned as a leader of the movement. He accepted, and without fully sounding the disposition of the pronunciados, prepared to form a revolution against the Juarist government. This was more than Cortina, the commandant of the garrison, had bargained for. He promptly seized the unsuspecting Cobos and had him shot, and thereupon reported to Juarez, declaring his loyalty, but demanding

The imperialists were making rapid strides in different directions, Bazaine himself setting out from Mexico on November 12th to Acámbaro, whence he despatched Marquez with Berthier against Morelia, ever one of the main positions of the republicans. The city had been long preparing for this, yet Berriozábal, commanding there, thought it prudent to evacuate on November 30th. The enemy entered the same day amid a subdued demonstration. The prospective loss of so rich a province as Michoacan could not be quietly endured, and reënforcements were soon sent, which raised the Juarist army here to about 9,000 men. Under the leadership of Uraga, fire was opened against the city on December 17th, several of the points commanding it being secured, although the imperialists had made efforts to strengthen their position. On the following day a general assault was undertaken, and although several advantages were gained at different points, the skill and activity of Marquez prevailed, and Uraga found himself obliged to retreat southward, with a loss of about 1,300 killed and captured, and the dispersion of a large portion of his force.[49]

Still more severe was the effect of imperial operations in the central provinces. Mejía, in union with a French column under Douay, was allowed to enter Querétaro on November 17th without striking more than a passing blow at some guerrillas, the republicans retiring into Guanajuato, where Governor Doblado was making preparations for resistance. Flushed

the confirmation of Serna as governor, and the removal of the siege proclamation. Juarez objected to the arbitrary overthrowing of Ruiz, and this gave impulse to the party war now undertaken. *Diario Ofic.*, Nov. 15, 1863, etc.; *Diaz, Biog.*, MS., 104–5; *La Estrel a de Occid.*, Oct. 13, Dec. 18, 1863. In *Mex., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, i. 189–99, is given the official correspondence.

[49] Marquez' report, 1–27, and lists enumerating 574 killed, and other details. *La Voz de Méj.*, Jan. 7, 12, 16, 1864, etc.; *Periód. Ofic.*, Dec. 12, 1863. Zamacois, *Hist. Méj.*, xvi. 894–920, naturally colors the story in favor of Marquez; and Iglesias, *Revistas*, ii. 219–21, in favor of Uraga. Arrangoiz, *Méj.*, iii. 181, places the loss at 1,500 prisoners and 11 guns, besides 200 killed. Marquez was wounded. Niox says 600 killed and as many prisoners. *Expéd. du Mex.*, 344; *Castillo, Uruapan*, 1–16, with description of town.

with success, and relying on the close vicinity of the main army under Bazaine, who, rejoined by Berthier, was advancing by way of Celaya, Mejía and Douay now proceeded through Allende against Guanajuato. Finding it unsafe to attempt holding a city so readily commanded by surrounding hills, Doblado withdrew, and the enemy took possession on December 9th.[50] Four days later Mejía pursued his march in the direction of San Luis Potosí, halting on the 16th to celebrate in Hidalgo's own town the anniversary of the independence there cradled.

The approach of so formidable a foe pointed to the necessity for new republican headquarters; and on December 22d Juarez and his government abandoned San Luis Potosí for the more distant Saltillo, capital of Coahuila. Monterey had been proposed; but the doubtful attitude of Governor Vidaurri, and the rumors of negotiations between him and the imperialists, made this inadvisable, as will be seen. In addition came changes in the cabinet, owing to the resignation of Nuñez, who had so long and worthily held the finance portfolio, and the killing of Comonfort, minister of war, in an ambush laid by imperialists during his trip to Guanajuato, on November 14th. Thus died the ex-president, to whom belongs in a measure the constitution round which the great struggle was centring. Vacillation had marked his course as a ruler, but as minister, the subordinate of a stronger mind, his character and talents shone with a brighter lustre, and his humanity will ever stand forth as a redeeming trait, even among his opponents.[51]

[50] The division of Miramon and Taboada, which had advanced to Irapuato, could here have swelled their ranks with fully 3,000 volunteers; but Bazaine declined to encumber himself with such men.

[51] The 'assassination,' as republican writers unjustly term it, took place at Molino de Soria, under the lead of Col Gonzalez Aguirre, who also killed several of the small escort and captured some funds and valuable documents. The body was buried at Allende, and a nine days' mourning imposed on officials and the army, *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, i. 186–9, funeral honors being again decreed in 1868, *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, x. 267, when Juarez was able to transfer the remains to San Fernando cemetery at Mexico. See also *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, ii. 531; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xvi. 861–3; *La Voz de Méj.*,

General Uraga succeeded him, and Iglesias, minister of justice, assumed charge also of the treasury,[52] which had just been swelled with the proceeds from a forced loan in each of the three states of Zacatecas, Guanajuato, and San Luis Potosí, and from the sale of sequestrated imperialist property—a timely measure, since these provinces were now doomed. The day before abandoning San Luis Potosí, congress issued one of the usual exhortative and bombastic proclamations,[53] the more needful to sustain the people in face of the cautious attitude of the adjoining republic, the extension of the gulf-coast blockade by French vessels, and the failure which soon became manifest of the leading campaign plan. This was to avoid encounters with the imperialist armies, yet to hover near enough for taking advantage of any neglect or weakness. Doblado's retreat had for an additional or main object to draw pursuit, while other forces united for a descent into the lake valley and upon the capital, chiefly for the purpose of distracting the enemy and giving a fresh impulse to the cause in a moral as well as material point of view. The effort of Uraga and his companions against Morelia was the opening of the latter movement, and its disastrous failure nipped the whole project. Doblado, nevertheless, continued his tactics, entering into negotiations with the enemy to gain time and to dispose of mining interests, yet ever keeping at a distance safe enough to escape a disadvantageous conflict,[54] retiring before

Dec. 10, 1863; 'killed by malefactors, led by the Troncosos,' says a letter in *La Estrella de Occid.*, Dec. 18, 25, 1863; *Periód. Ofic.*, Nov. 21, 1863.

[52] *Iglesias, Revistas*, ii. 197, 225.

[53] Declaiming against the French as marauders and assassins, who proposed the enslavement of Mexico, and pointing out that the more they spread the weaker they would become, and a sure prey to the valiant republicans. *Diario Deb.*, 3d Cong. 2d Sess., 59–61. This is signed by 73 deputies, headed by their president, Arriaga. The former session had closed on May 31st, the present was summoned for Sept. 5th. *Mex., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, i. 103–4.

[54] 'Parecía destinado Doblado á engañar á todos los diplomáticos y los generales,' exclaims Arrangoiz, tartly. *Méj.*, iii. 182. Bazaine's object, says a French writer, was to win over Doblado and place him in the regency. 'De jeter en bas Almonte et Salas, ou tout au moins le dernier.' *Mex. L'Interv. Franç.*, 204; *Periód. Ofic.*, Dec. 10, 17, 19, 1863, Jan. 12, 1864; *La Voz de Méj.*, Dec. 12, 1863, etc.; *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 341–3.

the pursuit from Leon to Lagos, and thence into Aguascalientes, where he was joined by Chavez and by Governor Ortega of Zacatecas.[55]

The approach of Mejía to San Luis Potosí had led to its evacuation by General Negrete, who commanded in this section for Juarez. Two days later, on December 25th, the imperialists took possession; but they were not to be left undisturbed. Negrete obtained reënforcements, and sought, on the 27th, to regain the city by assault. Mejía had sufficient warning to throw up a few intrenchments; nevertheless, the republicans penetrated to the plaza, and but for the bravery of the imperialist leaders, the advantage might have been carried further. The rally by the latter came so unexpectedly and with such force, as to wholly overwhelm the assailants; and they were completely routed, leaving 200 killed and nearly 900 prisoners, together with all the guns and war material.[56] The disaster was no less severe than that of Morelia, depriving the Juarist government, as it did, of its chief and immediate bulwark. Fortunately Mejía was not strong enough to venture in pursuit. One result, however, was the voluntary surrender shortly after of the generals Aramberri, Parrodi, and Ampudia, besides a host of lesser chiefs.[57]

[55] Arteaga and Rojas were expected to join Uraga with 8,000 men. *Iglesias, Revistas*, ii. 224.

[56] Ghilardi and Alcalde led two of the three charging columns. The failure was attributed to a lack of accord. Iglesias denies that reënforcements had been received. *Revistas*, ii. 223. Niox places the combatants at 2,500 and 5,000 respectively. *Expéd. du Mex.*, 346. Zamacois raises the number of prisoners to 1,300. *Hist. Méj.*, xvi. 926. The false alarm of French reënforcements for Mejía had led Negrete to evacuate the city. *Vega, Ausil. Comis.*, in *Vega, Doc.; Periód. Ofic.*, Jan. 12, 1864; *La Voz de Méj.*, Feb. 9, 1864, etc.

[57] Parrodi was born in Habana, Ampudia in Spain. *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 180. This author is frequently wrong in dates. *Mex., Col. Leyes*, 1863–67, i. 235, 286–7, alludes feelingly to the killing of Governor Villanueva.

CHAPTER VI.

ARRIVAL OF THE IMPERIAL SOVEREIGNS.

1864.

MILITARY MOVEMENTS—JUAREZ DECLINES TO RESIGN—HE RETIRES TO MONTEREY—TAMPICO CAMPAIGN—IMPERIAL GAINS—PROCEEDINGS IN EUROPE—FORMAL ACCEPTATION OF THE MEXICAN CROWN—IMPERIAL VISIT TO ROME—ARRIVAL OF THE SOVEREIGNS AT VERA CRUZ—RECEPTIONS AT CÓRDOBA, ORIZABA, AND PUEBLA—ENTRY INTO MEXICO—GRAND DEMONSTRATION—NEW ORDER CREATED.

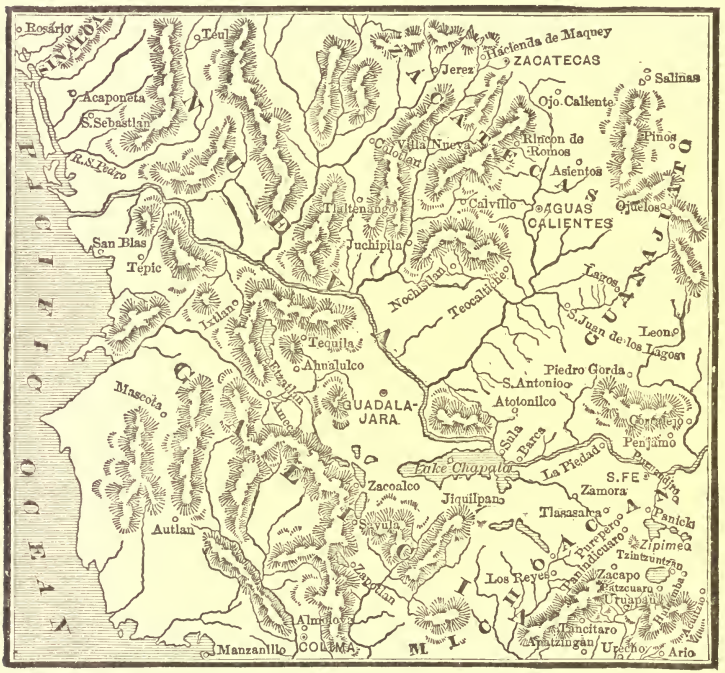
BAZAINE himself met with equal success in the west by occupying the important city of Guadalajara, on January 5, 1864, without a blow, General Arteaga retiring southward, joined by the Rojas and other guerrillas. General Mariano Morett was appointed prefect of the new department, and several other distributions of offices took place.[1] Political affairs calling the French commander-in-chief back to Mexico, he left[2] Colonel Garnier in charge, with a garrison of 2,000 men. This withdrawal was no sooner known than the Juarist generals Uraga and Ortega prepared to move against the city with respectable forces,[3] but no resolute operations were made, Garnier taking the offensive and distracting the somewhat scattered forces, till Douay arrived on February 25th with strong reenforcements. Ortega now retired toward Fresnillo, and Uraga westward. The latter had been unfor-

[1] *La Voz de Méj.*, Jan. 15, 1864, etc.; *Periód. Ofic.*, Mar. 3, 1864; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xvii. 10–12.

[2] He pursued some harassing guerrillas, and placed small forces at La Piedad and Zamora.

[3] Niox, *Expéd. du Mex.*, 353, places their strength at 5,000 and 2,000 respectively.

tunate ever since the defeat at Morelia. After several vague movements his supplies had been cut off, and his forces so disorganized that on retreating into Jalisco in the beginning of the year, he found himself reduced to little over 2,000 men, although this number was here quickly increased. Michoacan remained after this comparatively quiet under the administration of Marquez.[4]



FRENCH OPERATIONS IN JALISCO.

Uraga's retreat had been mainly due to Douay, who thereupon, in conjunction with Castagny, went northward, captured Aguascalientes,[5] and continued

[4] Guerrillas hovered here as elsewhere, however, directed in part by Caamaño, Juarist governor. *La Voz de Méj.*, June 28, 1864; *Vega, Doc.*, ii. In May Servin was surprised.

[5] Defended by about 600 men. Three chiefs, Jáureguy, Mendoza, and Ramirez, were executed for brigandage.

his march against the rich mining town of Zacatecas, which was occupied without a blow on February 7th. Here Castagny was left in charge,[6] while the former hastened to the relief of Garnier at Guadalajara, and began in this region a campaign for driving out Juarists. He was encouraged at the outset by the adhesion of General Lozada, who, at the head of the Indians in Tepic district, had affected independence of the two contending parties.[7] Going south in pursuit of the guerrillas Gutierrez and Rojas, he inflicted a severe defeat on the former, and destroyed two factories for arms and powder near Cocula.[8] A little later he entered Colima, pressing closely General Uraga, who had here sought to recuperate himself.[9]

Meanwhile detachments were penetrating northward, a garrison being placed at Cuquio, on the road to Zacatecas. Colonel Potier, on May 13th, took by assault Nochistlan, one of the chief republican strongholds,[10] which was obstinately defended. He thereupon entered the mountains in pursuit of the guerrilla chiefs Sandoval and Cadena, and after more than one victorious encounter, managed to restore tranquillity for a time in the valleys above Juchipila.[11] The upper portions thereof had been cleared three months before by Castagny's men, who on February 16th surprised

[6] Transferred soon after to Querétaro, Gen. L'Hériller took command here. *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 368.

[7] He accepted subsidies for his troops, which were placed at 3,000, including 1,000 mounted men. The arrangement was effected March 19th, through Rivas, the lieut of Lozada.

[8] At Tula and Tlapalpa, on March 26th and 27th.

[9] He had been levying on cattle and grain. Governor Ramon de la Vega had left some time ago for Acapulco, *La Estrella de Occid.*, Mar. 11, 1864, Julio García succeeding. *La Voz de Méj.*, June 28, 1864. By decree of March 31st, Uraga, as commander of the central division of the army, received extraordinary powers, which served him little however. *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, ii. 17; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, ix. 679–80.

[10] Held by Jesus Mejía with nearly 500 men. Mejía fell, with most of his officers and about 200 men.

[11] Niox claims some valiant deeds here on the part of Courcy's division. 'Le peloton de chasseurs á cheval, réduit á treize hommes, aborda sans hésiter plus de trois cents cavaliers.' *Expéd. du Mex.*, 369. The superiority of French arms and the prestige of constant victories were powerful auxiliaries. Courcy had previously driven Sandoval from Colotlan district. Both the chiefs surrendered not long after.

Colotlan and took four score prisoners, including General Ghilardi. The latter, being a fugitive from Puebla, after the capitulation, was shot.[12] A similar fate befell Chavez, the late governor of Aguascalientes, who during the following month made a raid on Malpaso hacienda, and allowed his followers to kill a number of women and children.[13] A detachment pursued him to Jerez, and captured the place with considerable slaughter.[14]

In the Pinos district, eastward, several guerrilla bands were driven back into the Sierra Hermosa, where Ortega was holding forth with nearly 3,000 men, gathering tribute from mines, and awaiting the opportunity for effective demonstration. This he lost by failing to coöperate with Doblado, who, in the middle of May, descended from Monterey upon Matehuala, where Mejía had been stationed since January. Advised of the movement, the latter obtained French reënforcements under Colonel Aymard, commandant at San Luis Potosí, and Doblado met with a reception as unexpected as it was hot. Within a few hours he found himself completely routed, with a loss of nearly 1,200 prisoners and all his artillery.[15] The blow overthrew all Juarist plans for a while, and Doblado felt it so severely that he left the country within a few weeks for the United States, where he died a year later.[16] Mejía was gratified by the

[12] He defended Acapulco in Jan. 1863, against Admiral Bouet, and fought at San Luis Potosí, as we have seen. 'Asesinato' is the term applied by republicans to his execution. *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 334.

[13] Certain republican sources will admit only that the place took fire during the attack, and charge that the Mexican rabble in the French wake did such deeds at Jerez, whither Chavez retired. *La Estrella de Occid.*, June 10, 1864. Zamacois assumes that the deed was committed by a rebellious band of his party. *Hist. Méj.*, xvii. 111. Of course the *Periód. Ofic.*, April 3, 1864, paints it stronger.

[14] A widely signed petition was presented in his behalf, pleading his age, family connections, and great services for his state; but in vain. Seven others were likewise executed.

[15] The victors place Doblado's forces at 6,000, with 18 cannon. *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 371. Iglesias reduces them to 2,000. *Revistas*, 366. The battle took place May 17th, Antillon leading the troops, assisted by Carbajal. *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863-7, 47-9; *La Voz de Méj.*, May 22, June 7, 1864.

[16] June 19, 1865. He remained ever true to the cause, as may be judged

receipt, shortly after the victory, of the cross of the legion of honor, sent by Napoleon. San Luis Potosí remained after this comparatively quiet, save in the northern districts; but even in the more southern department of Guanajuato and Querétaro into Mexico and Puebla, guerrillas rose now and then, with little success, however.[17]

The only important exception, so far, to the succession of republican disasters is furnished in the

STATE OF OAJACA.

campaign of General Diaz. At the head of the eastern division of the army, consisting of about 3,000 men, with a few cannon, organized mainly by himself, he swept, early in the autumn of the preceding year, through Querétaro, Michoacan, and Mexico, into Guerrero, driving Valdés before him, and laying

from his indignant return of a pass procured for him from the imperial authorities. *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xvii. 516–18.

[17] For details concerning preceding operations in the northern and western regions, see *La Voz de Méj.*, Jan. to June 1864, passim; *Periód. Ofic., Id., Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xvi. 923 et seq., xvii. 7 et seq.; *Iglesias, Revistas*, ii. 251 et seq.

siege, on October 26th, to the small though strong town of Tasco, celebrated since Aztec times for its silver mines. The militia, headed by Toledo, made a vigorous resistance, but were compelled to capitulate three days later.[18] On the 5th of November Diaz moved against the brigade of Vicario, who took refuge within the historic Iguala; but reënforcements coming from Mexico and Michoacan, the siege was abandoned. Diaz now proceeded southward and into Oajaca, receiving continual additions to his forces, which soon after were estimated as high as 8,000 men.[19] He assumed, also, the political control of the states from Vera Cruz southward, and took measures for counteracting imperialist movements. Guerrero remained in charge of the valiant ex-president, Juan Álvarez, practically the sovereign in this region, whose advanced age had of late obliged him to surrender active pursuits to his son Diego. He died September 28th. Pinzon assisted in the defence of the state, which found protection in the unhealthy climate of certain coast districts.

In Chiapas the imperialists had as yet obtained no sure foothold,[20] and their position was further imperilled by the fall, on the 27th of February, of San Juan Bautista, capital of Tabasco, after a siege of six weeks. It was defended both by garrison and French vessels;[21] but the ready water communication, the large reënforcements sent by Diaz, and the hostility

[18] Surrendering 271 prisoners. *Iglesias, Revistas*, ii. 195. A previous attempt by guerrillas upon Teloloapan, near by, had failed.

[19] Niox placed them, in Oct., at 6,000. Iglesias raises this, a little later, to 7,000; and Vega, *Doc.*, i. 316, hazards 8,000; while *La Estrella de Occid.*, July 8, 1864, swells the number, in May 1864, to 12,000. *La Voz de Méj.*, Mar. 22, June 0, 1864; *Periód. Ofic.*, Jan. 16, 1864.

[20] Their forces under Ortega were in the beginning of the year holding forth near the Tabasco frontier. *La Estrella de Occid.*, April 21, 1864; *La Voz de Méj.*, Dec. 22, 1863, May 10, 1864.

[21] Gov. Sierra places the imperial force at 600, with 4 steamers, 1 schooner, and 2 small craft. Six cannon were captured. *La Estrella de Occid.*, Apr. 21, July 1, 1864. Niox allows only a garrison of 200 Mexicans, and alludes merely to one French vessel. *Expéd. du Mex.*, 374. Mendez gives an elaborate report of the siege operations directed by him. *Reseña Ofic.*, 26–44. Fortifications were erected to secure the place. *Id.*, 47–51; *Pap. Var.*, civ., pt 5. Mendez was soon after rewarded with the governorship, replacing Sierra.

of the people made it both useless and expensive to attempt holding this state, so remote from the centre of operations. The French accordingly restricted themselves for a while to a not very effectual blockade of the river mouth. The republicans, on the other hand, were so encouraged by their success as to advance into Vera Cruz, under García, and lay siege to Minatitlan, which surrendered March 28th.[22]

These advantages were neutralized by French successes in Yucatan. A strong party, headed by General Navarrete, had pronounced for the empire, in the northern part of the state, and incited by district rivalry, they seized the pretence for invading Campeche, which upheld Juarez. Captain Gloué assisted with a naval force, and the city yielded on January 22d.[23] Navarrete could not be induced to join in a Tabasco campaign, but the imperial control over the Términos region served in a measure to sustain the faction lately rising in Chiapas.

President Juarez had, meanwhile, been so pressed by troubles nearer home as to find little time to deplore the disasters overwhelming him in the central and western provinces. Discontent, as we have seen, was roused in many quarters against several of his acts, invested as he had been with dictatorial power; yet the feeling could be traced chiefly to personal jealousy, which seized upon military reverses for the purpose of casting discredit upon the executive. At this time the term of the supreme judges expired, and congress not being in session, and an election difficult to make, Juarez assumed the responsibility of appointing others. This gave fresh cause for outcry against a president whose prestige was obscured by flight.

[22] *Periód. Ofic.*, April 14, 1864, etc. Niox places García's force at 3,000. Alatorre was carrying the war farther into this state.

[23] The *Magellan* was Gloué's vessel. Among the trophies were a score of cannon, including French pieces of the eighteenth century. On the 30th the French troops agreed to retire, only a part of Navarrete's remaining. *La Estrella de Occid.*, July 29, 1864; *La Voz de Méj.*, March 24, 1864; *Nacional*, March 21, 1864.

His resignation was demanded, Doblado and Ortega sending a commission to Saltillo to that effect. Juarez refused to comply, on the ground that not he but the form of government was the object of attack; and, chosen by the people to defend their institutions, he felt bound to maintain his position while they were imperilled.[24] There had been some talk in congress of another faction, to amend the constitution so as to conciliate a large element, but without leading to anything definite. The firmness of Juarez, and his desire to avoid discord, prevailed with Doblado and Ortega. Not so with Vidaurri, who had joined in the outcry. The yielding of the others caused him to shift his base a little, and demand of the minister of finance the restoration to the government of the sources of federal revenue so long abandoned to his state. He declared that Nuevo Leon and Coahuila could not at the time spare these means, and indignant at the interference now begun in departments which he had hitherto controlled like a sovereign, he peremptorily forbade custom-house collectors from paying over any funds to Juarez.[25] The latter replied by stating that he was about to transfer his seat of government to Monterey, Vidaurri's capital, attended by the troops of Doblado, and with General Antillon in close proximity.[26] Vidaurri made some preparations, but dared not offer decided resistance, and Juarez entered on February 12th, amidst the sullen silence of the people. Reenforcements were approaching, however, to sustain the rebellious governor, who had persuaded Doblado to retire, and two days later the president found it prudent to return to Saltillo.[27]

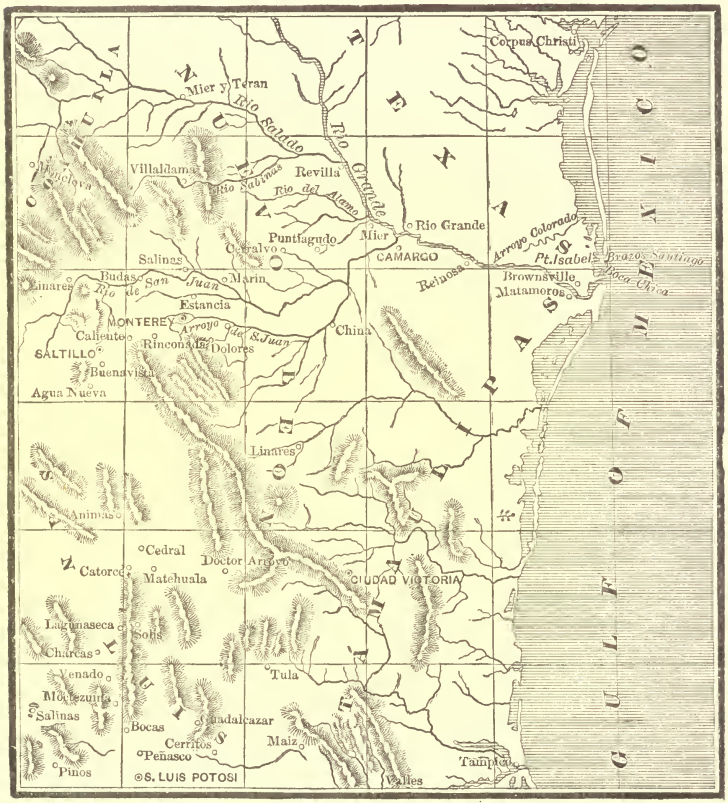
[24] These reasons he explained in a letter to Doblado of Jan. 20th, intimating that French intrigues were at the bottom of the outcry. The latter idea was plausible, from the fact that the outcry was taken up by Vidaurri, who stood suspected of communicating with the French.

[25] A lengthy correspondence ensued, culminating Feb. 1st in a pointed demand on Vidaurri to obey. *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, i. 306, etc.

[26] Commanding respectively 1,500 and 2,000 men. A circular of Feb. 5th announced the change of capital. *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, i. 308.

[27] Vidaurri had withdrawn into the citadel with the troops at his immediate command, and with the seeming connivance of Doblado, who made a separate

Deeply incensed at the humiliation, Juarez at once took steps to restore his prestige. Doblado was drawn closer by promises, and Uraga, Ortega, and Governor Patoni of Durango were ordered to send aid. Vi-



NUEVO LEON.

daurri had resolved to break with the republican authorities, bidding the state officials to ignore them.

agreement to retire, regardless of Juarez' wishes. *La Estrella de Occid.*, April 15, 1864. etc.; *Periód. Ofic.*, March 31, 1864, etc.; *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, i. 225–60.

Personal ambition was the main object with him, and finding from the preparations of Juarez that this might be imperilled, he entered freely into the negotiations opened by Bazaine, who held out both threats and promises. Not venturing to give in his adhesion to the empire without the consent of the people, he ordered, on March 2d, that their votes should be taken on the matter.[28]

Aware of the negotiations, Juarez had on the 26th of February issued a decree dissolving the union of Coahuila and Nuevo Leon, formed by the ambitious Vidaurri a few years before, and declaring them in a state of siege. A week later he issued a proclamation imposing the penalty for traitors on all who obeyed the summons to vote issued by Vidaurri, now virtually considered as removed from his government.[29] This threat, sustained by the gathering Juarist forces, intimidated the people from voting, and signs of defection appearing among the troops,[30] Vidaurri sent commissioners to Juarez, offering to retire into private life if the past were overlooked. The president replied that submission must be unconditional. Vidaurri had prepared for defence, and would agree to no such terms; but on learning that the troops marching against him numbered about 7,000, under Miguel Negrete, minister of war, he abandoned the city with a force of over 1,000 men. These soon abandoned him, and he fled into Texas. The Juarists occupied Monterey March 29th, and the government installed

[28] The vote to be registered before the local authorities in two books, 'uno con el título de votacion por la paz, y el otro con el de votacion por la guerra.' *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, ix. 679. Additional documents bearing on the attitude of Vidaurri may be consulted in *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, i. 263 et seq., ii. 10–16; *La Estrella de Occid.*, April 8, 1864, etc.; *Periód. Ofic.*, Mar. 5, 1864, and other journals of the day.

[29] The last decree is dated March 5th. *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, ii. 9–10; *Dublan*, ix. 673–4. The separation of the state was contrary to the constitution of 1857, and Minister Lerdo sought in a circular to excuse it on the ground of Vidaurri's tyrannical and treasonable acts. Lozano, in *Vega, Doc.*, i. 443–4, expressed a wide-spread sentiment that Juarez should have left Vidaurri to be judged by the nation, and not imperilled the cause by drawing troops from exposed provinces for the sake of fighting him.

[30] Vidaurri had only 2,000 men, of whom only those under Colonel Quiroga could be relied upon.

itself there a few days later, summoning the congress to meet there[31] under protection of the army, which was imposing enough to keep in check the French forces in San Luis Potosí,[32] by its movements in the northern part of that state, till Doblado's crushing defeat at Matehuala reduced its proportions. Meanwhile it also assisted to restrict imperialists in Tampico, although Carbajal was driven from the district on attempting to encroach too closely upon the ground held by the French guerrilla chief, Dupin, imperialist governor of Tamaulipas, a daring, but cruel and greedy soldier.[33] This reverse by no means quieted the region, and in order to obtain submission, he caused the town of Ozuluama to be burned for a refusal to surrender arms. The effect was to hasten the evacuation of Pánuco, by the Juarist Pavon; but reënforced from Huasteca, he retook the town not long after.[34]

The preceding review of military operations shows that as the time approached for Maximilian to take possession of his throne, the most important part of the country had been practically brought under his sway, embracing the vast extent of rich mining and agricultural provinces from about latitude 18° to 23°, containing two thirds of the population and the chief manufacturing and trade interests. In some of these provinces republican guerrillas still hovered, notably in

[31] *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, ii. 18–21, 238. The evacuation by Vidaurri took place between March 26th and 29th. He spiked the abandoned guns. Quiroga followed him in his flight. *La Estrella de Occid.*, April 21, May 6, 1864; *La Voz de Méj.*, April 30, 1864; *Vega, Doc.*, i. 338.

[32] An intercepted letter from Baron Aymar, commanding there, places his force toward the end of April at 2,500 Frenchmen and 4,000 Mexicans. *La Estrella de Occid.*, July 1, 1864.

[33] Called the Tiger of the Tropics, for his wanton cruelty. Traits instanced in *Edward's Shelby's Exped.*, 43–5. He besieged Temapache, and was there defeated April 18th, with a loss of over 150 men, says Niox, who places his force at 1,200, and Dupin's auxiliaries at about 300. *Expéd. du Mex.*, 373–4. The Juarists embraced a proportion of North American frontiersmen. Carbajal retired to Ciudad Rodrigo, placing himself in communication with the Juarist governor, Cortina, commanding at Matamoros. *Iglesias, Revistas*, 412.

[34] In the autumn. Dupin forced him to evacuate May 22d, and allowed several outrages on persons and property. *Lefévre, Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 342–6; *La Estrella de Occid.*, Sept. 9, Nov. 11, 18, 1864; *La Voz de Méj.*, May 19, June 30, Aug. 25, 1864.

Michoacan, Jalisco, and southern Puebla, but the imperialists were about to capture Acapulco and reduce Guerrero, to invade Sinaloa and advance in other directions, so that the position of the former party was precarious indeed. At the close of May, however, they still held the rather scantily inhabited provinces of Sinaloa and Sonora, Durango and Chihuahua, Nuevo Leon and part of Tamaulipas, including control of some rich mining districts, and two valuable custom-houses at Matamoros and Mazatlan. In the south they occupied Guerrero, Oajaca, Tabasco, and Chiapas, where Diaz loomed as the only formidable bulwark; for the northern armies were about shattered, and their territory protected greatly by the sparseness of its settlements, with the attendant lack of supplies, and hardships.[35]

The reason for the rapid advance of the Franco-Mexicans was due, not to superior valor, for the republicans fought well, but to discipline and arms, and above all to a better organization of troops, and carefully studied manœuvres. The Juarist forces, on the other hand, were largely of raw recruits, attracted by patriotism or a desire for plunder, or more generally pressed into service, and little able from lack of training and disposition to withstand the regular soldiers from European and Algerian battle-fields. They were deficient in armament and outfit, in quantity as well as quality, and discord reigned, one jealous leader opposing another, or refusing to act in accord, and so causing the failure of the best plans.

The successes of the Franco-Mexican columns might have been made even more effective had the regency displayed any proportionate energy in organizing the

[35] The official organ, *Periód. Ofic.*, Nov. 12, 1863 et seq., and other journals of the day, contain lists of adhesion and the ministerial reports. A very acceptable compilation thereof is given in *Max. y Carlota, Adven.*, 91–100, and in *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xvii. 470–80, showing the gains month by month till Aug.; yet many of the towns and districts enumerated turned back to the republic whenever pressure was applied. In *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 335, 384–7, is given the republican version of territory held at this time, and the forces therein.

administration and carrying out reforms.[36] The Mexican imperialists clung, above all, to the conservative principles, and the liberal ideas, as exhibited in church questions and other respects, were generally due to French compulsion.[37] To the same source Juarists ascribe the popular adhesion to the empire.[38] There is no doubt that the largest proportion of the people in the occupied provinces, including the steady artisan, the settled farmer, the trader, and property holder, the substantial people of the country, gave in their allegiance, or allowed the local authorities to do so in their name, mainly for the sake of peace, admitting probably that this appeared to be best insured under a strong central government, like the empire, upheld by such powerful elements as French armies. But many had suffered so severely from unprincipled guerrillas as to abhor the term Juarist; others saw in the federal republic only a faction-tórn illusion; and a still larger party was influenced wholly by the clergy, to whom the empire promised wealth and power.

Knowing as we do the national characteristics of indolence and improvidence, impetuosity and vanity, we can readily understand how the one might, in certain cases, influence submission, while the others would prompt to patriotic efforts, regardless of personal comfort or prospects. The fact that French armies piloted the new government was enough to modify every success, as instanced by the constant effort, of land-holders at least, to tender neutrality instead of submission,[39] and the repeated springing-up

[36] 'Si ceux des Mexicains, qui se disaient impérialistes, eussent suivi les exemples de dévouement et d'abnégation donnés par les troupes françaises, l'Empire mexicain eût été fondé,' says Niox, *Expéd. du Mex.*, 371, somewhat complacently. This applies to civil as well as military operations.

[37] In a letter written to Almonte in Dec. 1863, Napoleon manifested displeasure at the conservative spirit of his party, and declared that he would allow no blind reaction that might compromise the future and disgrace the French banner.

[38] As instanced by statements in *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 409-11; *La Estrella de Occid.*, Sept. 16, 1864.

[39] True, this was partly prompted by fear of avenging guerrillas. The sub-

of fresh opponents, even in the central provinces. Victories by foreign soldiers could hardly please even the most rabid conservative; and to others they appeared in more sombre aspect as being achieved for the sake of installing a foreign prince, perhaps a mere agent for French designs. Every severe act by such hands, as the execution of bandit chiefs or guerrilla leaders, tended to intensify dislike under the incentive of republican proclamations.[40]

At the opening of the year the Franco-Mexican forces had overrun the most important part of the country, and in February there were adherents enough to represent the majority of the provinces, and presumably of the population. Regardless of the sincerity of this vote, the regency hastened to send the returns to the commissioners in Europe. This unwarrantable haste must not be censured too severely, however, for Maximilian himself appears to have been eager to grasp at almost any illusions that might excuse his acceptance of the coveted crown.[41] He had long regarded himself as emperor, holding councils and arranging private affairs with that view. The latter called him to Brussels, and receiving there the report of the plebiscit in Mexico, he hastened to Paris to arrange for guarantees.

With the coöperation of English bankers, a loan of £8,000,000 was placed, which, after deducting the modest discount of thirty-seven per cent and the expenses, yielded less than half the amount. Of this Maximilian obtained about ten per cent, and most of the remainder was absorbed for interest on the present and previous loans. So much for the first financial

mission tendered through local authorities proved no burden on the conscience.

[40] As instanced in that by Gen. Uraga of March 28, 1864, from San Márcos. *La Estrella de Occid.*, May 27, 1864.

[41] 'Se pudo echar de ver los deseos que tenia S. A. de ser emperador,' says Arrangoiz, instancing his anxiety and agitation. *Méj.*, iii. 187. Events justify this statement.

operation of the empire.[42] The guarantees were satisfactorily arranged, as will be seen, although not without some trouble, owing to Maximilian's decided refusal to let France absorb Sonora.[43]

After a series of brilliant receptions at Paris, the archduke and his consort crossed to England to hold an interview with Palmerston, leading to no better results than before. Ex-queen Marie Amélie, grandmother of Charlotte, living at Claremont, expressed herself decidedly opposed to the enterprise. She had experienced the dangers and illusions connected with a crown, and in a country more stable in culture and politics than Mexico. But nothing could now change the resolution taken.

Returning to Miramare, where the Mexican deputation was awaiting him,[44] Maximilian prepared to formally accept the throne. There was a serious hinderance, however. One condition expected by the Mexicans, and demanded by Emperor Francis Joseph, was that he should renounce his right of succession to the Austrian throne. But the sacrifice appeared greater as the time approached for making it. There was but one young son of the emperor between him and that mighty object, and the manner in which Francis Jo-

[42]Although the English were bribed with a payment toward previous neglected loans, the money was subscribed mainly in France. Nearly 27 millions remained unplaced out of the total nominal sum of 201 million francs, which at 63 per cent equalled 127 millions to be received. The net result, less expenses, was 93,726,119. The English obtained from this 23 millions against old dividends. Interest on the actual loan for 2 years took 24 millions at 6 per cent on the nominal sum. Maximilian received 8 millions, and the French managed to seize a part of the small remainder. *Méx., Mem. Hac.*, 1870, 602–3. Niox, *Expéd. du Méx.*, 360, is somewhat loose in his figures. Arrangoiz growls at the sum taken by the emperor, and so does Iglesias. *Revistas*, ii. 318–19, 343–8, 377–89.

[43]A point used afterward as an argument for defence. See *Max., Defensa*, 50. It was rumored at this time that a kingdom might be formed from the provinces south of Tehuantepec isthmus, including Yucatan, Guatemala, and Honduras, with the count of Flanders for ruler. *Lêfevre, Doc. Maximiliano*, 441–2. Mexicans sought to oppose Maximilian's visit to Paris in his then yielding mood, but Napoleon expressing a decided wish to see him, he dared not delay. He arrived at Paris March 5th.

[44] Consisting of nearly the same number as before. Miranda had returned to Mexico, and there died March 7th. He was a zealous churchman, as instanced by his several writings, one of which I possess in autograph, entitled *La Vida ó la Muerte*, MS., 1857, 99 leaves.

seph himself had gained the sceptre held out alluring hopes for similar accidents. The archducal pair wished to retain their right at least in behalf of descendants, and a decided coldness sprang up between the brothers on this point, Charlotte displaying her agitation by easy-flowing tears. Mexican history for the last half-century presented by no means a reassuring prospect to rulers.[45]

Finally the emperor came over to Miramare and the matter was arranged, Maximilian signing, on the 9th of April, the desired renunciation in behalf of himself and his descendants.[46] On the following day he received the Mexican deputation in the midst of a brilliant assemblage. Their president, Gutierrez de Estrada, was spokesman, and announced that the vote of the assembly of notables had been ratified by an immense majority of the people, through the municipal authorities and other popular bodies. They accordingly came to ask him for a full and definite acceptance of the Mexican throne, from which to advance the glorious destiny of the country.[47] The archduke replied that a careful examination of the acts of allegiance filled him with confidence in the ratification, so that he could regard himself as the rightful elect of the people. The French emperor had given the necessary guarantees for enabling the new empire to establish its independence and welfare on solid bases; and the chief of his family having consented, he now solemnly accepted from the Mexican

[45] The Mexican deputation, so far kept waiting, found 'al archiduque paseándose agitado; á la archiduquesa llorosa.' *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 192–3. Some of the newspapers, *Accion* and *La Estrella de Occid.*, Sept. 2, 1864, satirize the deputation as awe-stricken in the presence of royalty. Charlotte sought vainly in a special interview with the emperor to make him yield.

[46] So long as a male descendant of any of the archdukes remained alive, his own could lay no claim, not even to guardianship over a minor heir to the throne. He also resigned his claim to the property pertaining to the archducal house, except under certain remote conditions. An essential change in his prospects would entitle him to a share, however. Full text in *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 195–9.

[47] While promising 'endless love and inalterable fidelity,' they added the saving clause, 'we cannot say that the enterprise will be easy.' 'Nunca lo fué, ni lo será jamás, la fundacion de un imperio.' *Méx., Boletin Ley.*, 1864, 8.

nation the offered crown. He assumed the power conferred on him, but "would retain it only till order could be reëstablished in Mexico, with wisely liberal institutions." He would "hasten to place the monarchy under constitutional laws so soon as complete pacification had been attained." The oath was thereupon administered, followed by a triple viva to the new emperor and empress, in whose honor the imperial Mexican flag was hoisted amidst salvos from battle-ships and batteries. During the te deum services in the chapel, Maximilian wore the Guadalupe order. A banquet concluded the ceremonies.[48]

The same day were issued decrees dissolving the regency, and appointing Almonte lieutenant of the empire, to govern for the emperor; sedate old Joaquin Velazquez de Leon minister of state; Arrangoiz, Hidalgo, and Murphy ministers plenipotentiary to Belgium, France, and Austria, respectively; Woll adjutant-general; and a number of foreign and Mexican nobles and gentlemen as officers of the imperial household,[49] several of whom were decorated with the order of Guadalupe, now restored.[50] The empress was declared regent in case of accident.[51]

A more important transaction was the signing of the convention with Napoleon, whereby it was agreed

[48] The speeches and ceremonies are recorded in *Méx., Boletin Ley.*, 1864, 3–12, together with names of those attending. The ceremonies are more fully described in *Miramar á Mex.*, 14 et seq., with portraits. Estrada knelt to kiss the hand of the emperor, 'en señal de homenage,' says this and other Mexican authorities, whereat republicans wax wrathy; but Arrangoiz doubts it. 'Enthusiastic tears were shed' by Mexicans; 'the emperor was too moved to attend the banquet,' and so forth. See also *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, 199, app. 28 et seq.; *Parthe, Interven.*, 35–40; *Hall's Life Max.*, 79–83; *Domenech, Hist. Mex.*, iii. 173–6. In *Max. y Carlota, Adven.*, 105–24, is a full account, compiled from letters and periodicals.

[49] Count de Zichy, grand master to the empress; Count de Bombelles, chamberlain to the emperor; Marquis de Corio, chamberlain to the empress; Counselor Schertzenlechner, director of the civil list; Angel Iglesias, provisional secretary of the cabinet; Ontiveros, Schaffer, Günner, adjutants; and several others for the private service of the emperor, Eloin, secretary, acquiring great influence. See *Max. y Carlota, Adven.*, 129–30; *Méx., Boletin Ley.*, 1864, 13–15. Leon was very ugly, but polite and refined; Iglesias, an attractive man of mistrusting disposition.

[50] Decree and names in *Id.*, 15–18. The order was divided into five classes, Gutierrez receiving the grand cross, as did the generals Marquez and Mejía.

[51] *Mex., Col. Leyes Imp.*, i. 17.

to reduce the French troops as soon as possible to 25,000, including the foreign legion. This body, serving to insure the object of the intervention, should evacuate the country as soon as the forces could be organized to take their place; yet the foreign legion of 8,000 was to remain, if required, for six years after the above withdrawal, sustained from this time by the Mexican government. The transport service for French military supplies must be paid by the same government with 400,000 francs for the round trip; likewise the cost of the French expedition, fixed at 270,000,000 francs for the whole time, till July 1, 1864, with interest at three per cent per annum. After this date the expenses of the Mexican army rested with Mexico, which had also to give 1,000 francs for the maintenance of each French soldier, pay included. Against these sums the Mexican government had to pay at once 66,000,000 in bonds of the late loan, at the rate of issue,[52] and 25,000,000 in specie annually.[53] A mixed commission of three Frenchmen and three Mexicans was to meet at Mexico within three months, to adjust the claims of French citizens.[54] All Mexican prisoners of war held by the French were to be released as soon as Maximilian entered his states. In additional secret articles, Maximilian approved of the French policy as outlined in Forey's proclamation of June 11, 1863, and subsequently through Bazaine and the regency, and he promised to so express himself in a manifesto to the people. Napoleon promised, on his side, that the French force of 38,000 men should be reduced only gradually, 28,000 thereof remaining in 1865, 25,000

[52] Of which 54,000,000 to go against the debt of 270,000,000, and 12,000,000 against claims of French citizens.

[53] To be credited, first, against transport service and maintenance of troops; next, interest and capital of debt; and lastly, claims of French citizens. The sum needed for maintenance of French troops to be paid at the close of every month.

[54] A revisionary commission had afterward to meet at Paris to liquidate the claims admitted by the body at Mexico, deciding upon any left in abeyance.

in 1866, and 20,000 in 1867. The officers of the foreign legion included in the above force, serving as they did also French interests, were to retain the right to promotion in the French army.[55]

The secret clauses were loudly decried afterward as a deception on the people, ministering wholly to the ambitious views of the contracting parties, and in direct opposition to what had been intimated to the deputation from Mexico. The trip to Paris had greatly modified, or rather defined, the plans of Maximilian; yet the conservatives should have learned from his administration in Lombardy that his ideas were decidedly liberal. The clause for the maintenance of a larger French force than mentioned in the first article shows how little confidence the new emperor had in the 'immense popular majority' which elected him, a doubt expressed also in the demand for frequent demonstrations on the coasts by French vessels, and in his reluctance to surrender archducal rights.[56] The financial part of the agreement was denounced by the Juarists as an outrageous imposition, like the article referring the final adjustment of French claims to a commission at Paris, there to be influenced by Napoleon. The subordination of Mexican officers of whatever rank to the French, when associated on garrison or field duty, was a humiliation which

[55] This document was signed at Miramare, April 10, 1864, by Herbet, for France, and by Maximilian's newly appointed minister of state, Velazquez de Leon. It contained 21 articles, 3 being the secret clauses. By articles 4 and 5 the new emperor and the French general were jointly to determine on the places to be occupied by French troops. Wherever the garrison was not exclusively Mexican, French officers should hold the chief command; so, also, in case of joint expeditions; but they could not interfere in administrative matters. French naval stations in the Antilles and Pacific should send frequently vessels to display the tri-color in Mexican ports. Mexicans naturally objected to have their officers, often of superior rank, subordinated to the French. The full text of the document may be consulted in *Max. y Carlota, Adven.*, 127–9; *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 200–4, etc. A proposed cession of Sonora, as arranged with the regency, was objected to by Maximilian. *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 745.

[56] 'Engañaba á Napoleon haciéndole creer que aceptaba de buena fé el trono de Méjico, cuando sólo quería que le sirviera de teatro de estreno para darse á conocer á los ultraliberales austriacos.' *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 204. Zarco is equally severe. *Convencion; La Estrella de Occid.*, July 8, 1864.

served to rouse conservatives from the beginning.[57] Another not very agreeable feature was the enrolment in Austria and Belgium of volunteers to serve as nuclei for the imperial army, and also as standing tokens of distrust, sources for bitter and dangerous jealousies.[58] Thus far alone went the support given by Francis Joseph, who in other respects made it understood that he felt himself in no manner responsible for or connected with the plans of his brother.

The preparations of Maximilian for his journey had already been made, and on the fourth day after accepting the crown he and his wife embarked at Miramare on board the frigate *Novara* for Civita Vecchia,[59] en route for Rome, there to confer with the pope on points already imparted by Aguilar y Marocho, the newly accredited minister at the Vatican. It was understood that Maximilian would exert himself to remedy the evil suffered by the church, and to restore the respect due to the clergy.[60] After a stay of two days at Rome he continued his voyage April 20th,

[57] The expression of the Juarist minister, Iglesias, 'El llamado emperador mexicano ha pasado por la humillacion de consentir,' *Revistas*, ii. 340, is taken up by Zamacois, Arrangoiz, and others devoted to the conservative side. Leon's conduct is stamped by them as 'culpable debility.' Commandant J. M. Rodriguez was sent on April 12th by way of France to carry the news of these proceedings to Mexico.

[58] The Austrians to consist of three battalions of infantry, a regiment of hussars and ulans, a battery of artillery, a company of pioneers, and 300 sailors. The force not to exceed 6,300, and the Belgian not over 2,000. For text of agreement, see *Derecho, Intern. Mex.*, pt ii. 352–62.

[59] Accompanied by his brother Luis Victor, Gen. Woll, Leon, Count de Zichy, his chamberlains and secretary, and countesses Zichy and Kollonitz, ladies of honor. Arrangoiz adds Eloin and Friar Gomez. Several vessels attended for a distance, the frigate *Themis* to escort to Vera Cruz on behalf of the French emperor. Deputations from Trieste and other places came to Miramare to bid them farewell. Details in *Max. y Carlota, Adven.*, 133–8.

[60] The imperial pair called, April 19th, on Pius IX., who returned the visit on the following day. Mass in the Sixtine chapel was attended by an allocution on the duties of sovereigns and by communion, and followed by breakfast in the library. The pontifical blessing was bestowed during the return visit at Marescotti palace. Visits were also exchanged with the king of Naples. Details in *Miramar á México*, 45–52, and *Nardi, Visita dell' imperatore*, Roma, 1864, 1–22. In a bull issued April 28th was given the form of prayers to be said for the sovereign in Mexican churches. *Méx., Boletin Ley.*, 1864, 286–8.

touching at Gibraltar[61] and Martinique,[62] and reaching Vera Cruz on the 28th of May.

The *Themis* arrived a few hours in advance, to give the people notice, and bringing to them a proclamation, wherein Maximilian promised to consecrate himself to their happiness, by maintaining inviolable justice, equality before the law, open path for all to every career and position, personal liberty and protection of property, development of national wealth and trade, and the free unfolding of intelligence in all its relations to public interest.[63] Almonte, having come down from Mexico, presented himself on board to tender welcome, and introduce a number of representative men. In surrendering the supreme command, he received the appointment of grand marshal of the court and minister of the imperial house.[64]

Early the following morning the sovereigns landed amid a vast concourse of enthusiastic people, eager to behold personages so distinguished, the highest, as the European world goes, that had ever come to the country, and allied too in blood, the one to the actual Bourbon family of Spain, the other to the great Charles for whom Cortés had occupied Anáhuac three centuries and a half before. In this very month and on this very spot the famous captain had received the homage of Montezuma's subjects, and conceived the project of seizing the throne now offered by his liberated descendants. A glittering prize it was, envied by all Europe in those semi-barbaric days, and not least by Francis I., who consoled himself by captur-

[61] The governor, Lord Codrington, extending and receiving hospitalities during the stay from April 24th to 27th.

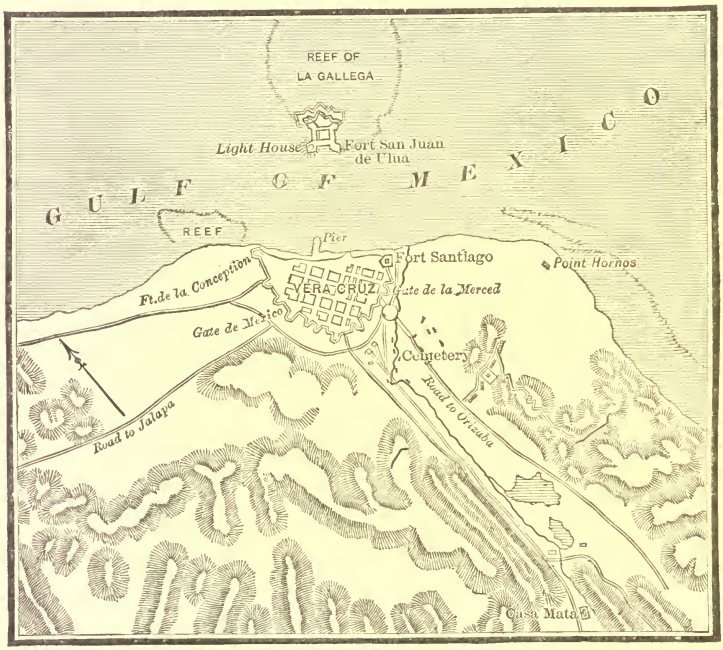
[62] On May 16th. Here were confined a number of Mexican prisoners, to several of whom were granted pardon and aid, the rest being promised speedy consideration.

[63] To the empress he left 'the enviable task of consecrating to the country all the noble sentiments of christian virtue and all the devotion of a tender mother.' 'Unámonos, para llegar al objeto comun; olvidemos las sombras pasadas.' *Méx., Boletin Ley.*, 1864, 289–91.

[64] Almonte had entered on his office of lieutenant of the empire on May 20th. For proclamations, see *Méx., Boletin Ley.*, 1864. The first person from the shore to be received was John Laine, captain of the port. *Eco del Com.* (v. 6), May 31, 1864.

ing some of the Aztec treasures while expressing a desire for their sources. And now France held possession, as agent for restoring them to a descendant of the original and envied holder, but in another garb; a new-born race had sprung up beneath a transoceainc culture, and unfolded fresh resources and vaster industries and intercourse.

The type of progress lay presented in Vera Cruz



VERA CRUZ AND HARBOR.

itself, risen out of the sandy plain where the conquerors first encamped in tents, and grown into a fine cosmopolitan city, with a port visited by vessels from every quarter of the world, and protected by a formidable sea-girth castle. The first impression on the sovereigns could hardly have been displeasing, as they drove through the streets decorated with flowers and bunting, and pompous with arches and festoons,

while cheers and salvos appealed to every ear and heart.[65]

Owing to the unhealthiness of the season at Vera Cruz the sovereigns were persuaded to hasten direct to the railway station.[66] The road was open as yet only for a distance of fourteen leagues to Loma Alta, and from here the party proceeded by coaches to Córdoba. Two mishaps occurred on the way, which struck the superstitious as ominous. One was the breaking of the axle of the imperial coach, and the other a rainstorm which extinguished all the torches of the escort. Córdoba was astir and brilliantly illuminated, although the imperial suite arrived before three o'clock in the morning. The whole of May 30th was spent in festivities, and in receiving deputations, among them one from Indians, who in their humble attire came to tender homage, bringing as tokens the nosegays that from time immemorial had served to welcome the honored guest. "Thou comest like the rainbow to dissipate the clouds of discord; sent by the Almighty, may he give thee strength to save us!"[67]

In this allusion to a heaven-sent being crops out the ancient tradition, connected with Quetzalcoatl, of a white-bearded man who should come from the land of the rising sun and rule the country, bringing peace

[65] Rivera, *Hist. Jalapa*, v. 603, maintains that the ovation was devoid of enthusiasm and due to curiosity, but qualifies by adding: 'No podia haber ni cariño ni amor por unas personas que no eran conocidas.' 'La poblacion recibió tan friamente á SS. MM., que la Emperatriz se afectó hasta el punto de llorar,' says Arrangoiz more strongly. *Méj.*, iii. 210. So also *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 383. Zamacois attributes these tears to the absence of a deputation from the ladies of the city, *Hist. Méj.*, xvii. 283; due, says the *Ero*, May 31, 1864, to their being 'poco habituadas' to royalty. There was no doubt something lacking in certain directions, for the city had long been devoted to Juarez, who there planted his seat of government a few years before. For details concerning the reception and journey of the party, see *Max. y Carlota, Adven.*, 150 et seq., and *Miramar á Méx.*, 56 et seq, with extracts from letters and journals; *Méx., Boletin Ley.*, 1864, 164–8, 289–95, with speeches and addresses; *Domenech, Hist. Mex.*, iii. 183–6; *Tornel, Discurso*, 1–12; *Hall's Life Max.*, 107–9; *Flint's Mex. under Max.*, 90–3; *Periód. Ofic.*, June 2, 1864, etc. The keys of the city were delivered on a silver platter.

[66] Leaving a promise to return at a later date.

[67] The Aztec for the last half reads: 'In senhulitini mitztitlania, ma yehuatzin mitzmochicahuili ica titechmaquixtis.' *Méx., Boletin Ley.*, 1864, 302; *Max. y Carlota, Adven.*, 198.

and prosperity. It was to this belief that Cortés owed many of his successes, and his lieutenant, Alvarado, received the epithet Tonatiuh, the sun, from his fair hue, while the conquerors, as a rule, were known as the children of the sun. Maximilian was a decided blonde, with a commanding stature, and the still lingering myth, applying strikingly both to his person and mission, found ready application. Nor did his gentle expression and suave condescension fail to impress favorably even those whose republican principles impelled them to discourtesy. It is related that Maximilian on entering Orizaba noticed four persons planting themselves conspicuously in front of the crowd, to display their opposition by remaining there fixed and solid. He saluted them pointedly, raising his hat, and with true Mexican politeness the four men acknowledged the compliment.[68]

The reception at Puebla, entered on June 5th, was particularly brilliant, corresponding to the greater size and wealth of this city. The arches and decorations were finer, and the festivities more elaborate and gay. The emperor in this vicinity displayed his fine horsemanship in a manner that pleased a large class.[69] All preceding demonstrations were eclipsed, however, by those at the capital. On approaching the town, centring round the shrine of Guadalupe they found an immense throng lining the road, along which came to meet them the leading people of the country, in carriages and on horseback, prominent being three hundred of the representative youth mounted in costly array on spirited chargers. At a signal, all

[68] *Hidalgo, Apuntes*, 219; *Pruneda. Hist. Guer.*, 110–11. At this place a tour was made of the hospitals and public places during the stay, from May 31st to June 3d, and balls and banquets were given. A number of prisoners were released in honor of the occasion. *Mex., Boletin Ley.*, 1864, 29–30.

[69] Ex-regent Salas was here rewarded with the grand cross of Guadalupe, Prefect Pardo and several others receiving lower grades. The empress added here two to her list of ladies of honor. Descriptions of the arches, the solemn mass at the cathedral, and other features are fully given in the special brochure, *Max., Breve Not. del Recib. en Puebla*, 1–36; also *Miramar á Méx.*, 137–95, and others already referred to. The festivities received an additional interest from the birthday celebration on June 7th, in honor of Charlotte. Cholula and its famous pyramid were visited on the following day.

dismounted or stepped from their vehicles, and midst a floral shower rent the air with vivas. Nearer the town appeared the archbishop and several other prelates with the canopy, both of the sovereigns kissing the ring of the primate.

The entry into Mexico took place on the 12th, amidst great enthusiasm. The principal streets were profusely draped in gala attire, and windows had been rented at fabulous prices for the occasion. At the palace waited Bazaine and other leading generals and officials, including Mejía, fresh from his victory in the north over Doblado. Appointed spokesman by the knights of Guadalupe, the rough soldier manifested some trepidation before the brilliant assembly, whereupon Maximilian took the paper from his hand and embraced him, saying: "I care not for words, but for hearts. I know that yours belongs to me."[70]

Among the provincial people at the reception, with attendant balls, banquets, illuminations, and entertainments, were departmental deputations, to which great attention was paid.[71] Decorations were freely dispensed;[72] and not content with the order of Guadalupe, a new one was created not long after, called the

[70] The empress was given by leading ladies a magnificent toilet-table with a profusion of silver ornaments incrusted and in relief. It was also decided to erect a marble arch in her honor at the entrance to the Piedad avenue, henceforth to be called after her. An illustrated description of the different arches, decorations, and ceremonies on the occasion may be found in *Max. y Carlota, Adven.*, 252, and passim; *Le Saint, Guerre*, 115–28. Among special brochures on the subject are *Vega, Programa*, 1–10; *Méx., Espos. Sentiment.*, 1–6; *Max., Com. Poéticas; Pap. Var.*, xcv. pt iv; *Periód. Ofic.*, June 12, 1864, et seq.; also the books referred to in connection with Vera Cruz. Festivities in other cities are described in *Compos Poét.*, 1864, 1–54; *Gallardo, Discurso*, Leon, 1864, 1–30; *Zamora, Expos.*, 1–15; *Guadal., Seis de Julio*, 1–27; *Yuc., Discurso.*, 1864, 1–31; *Pájaro Verde, El Cronista, Estafita, Sociedad, La Voz de Méj.*, and other journals of June 13th and subsequent dates. Poetry is scattered throughout these publications. Payno growls in later republican finance reports at the extravagance of the emperor with banquets and other entertainments. *Cuentas, Gastos*, 698-700; and Lefèvre, *Doc. Ofic.*, i. 379–84, instances expenditures by local authorities, those of Vera Cruz amounting to $54,954. During the trip from this city to the palace at Mexico the emperor passed under 1,500 triumphal arches, according to Juarist versions.

[71] For list of these and their speeches, see *Max. y Carlota, Adven.*, 317 et seq.

[72] Arrangoiz criticises this prodigality, especially in the direction of Europe, 'á individuos desconocidos, que nada habían hecho por el pais.' *Méj.*, iii. 223. A list of decorated personages may be found in *Almanaque Imp.*, 1866, 216, et seq.; *Méx., Boletin Ley.*, 1864, 30–1.

Eagle, which was placed above the other, and given to a comparatively small number, to the great disgust of a large class.[73] A special order was instituted for women, the San Cárlos.[74] An amnesty for political offences appeared,[75] and authorities were bidden to blot out injurious party terms, and leave unmolested any opponent of the imperial cause who chose to lay down arms and live in peace.[76] Special appeals were besides made to leading republicans, resulting in the adherence of such men as Vidaurri, who became councillor of state, and General Cortina, who soon, however, ignored this allegiance, as did many another when opportunity or inducement drew them again to the Juarist side.[77] Among these figured prisoners who had been sent to France, and who were released on giving in their allegiance.[78]

Freedom of the press was bestowed,[79] and arrangements were made for granting public audiences, Sunday being selected as most convenient for the people.[80] To this direct appeal to the masses he added the habit of occasionally appearing in the national dress, notably the short jacket and the slashed trousers lined with buttons.[81] In connection with the audiences for

[73] For by-laws, see *Méx.*, *Col. Ley. Imp.*, ii. 9–14. In 1865 Almonte and Mejía alone held the grand cross in Mexico. Collars of the order were sent to different sovereigns.

[74] For rules and members, see *Id.*, *Almanaque Imp.*, 1866, 236, etc.; also journals of the day. The list for ladies of honor was added to at intervals.

[75] On July 6th, the birthday of Maximilian, when a distribution of $5,000 was also given to the poor. *Méx.*, *Boletin Ley.*, 1834, 42, 57–8.

[76] This was on July 26th. In Dec. prefects were forbidden to exact any security from such persons. *Méx.*, *Boletin Ley.*, 1864, 199, 243, 238–98. Comments on policy, in *Masseras*, *Programa Imp.*, 1–34; *S. Luis Pot.*, *Mem. Informe*, pt 1.

[77] In *Período. Ofic.*, Mar. 20, 1864, and later days, are given the names of those accepting amnesty.

[78] A large number refused to sign the allegiance, and remained true, suffering great hardships, for the Juarist government was too sorely pressed to afford them much aid. In *Payno*, *Cuentas*, 734, etc., is given an account of occasional sums remitted. *Huerta*, *Apuntes*, Mex., 1868, 1–92, is specially devoted to their fate. Huerta, himself the leading prisoner, sought to obtain subscriptions for their relief. Iglesias refers to a number of refugees in the United States. *Revistas*, iii. 107–9, 131.

[79] August 7th, with restrictions only against rousing party bitterness.

[80] The rules governing admission are given in *Méx.*, *Col. Ley. Imp.*, i. 19.

[81] Whereat Arrangoiz takes offence, intimating that this pertained to the Juarist guerrillas and peasants, and was discountenanced by 'respectable' people. *Méj.*, iii. 222.

redressing wrongs came a revision of tribunals, and the appointment of a visiting inspector.[82] Conciliatory proceedings were above all to be used, and no costs levied in verbal suits.[83] The empress, on her side, ministered to charities and other benevolent institutions. As an instance of respect for popular religious customs, she and the emperor one day descended from their carriage and knelt in the street on meeting the host. On the other hand came an order for keeping public offices open during the forenoon of Sundays;[84] and loose remarks on toleration were brought against Maximilian by conservatives, as well as the absence of the cross from the imperial crown, and of the phrase 'by grace of God' in connection with his title.[85]

[82] The revision was intrusted to a committee, leading meanwhile to a reorganization of minor courts, reaffirming the decisions of intervention judges, etc. *Méx., Boletin Ley.*, 1864, 111–13, 211, 154, 179, 182, 310.

[83] Save 6 per cent on the amount, and not even this for the very poor.

[84] Issued June 28th, for the sake of promoting the disentanglement of affairs.

[85] Many would have preferred his first name, Ferdinand, as more Spanish.

Countess Paula Kollonitz, The Court of Mexico. Translated by J. E. Ollivant, M. A. Balliol College, Oxford. London, 1867, 8vo, pp. xix. 303. The authoress of this volume was lady-in-waiting to the Empress Charlotte, and she narrates in it the voyage from Miramare, and her travelling experiences in Mexico during the years 1864 and 1865. Her observations on the customs and habits of the Mexicans are enjoyable reading, though, as she remarks, the exceptional position which she occupied during her journeying hindered her from obtaining deep insight into the relations and circumstances of the country. The work contains, also, many trenchant remarks about prominent persons, and the impressions of the countess of Miramon, Mejia, and Bazaine are extremely interesting. In chap. ix. a review of Mexican history is given, in which attention is paid to the war of independence. Her book was favorably reviewed by the critics.

Miramar á Mexico—Viaje del Emperador Maximiliano y de la Emperatriz, etc., Orizaba, 1864, 8vo, pp. 412, ll. 2, with lithographs, contains an account of Maximilian's acceptance of the throne of Mexico; his journey from Miramare to the capital; and a description of his reception and celebrations at the different cities on his route. Copies are inserted of the addresses delivered on these occasions, and of odes, hymns, and poems composed in honor of him, with copious extracts from the periodicals of the day. The book opens with a brief summary of events in Mexico from the fall of Puebla, in May 1863, and closes with biographies of the emperor and empress. The author is anonymous.

Advenimiento de SS. MM. II. Maximiliano y Carlota al Trono de Mexico —Documentos Relativos y Narracion del Viaje de Nuestros Soberanos de Miramar á Veracruz y del Recibimiento que se les hizo, etc. Edicion de 'La Sociedad.' Mexico, 1864, 8vo, pp. 368, with portraits and plates. This work contains important documents relating to the history of Mexico during the period 1861–64. In it the political events from the inception of the tripartite alliance to Maximilian's arrival and reception in the capital are fully described. The editors regarded Maximiliano's elevation to the throne by the wish of the nation(!) as the stepping-stone of Mexico from anarchy to order.

CHAPTER VII.

MAXIMILIAN IN MEXICO.

1864.

Conciliating Policy and Conservative Jealousy—Growing Dislike of the French—Maximilian's Weakness of Character—Reorganization of the Army—Excursion to the Interior, and Maximilian's Inferences therefrom—Guerrillas Termed Brigands, and Ordered Hunted down—Church Question—Nuncio in Mexico—Commission to Rome—Property Confiscation—Juarist Reverses.

Measures so far were directed in particular to conciliate the people, and thereby to counteract the influence of and win over the liberals, who relied mainly on the masses. In doing so, Maximilian paid perhaps too little attention to the conservatives, to whom he owed his election. At any rate, they expected recognition and reward for their services, and all could not be satisfied. As we have seen, party spirit in Mexico had early drifted into personal currents, intent on offices and other spoils, and regardless of principles and the common good. They refused to see that their own and the national weal demanded for the present a conciliatory policy toward the contending factions, in order to place the empire on a sure basis. It was to their interest to forbear a while, but they would not. One pressed the other. Individual and party jealousies, and the insensate selfishness of the clerical element, quickly created obstacles to block their path.[1]

[1] On his return from Miramare, after Maximilian's preliminary acceptance of the crown, Miranda expressed fears that a wrong choice had been made, 'parecía hombre de carácter ligero.' *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 218. This doubt was aroused mainly on the question of church rights.

Liberal-minded by nature, Maximilian could not well sympathize with the conservatives; and he felt less and less inclined to yield to the French, chafing under his dependence upon them till the feeling broke out in actual hostility.[2] This feeling was shared by a number with republican tendencies, yet consenting to an empire—men who may be termed moderate liberals, and who were gaining favor with the emperor.[3]

He was ready to go even further in his effort to reach the people, as the foundation of his empire, and he began by admitting into the cabinet known republicans, like the able lawyer and scholar José Fernando Ramirez, and Juan Peza, as colleagues of the two conservative ministers Leon and Gonzalez de la Vega, and the moderate liberals Escudero y Echánove and Robles Pezuela[4]—a composition soon further colored by substituting the liberal Cortés y Esparza for Vega, and strengthened by the appointment of prefects and other officials of similar tendencies.

The usefulness of these men might have been greatly increased had they not been placed in a certain humiliating dependence on a private cabinet of polyglot character, under the direction of Félix Eloin, a Belgian mining engineer, who acquired a preponder-

[2] Bazaine complained of the attitude of provincial officials toward the troops, only to be snubbed by the ministers. Napoleon consoled him with a marshal's baton. The growing dislike to the French is pointedly told in *La Estrella de Occid.*, Dec. 9, 1864, and *Nox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 392. See also *Gwin's Mem.*, MS., 231–3.

[3] The conservatives were called both retrogressionists and men of Philip II. *Martinez, Hist. Rev.*, i. 222–4. Domenech's view of the parties savors of rabid sarcasm. *Le Mex.*, 267 et seq. As for Maximilian, 'los franceses le llaman el *archiduque;* los Mexicanos el empeorador.' *Iglesias, Revistas*, iii. 10—ironic punnings very common with Mexicans. The last term may be rendered the deteriorator, the first explains itself. The press became gradually less cautious in observations, so much so that a check had to be placed upon it. Comments in *Liberalismo y sus Efectos*, 1–14.

[4] Ramirez, an honorable lawyer of some ability, had shown himself so hostile as to refuse to enter the assembly which voted for an empire. He refused to decorate his house during the entry of the imperial pair. I shall refer more fully to his literary attainments elsewhere. He became minister of relations. Peza took the war portfolio, and Vega and Escudero those of gobernacion and justice. *Méx., Boletin Ley.*, 1864, 39, 184–5, 246 Robles was appointed to the fomento department only in Oct., when Peza received formally the charge he had so far attended to as assistant secretary, Martin de Castillo administering the treasury.

ating influence over Maximilian, but whose ceaseless energy and plans lacked practical application.[5] As for his comrades, intent mainly on their own projects, and having no sympathy for Mexico, these foreigners failed to understand or to study the true interests of the country. Maximilian himself judged the people from a wrong standpoint, entangled as he was in the meshes of intriguers and flatterers, and being possessed mainly by theories. Energetic enough, but without force or true aim, he wasted time on the organization of the palace, and on details which depended on a constitution yet to be framed.

With an honest desire to promote the true interests of the country, the emperor resolved to increase his scope of observation and judgment by creating a council of state, under the presidency of José María Lacunza, to project laws and sit as a tribunal in cases concerning high officials, and to give advice in all matters submitted to it; but the advice had to suit the mood as much as the circumstances.[6]

Commissioners had been appointed to project the reorganization of the different departments, notably those of justice, finance, and army. In the former some useful reforms were outlined, but finances became as involved as ever. The reorganization proposed from France involved the imposition of fresh taxes; and afraid of the difficulties these might rouse,

[5] A protestant, besides, recommended by Leopold. Kollonitz praises him for modesty and loyalty, for sense of justice and fearless frankness. *Court Mex.*, 216–17. Domenech asserts that he owed his rise wholly to certain talents as a society man. *Hist. Mex.*, iii. 202–3. His hostility toward the French may account for some of the coloring. His colleague, Scherzenlechner, from Hungary, former tutor of Maximilian, and of similar tendency, soon quarrelled with him and left. Niox, *Expéd. du Mex.*, 383–4, Arrangoiz, and others are equally severe on the foreign members of the departments, as may be understood from the national jealousy. They are accused of avarice, of inquiring into, or rather meddling with, everything, and yet accomplishing nothing. See also *Valle, Viagero Mex.*, 39–66, 725–50.

[6] It was to consist of a president, eight councillors, and eight auditors, appointed and summoned solely by the emperor, and paid $6,000, $4,000, and $1,500 respectively. The councillors, appointed Dec. 4, 1864, included Uraga and Bishop Ramirez. *Méx., Boletin Ley.*, 1864, 246–8, 283. Honorary members were added, and Vidaurri received a seat. *Méx., Regla. Consejo*, 1–12; *Pap. Var.*, ccxxvii., pt xi.

as well as the reflection on his management, Maximilian preferred to economize in a different direction, and believed that this could be most effectively done by reducing, or at least keeping down, the costly and not very efficient Mexican army.

This project was wholly to the taste of his French advisers; for the national army, instead of being placed on an effective footing corresponding to the gradual withdrawing of French troops, met with every possible check from Bazaine. In a letter to Maximilian, the latter declared that he could not afford to leave garrisons in the towns, but recommended the formation of militia bodies to act in accord with the flying French detachments, which were deemed best for operating against the Juarists; yet he threw obstacles in the way, even, of arming the towns. The explanation for this lies in the secret articles of the compact with Napoleon. It is readily understood that the French emperor may have had reasons for desiring to retain control of the country, besides the prestige and good pay drawn from the employment there of an army; and this is evident from the policy outlined by Forey, and forced upon the regency, aiming, above all, to secure the pecuniary interests of France, which depended greatly on confiscated church property. The conservatives being decidedly opposed to this policy, it was necessary to render them harmless by reducing their power in civil as well as military departments, and limiting to narrow proportions an army which naturally would side against French rivals and intruders. To this end even Miramon and Marquez, the leading Mexican generals, were sacrificed by honorable exile.[7]

In June 1864 the imperial forces embraced 35,550 French and 20,280 Mexicans, the latter distributed

[7] The former to Berlin, to study Prussian army organization; the other on a more flimsy religious mission to Jerusalem, combined with the position of minister to the Porte. 'La Inglaterra habia puesto por condicion para el envio de su ministro, el destierro de los generales,' says *Rivera, Hist. Jal.*, v. 632.

mainly at garrisons,[8] and in April of the following year, while the French were reduced to 28,000, the Mexican force remained undiminished. The rural guard had grown to 8,500; but a regular corps had risen in the Austrian and Belgian recruits of 7,300 men.[9] The former were stationed chiefly in Puebla and on the Vera Cruz road, the Belgians farther in the interior, and both roused ill feeling by their presumption.[10] The creation of the guard proved in a sense a blow to the regulars,[11] and afforded a plea for not fully carrying out the measure, thus leaving a rankling injury as well as a sad deficiency. These half-way proceedings have been the bane of Mexico.

Early in 1865 was announced the reorganization of the national army on the rather theoretic plan prepared by the commissions, having for an object its limitation to 31,200 men, including officers. The latter, forming a host of ignorant and unfit commanders, either self-created or risen by favor and intrigue during the series of petty revolutions, were to be reduced to eighteen generals, with a fair proportion of subordinates. To attempt a reform so sweeping in the face of the enemy seemed dangerous. Aside from this, the officers were not likely to submit humbly to a loss of position and prospects in life. So serious became the discontent that the project had to be modified,[12] and since Bazaine showed little desire to effect

[8] Even Marquez, Mejía, and Vicario, with 6,000, 5,270, and 1,876 men respectively, in Michoacan, San Luis Potosí, and south Mexico, were chiefly engaged in holding their ground. For a distribution of the rest, see *Niox, Expéd. du Max.*, 750.

[9] Or nearly so. The last detachment arrived May 5, 1865.

[10] Leading at Orizaba to a bloody encounter and punishment of Mexican rioters which lingered in their memory. A Belgian colonel being placed over higher Mexican officers in Michoacan, remonstrances ensued leading to counter-orders. The Belgians in their turn refused to submit to Mexicans. Changes and concessions had to be made all round. See *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, ii. 229, etc.; *Domenech, Hist. Mex.*, iii. 317.

[11] By decree of Nov. 7, 1864, with subsequent modifications. *Méx., Col. Ley. Imp.*, iv. 133–48.

[12] Several pronunciamientos were among the natural features, *Rivera, Hist. Jal.*, v. 630, and a number of men joined the republicans at once. The project would have amounted to a disbandment of the forces on February 1st, with a gradual reorganization after the models to be formed. For details, see

it,[13] the task was intrusted to the Austrian general, De Thun, but with so little coöperation as to yield no results.[14] Maximilian never appreciated the army, and its discontent diminished both his estimation and faith, causing him to rely more and more on his Austrians, to the disgust of both Mexicans and French.[15] His neglect to increase the Mexican forces created not alone suspicion and ill-will, but obliged the defenceless towns from fear of retaliation to favor the Juarists, thus adding another strong encouragement for the guerrilla.[16]

While awaiting the result of the labor by different commissions engaged in projects for the reorganization of the public departments, Maximilian decided upon a tour into the interior, to present himself to the people and acquire personal knowledge of the country.

the organic law of the army, in *Méx.*, *Col. Ley. Imp.*, iv. 27 et seq.; also previous decrees, in *Méx.*, *Boletin Ley.*, 1864, 76–9, 198–9, 230–5; *Id.*, May 1864, 64–182, passim, bearing on pay, court-martial, etc., and forbidding the purchase by citizens of soldiers' arms and clothing, and the incorporation of prisoners of war into the army. The latter, so common a feature in Mexico, was afterward allowed. Forced levies being suppressed, as creating discontent and procuring poor soldiers, Bazaine recommended conscription; but Maximilian fearing that this would not answer in Mexico, with its castes and class feeling, the bounty system was used to some extent, especially with the rural guard, and also the demand for municipalities to supply a certain number of men. The new army was to embrace a legion of gendarmes, over 1,900 in number, of whom about half were to be French, at a high pay—an objectionable feature to Mexicans, as Zamacois, *Hist. Méj.*, xvii. 819, observes. Additional sources for regulations and comments, in *Hans, Quer.*, 18–24; *Domenech, Hist. Mex.*, 153–79; *Valle, Viagero Mex.*, 67–89; *Diario Imp.*, Jan. 12, 28, June 10, Sept. 9, Dec. 20, 26, 1865, etc.; *Bullock's Mex.*, 264; *Dar., Guardias Rur.*, 1–28; *Arellano, Ley de 1865*, 1–21, with charges against war minister; *Pap. Var.*, ciii. pt 5. The navy also received attention, almost wholly on paper. *Méx.*, *Col. Ley. Imp.*, iii. 1–4, 27–38; *Diario Imp.*, Nov. 22–7, 1865.

[13] Although he had both force and ability to do so, says a French officer, he confined himself to blaming the Mexican authorities for their opposition.

[14] The empress herself writes clearly on this point. See *Domenech, Hist. Mex.*, iii. 284–5. The distribution of medals did not serve to conciliate them. *Mex.*, *Anuario Ordenes.*

[15] In his *Aus den Gefechten in Mex.*, Schonovsky shows that the large proportion of Austrians were raw and unreliable, including Poles, Hungarians, Italians, etc. Belgians formed a guard of honor to the empress. *Bonnevie, Volont. Belges*, 65–102. See also *Diario Imp.*, Jan. 5, 19, 1865; *Periód. Ofic.*, Nov. 10, Dec. 1, 1864.

[16] Republicans commented hopefully on this neglect, and on the resolution not to increase the stationary forces, thereby rendering sterile the victories achieved. 'Es un sueño imaginarse que bastarán 30,000 hombres,' says Iglesias, *Revistas*, iii. 235.

He set out on the 10th of August from Chapultepec, where he then resided, leaving the empress in charge of affairs. The route lay through Querétaro into Guanajuato, public offices and institutions, industrial establishments, and places of interest being visited in an informal manner.[17] Appointments were made of prefects and minor officials, and audiences granted. September 16th was appropriately celebrated at Dolores, the cradle of independence, the emperor in a speech lauding the heroes of that epoch.[18] He returned to Mexico at the close of October, by way of Michoacan, convinced "that the empire was a fact, firmly based on the free-will of an immense majority of the nation," and that this majority anxiously demanded peace and justice. His duty being to grant this desire and to protect the people, he could no longer remain indulgent to the political adversaries who used a banner merely as a pretence for robbing and killing, and ordered that all armed bands overrunning the country and creating disorder and desolation should "be regarded as bandits, and subjected to the inexorable severity of the law."[19]

In this document are revealed two mistakes of Maximilian: first, in allowing himself to be deceived by enthusiasm, evoked partly by flattered curiosity, partly by official prompting, and along a narrow circuit in

[17] Preparations to receive him being forbidden, so as not to burden the people, who still felt the effect of the war. *Méx.*, *Boletin Ley.*, 1864, 90–1. At Querétaro the absence of the bishop during such a time displeased Maximilian highly. *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 437–40. Inflammation of the throat detained the emperor for a while in the mining state, as did the bad roads and rainy weather throughout the journey.

[18] Who had released the country from centuries of serfdom. The conservatives hardly liked either allusion, and writers with Spanish tendencies, like Zamacois and Arrangoiz, declaimed against that of Spanish despotism. At Mexico the foundation-stone was laid for a monument to the independence, instead of the one proposed for the empress. Decrees of emperor, in *Méx.*, *Boletin Ley.*, 1864, 31–2, 109–10.

[19] All military and civil officials were ordered to persecute and annihilate them. Decree of Nov. 3, 1864. *Méx.*, *Boletin Ley.*, 1864, 188–9. Further allusions to this decree and to the tour may be found in *La Voz de Méj.*, Oct. 20, 1864, etc.; *Periód. Ofic.*, Aug. 18th, and following numbers. Gen. Yañez proceeded at the same time to inspect the frontier departments. *Méx.*, *Boletin Ley.*, 1864, 131; *Id.*, *Col. Ley.*, 1863–7, ii. 157; *Anales del Foro Mex.*, Nov.–Dec. 1864.

the centre of the country; second, in taking so extreme a measure as to treat patriotic opponents as bandits. He may have assumed the sincerity of popular allegiance in order to find an excuse for the firmness necessary to success. However that may be, he had bitterly to rue the step. Aware of the lawless proceedings of many guerrillas, and the reflection cast thereby upon his own party, Juarez had taken strict measures to check them, and with promising results, so as to gradually regain popular favor, with a consequent reaction in behalf of his daring bands.[20]

No less serious was the hostility evoked by his attitude toward the church. Aware of the liberal tendencies of Maximilian and the aim of Napoleon, the pope had preferred to await developments rather than precipitate affairs by means leading to a speedy settlement. He was accordingly reminded that measures would have to be taken independent of him unless a representative was sent.[21] The result was the arrival in December of a nuncio in the person of Monsignore Meglia,[22] bearer of a letter from the pontiff with complaints of Maximilian's neglect to redress the wrongs of the church, as promised by him while at Rome,[23] and now asking him to revoke the laws which had been oppressing it, to reorganize ecclesiastic

[20] *Id.* Arrangoiz alludes to Maximilian's assumption of wide adherence as 'hiciera efecto en Europa.' *Méj.*, iii. 231. He also picks up a trivial incident at Toluca as indicating growing unpopularity; but omits to state that the reception at Mexico was everything that could be desired. The *Estrella de Occid.*, May 27, 1864, already relates the execution of three guerrilla chiefs for robberies by Juarist generals. The mistake was made by French commanders in several places of imposing fines or contributions on neutral land proprietors, who naturally feared to openly espouse a cause that exposed them to the vengeance of another.

[21] This reminder was dated July 22d.

[22] Archbishop of Damascus in *partibus*. He reached Vera Cruz Nov. 29th, and the capital on Dec. 7th. Although received with great distinction, says Arrangoiz, he was kept isolated from Mexicans, and 'en ninguna parte...se hicieran demostraciones oficiales.' *Méj.*, iii. 254; *La Voz de Méj.*, July 8, 1881.

[23] After signing the French convention, it is not likely that Maximilian made any definite promises, although he may have left impressions, and so his minister declared to the nuncio; yet Arrangoiz and others insist that the earlier promises at Miramare were strong; 'prometió el restablecimiento completo del catolicismo, con sus comunidades religiosas.' *Méj.*, iii. 262-3.

affairs with the coöperation of the bishops, to sustain the Roman religion exclusively, to reëstablish and reorganize the religious orders, to protect the patrimony of the church, to let public and private instruction be directed and guarded by ecclesiastic authorities, and to liberate the church from dependence on civil powers.[24]

In reply, Maximilian declared that duty and conscience would direct his measures. As a basis for arrangement, he proposed religious tolerance, yet with special protection for the catholic faith as the state religion; the expenses of the latter to be defrayed by the public treasury, the clergy being supported like civil servants, and granting free ministration to the people; the church to cede to the government all the revenue from property which had been declared national during republican rule; the emperor and his successors to enjoy rights equivalent to those conceded from the American church to the kings of Spain; conditions to be arranged for restoring orders, for clerical jurisdiction, and cemeteries; civil registry to be kept, where deemed desirable, by priests acting as civil functionaries.[25]

The nuncio answered that he had no power to deal with other questions than those indicated in the papal letter,[26] the prospect of countenancing Juarez' laws being wholly unexpected. He must confer with the Vatican. Maximilian declared that he could not submit the course of justice and the interests of the peo-

[24] This embraced entire freedom for bishops in their pastoral duties, and prohibition of false teachings. It has been assumed in some quarters, *Pruneda, Hist. Méj.*, 151, etc., that a threat was held out in case of non-compliance; but this is only supposition.

[25] Parishioners were to be liberated from every fee, tithe, or other emolument. The pontiff to designate in accord with the emperor what orders should be reëstablished, how to subsist, etc.; existing communities to remain, but not to receive novices until conditions were settled. The civil registry clause was modified by decree of Dec. 18, 1865, requiring catholics to fulfil church obligations ere submitting to the civil marriage rite.

[26] Pretending that such demands were startling after the promises held out by Maximilian; yet when pressed, he declared tolerance contrary to the doctrines of the church and to the sentiments of the Mexicans, who were all catholics; the clergy as well as people would look with horror on support from the treasury, preferring the charity of the faithful.

ple to such delays, and ordered his minister to proceed with the revision of church property sales in accordance with the laws under which they had taken place.[27] Several prelates joined the archbishop in loud protest, only to receive a sharp reprimand from the sovereign,[28] and the haughty nuncio was silenced by the observation that, while Maximilian as member of the christian community inclined submissively before the spiritual authority of the pope, as emperor, representing Mexican sovereignty, he recognized no power superior to his own.[29] This put a stop to further communications; and the nuncio soon after took his leave,[30] preceded by a commission which should seek to form an amicable arrangement with the holy see.[31]

Meanwhile the government hastened to carry out the policy outlined, by issuing a decree for religious freedom, ordering the council of state to revise the nationalization of church estates, confirming sales legally made, and subjecting bulls to government approval ere they could be issued.[32]

[27] Ratifying all that seemed legal, and with tolerance principles. Letter of Dec. 27, 1861.

[28] They knew not what agreement he had made with the pontiff; the latter had been warned already in July to send an effective representative, and here came a nuncio without power; he could not await the slow proceedings of the vatican. The bishops had been meddling too much in politics, and were neglecting duty by staying away from their dioceses. They had a good excuse for absence in the lack of protection from the Juarists.

[29] The nuncio had declared the papal superiority supreme in the matter.

[30] He proceeded to the Central American republics, there to await orders from Rome. He embarked at Vera Cruz June 2d, receiving every attention. For details concerning his mission, see *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, ii. 5–32; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xvii. 491 et seq.; and *Arrangoiz*, ubi sup., wherein the church is upheld. Niox takes a sensible middle course in *Expéd. du Mex.*, 397–405. See also *Domenech, Hist. Mex.*, iii. 207–10; *Valle, Viagero Mex.*, 117–42. Testory's defence of Maximilian's policy in *Imp. y Clero*, 33–44. Counter-arguments in *Id., Observ. sobre*, 1–47; *Bustamante, Cuatro Palabras*, 8–103; *Arrillaga, Observ.*, 1–67, 1–87; *Pinart Coll.; Ormaechea, Expos.*, 3–29.

[31] It consisted of the plastic Velazquez de Leon, the only and nominal conservative in the cabinet; Joaquin Degollado, a lawyer with republican principles, like his father, the late Juarist general, and Bishop Ramirez of Tamaulipas, appointed imperial almoner in July, *Méx., Boletin Ley.*, 1864, 42, whom Arrangoiz terms an ignorant Indian, serving with his office to give tone to the commission. They embarked in Feb. following. Minister Aguilar wrote from Rome in March expressing faint hope for any arrangement. *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, ii. 28–9.

[32] The latter decree was issued in time to stop the publication of an ency-

Such measures could not fail to imbitter the party which regarded itself as having exalted Maximilian to the throne. They declared them contrary to the bases on which the empire had been erected, the maintenance of the church being the chief reason for war against the Juarists. To approve their fundamental acts was to proclaim the justice of their cause, and withdraw the main principles for which the national armies of the empire were fighting. It was not duly considered that the empire had been created really by Napoleon, whose views and material interests demanded these enactments. The tolerance decree was denounced as exceeding the most iniquitous reforms of republicans. It would sever the only strong bond between the races of the country, and give an intensity to caste differences that might lead to a war of extermination. While in accord with the general march of progress, the law was deemed needless for a nation so wholly catholic, and this fact in itself demanded that its aim to promote immigration should be restricted to co-religionists. The conservatives chose not to see how irresistible was the advance of liberal ideas, and that their resistance could serve to delay only for a brief term the inevitable.[33]

The clergy were stirred to actual hostility, menacing

clical letter from Rome of Dec. 8th. *Méx., Boletin Ley.*, 1864, 327–49. The tolerance decree of Feb. 26th recognized the Roman as state religion. Authority had to be obtained for practising other rites. At the same time the public sale of bibles loomed ominous, and the cemeteries were placed under control of local authorities, and opened to persons of any creed, to the horror of the faithful. The revision of property nationalization was to be conducted in accordance with laws of June 25, 1856, and July 12–13, 1859, and supplementary decrees. The alienation of estates by clergy, during the administration of Zuloaga and Miramon, were to be recognized, unless affected by previous claims. Articles 16–24 regulate the bureau of administration for nationalized property not sold, and order the disposal of such property. Domenech, in giving these decrees, *Hist. Mex.*, iii. 318–21, adds a few comments from the journals. Many of the lessees and holders assisted, especially the church, in hampering the execution of the decree. See subsequent mortmain law of 1865. *Méx., Decreto 5 Julio, 1865*, 1–24.

[33] Several pamphlets and books bear more or less exhaustively on this topic, which is besides fully ventilated in the journals of the day, such as the imperialist paper, *Pájaro Verde*, Dec. 1864 et seq. Zamacois, an ardent defender of the church, embodies a number of them in his *Hist. Méj.*, xvii. 850, 892, etc.; but he is loose and verbose as well as prejudiced.

the credulous with the anger of the church, and using other means that created a wide-spread feeling against the empire, and consequently in favor of the republicans.[34] The emperor was driven by bent as well as circumstances toward the liberals, yet failing to gain more than the lukewarm adherence of a small fraction, the great majority being repelled by the elements sustaining him, and enraged by reason of every step taken by him in securing his own interest. Moreover, while missing the main party, the republicans, and losing his own, he was even estranging himself from the French, by whom the throne was upheld.

The commission to Rome had not succeeded in effecting anything, as might have been expected after the independent and radical enactments of Maximilian,[35] and intercourse was practically broken off, Min-

[34] In the French journal *L'Estafette*, at Mexico, Sept. 21, 1864, and subsequent dates, are given somewhat colored accounts of troubles with church property holders in Puebla. In *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 342, 425–7, are instances of priests withholding the sacrament to compel obedience to their wishes. Maximilian was accused of letting journals rail against the clergy.

[35] The commission arrived at Rome in April; and although the pope considered it nothing but proper to ignore it, in view of the steps taken to carry out the very measures submitted for consideration, yet a conciliatory attitude was decided upon. Minister Aguilar understood this to be due to French influence, which swayed not with love, for the pope knew well the source for Mexican church policy. On July 8th was issued, not an answer to the memorial presented, for that could not be entertained, but a few general considerations upon the course of the apostolic see with regard to such proposals. It stood charged by God to sustain the church, not to destroy, and owed it to the faithful to disapprove everything hostile to catholic interests and principles. Maximilian had been called upon to repair the ills suffered by the church, instead of which he had undertaken to encroach still further upon its time-honored claims. Its principles permitted no civil interference with its rights. The authority of Spanish kings, colonial patronage, and other matter had been usurped or extorted, and could not be yielded to Maximilian; nor the restriction of ecclesiastic tribunals to spiritual affairs. It was preposterous to surrender to the government all ecclesiastical property, including any future acquirements, and to enslave the clergy, as dependents on the state, by letting them accept its bounty like civil officials. After demanding of them all these material sacrifices, without the least offer of compensation for property already alienated, they were further expected to abandon tithes, fees, and alms. 'The faithful should at least be permitted to recognize with pious offerings the extraordinary privileges which they receive from the apostolic ministration of their pastors,' such as 'marriage and other acts of grace and favor.' The absence is noted of any allusion to episcopal right of free intercourse with the holy see, of supervising education, of censorship over impious or immoral books, etc. In conclusion, the Mexican clergy and people are exhorted to resist encroachment, declaring that the firmness of sacred pastors in

ister Aguilar having found it necessary to informally retire. Arrangoiz, a stout conservative, hastened to resign his mission to the courts of England, Belgium, and Holland for the same reason,[36] yet relations with these countries remained amicable, as they did with other European states, nearly all of which had recognized the empire.[37]

The year 1864 had continued to bring disaster on the Juarists. Only two respectable armies upheld their banners, under Diaz in the south, and under Uraga in Jalisco. The rest of their adherents were broken up into guerrilla bands, or little better, waging an unsuccessful contest in nearly every province. In Mexico, Riva Palacio claimed a certain advantage, only to lose it in Michoacan. And elsewhere defeat

critical times would attract the blessings of heaven. Arrangoiz, *Méj.*, iii. 282–99, 333–56, who gives this question much space, contents himself mainly with reproducing the text of documents. Zamacois indulges in verbose newspaper arguments of a nature utterly opposed to the anti-clerical essay, *El Imperio y el Clero*, by the French chaplain Testory.

[36] As presented in a strong letter to Maximilian disapproving his policy. *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 292, ap. 56. Reflections thereon by Aguilar, *Reflex.*, 1–16.

[37] The English and Belgian mission was now divided between Col J. M. Duran, a liberal, and late assistant secretary of war, and Marquis de Corio, of Milan, the latter sent to Belgium. Aguilar was transferred from Rome to Madrid, replacing Col Fran. Facio, who had caused dissatisfaction in Mexico. Fernando Mangino was sent to Lisbon. Hidalgo had also offended with his decided French ideas, and summoned home from Paris, he resigned in February 1866. The Vatican had been given additional cause for bitterness by the appointment of a representative at Turin, in the person of Gregorio Barandiarán, who was now transferred to Vienna, his place being taken by Peon y Regil, acting also in Switzerland. The mission to Russia and the Scandinavian countries had passed from F. S. Mora to Manuel Larrainzar, and that to Turkey and Greece from Martinez del Rio to General Marquez. For treaty of commerce with Turkey, see *Derecho Intern. Mex.*, pt ii. 363–70. Pedro Escandon held the post in Brazil. The foreign ministers at Mexico were Count Guido von Thun, representing Austria; Alphonse Danó, France; Peter Campbell Scarlett, England; Blondeel van Cuelebroeck, Belgium; Sandoval, Marquis de la Rivera, Spain; Count de la Tour, Italy. There had also appeared representatives from Portugal; from Sweden, in Baron Wetterstedt; from Russia, in Baron Stoeckl. Danó replaced Marquis de Montholon, who in May 1865 proceeded to the U. S., where he had been educated. The ideas he had there imbibed did not suit the Mexicans. The three leading Mexican ministers abroad, to France, England, and Austria, received $12,000 pay and $10,000 for expenses; others $8,000 and $5,000. See further, also, regulations in *Méx., Col. Ley. Imp.*, ii. 115–31; *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, i. 364; *Méx., Boletin Ley.*, 1864, 36, 322 et seq.; *Diario Imp.*, June 21, 1864, and later dates; *Almanaque Imp.*, 1866, 5–8; *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iv. 27, 44, 276, 306, etc.; *Payno, Cuentas*, 698–9.

was the rule; notably in Jalisco, under Neri; in Guanajuato, where the republican governor, Gallardo, was driven out of the state; and in Guerrero, where the prominent port of Acapulco had surrendered June 3d.[38]

The campaign for the latter six months was directed essentially toward the north, beyond latitude 24°, below which the Franco-Mexican columns stood prepared for the advance. The eastern forces centred in those of Mejía, which were cantoned from Rio Verde to Tula and Catorce, supported on the right by Dupin's guerrillas in Tampico, on the left by the brigade of Aymard at San Luis Potosí and Venado, and in the rear by Castagny's division, with headquarters at Querétaro, all of which were destined to sweep Tamaulipas, Nuevo Leon, and Coahuila. In Zacatecas the brigade of L'Hériller was about to enter Durango, and on the Pacific coast the squadron of Kergrist lay ready to coöperate with Douay in Jalisco, and support a movement into Sinaloa.[39]

Nevertheless the position of Juarez at the beginning of the second semester seemed not altogether alarming. His leading generals in the north, Negrete, Ortega, and Patoni, with Cortina and Garza in Tamaulipas, had still about 12,000 men under their orders, although somewhat scattered; and considerable means were flowing from the custom-houses of Manzanillo, Mazatlan, and Guaymas on the Pacific, of Piedras Negras on the Texan frontier, and Matamoros on the gulf. Add to this loans in the United States, forced contributions, church property, and other resources, and not least the moral support of the northern republic. Arms were all the time com-

[38] To French forces, owing to a lack of artillery, as Álvarez explains. Solis, the commander, surrendered 500 men and 81 officers. Gallardo and Neri are said to have had 1,500 and 2,000 men respectively. In Puebla some 1,500 republican guerrillas were still said to be hovering, indirectly encouraged by certain imperialist mistakes, such as the sacking of Huauchinango in Aug., as described in *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, ii. 108–10.

[39] Castagny passed onward against Saltillo and Monterey, Mejía marching either against this place or Matamoros. *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 414.

ing in from Texas and California, and even a few recruits, encouraged at one time by liberal land bounties.[40]

But this outlook was soon to be darkened, owing partly to internal discord. A quarrel broke out between Uraga, commander-in-chief of the army of the center, and Arteaga, general of the fourth division, and in charge of Jalisco. The latter accused Uraga of treasonable correspondence with the imperialists, and refused obedience. Finding the mutinous party too strong, Uraga offered to resign in favor of any one whom the officers might elect. Echeagaray was chosen; but recognizing his own strength, Arteaga allowed prejudice and ambition to prevail, and Juarez was persuaded by decree of July 1st to give him the chief command.[41] The step was judicious so far as concerned Uraga, who now openly gave his adhesion to the empire, and received a seat in the council.[42]

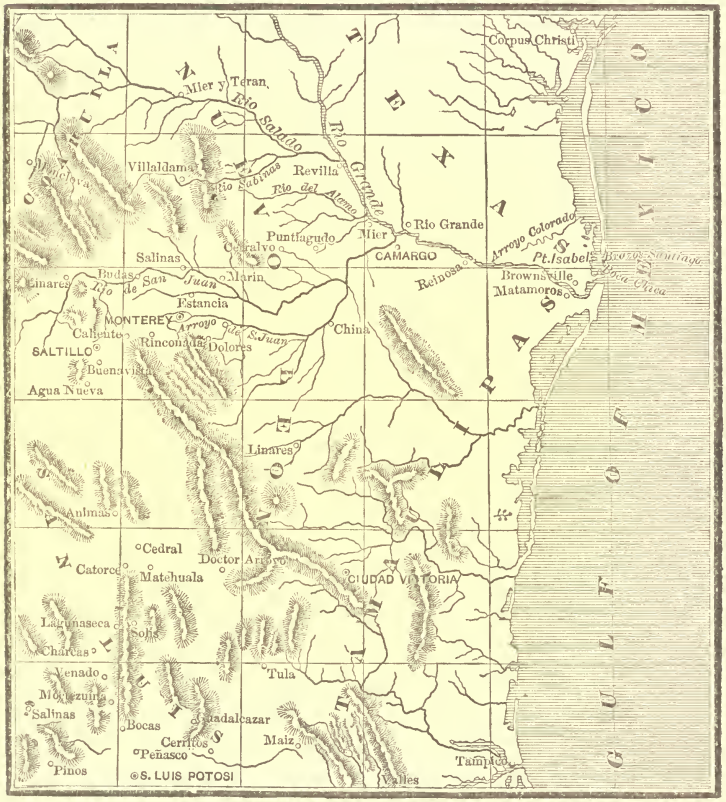
Still more serious were the troubles pressing upon the republican government in its immediate surroundings. Encouraged by the overwhelming defeat of

[40] Decree of Aug. 11, 1864, *Dublan* and *Lozano*, *Leg. Mex.*, ix. 691, annulled soon after. *Méx.*, *Col. Ley.*, 1863–7, iii. 94. The land grants varied in value from $1,000 for privates to $2,000 for officers. The result was a small band of not over 50 from the U. S., who afterward compromised for money. *Méx.*, *Mem. Hac.*, 1870, 627. Vega was in California for some time to secure arms; and though thwarted on more than one occasion by the French consul, he obtained secret countenance from the authorities, and managed to send large supplies, as reported in *Vega*, *Doc.*, i., passim. Brown, the U. S. treasury agent at S. F., gave aid, and entered the Mexican service. *Id.*, 424, 551; *Vega*, *Ausiliares*, MS. The question of shipping arms was discussed in congress. *U. S. Sen. Doc.* 15, 38th Cong. 2d Sess., 1–22. See also *S. F. Bulletin*, Aug. 6, 1864; *Alta Cal.*, June 29, 1864.

[41] Echeagaray patriotically accepting the second position. *Méx.*, *Col. Ley.*, 1863–7, ii. 77–9; *Vega*, *Doc.*, i. 587–8. This gave Arteaga control over Jalisco, Michoacan, Guanajuato, Querétaro, and part of Mexico—that is, so far as republican influence extended. The four divisions of this army were intrusted to Echeagaray, Ortiz, Salazar, and Herrera y Cairo, governor of Jalisco, the latter acting only in absence of Arteaga. *La Estrella de Occid.*, Sept. 9, Nov. 4, 1864.

[42] Several high officers joined him; but Echeagaray and O'Horan, his supposed intimate friends, refused to listen to his urging. *Diaro Deb.*, 9th Cong., i. 680. Yet in June Uraga had indignantly rejected the invitation extended by the imperialists. *La Estrella de Occid.*, July 29, Aug. 12, 1864. He sought to win over Diaz among others, but met with an indignant repulse. *Diaz*, *Datos Biog.*, 68–76.

Doblado's forces in May, the Vidaurrists had again risen in Nuevo Leon under Quiroga, who kept the remnants of Juarist forces busy. At the same time the advance of imperialists under Mejía and Castagny, the former northward into Tamaulipas, the other by way of Saltillo, obliged a division of the Juarist forces,



OPERATIONS IN THE NORTH-EAST.

with a view to check the invasion at certain approaches, notably at Angostura.[43] Quiroga, assisted by Inda-

[43] Of Ortega's forces there were 500 at Monterey and 1,500 at Saltillo, Naranjo stood south of this point, Quesada had 1,000 men at Salinas, and Patoni was approaching with reënforcements. See also *Arias, Reseña*, 9-29, and *Leg. Mex., Corresp.*, 1865-6, 53-4.

lecio, son of Vidaurri, took advantage of the diversion to obtain possession of Monterey on August 15th, Juarez and his minister having a narrow escape,[44] and being compelled to flee by a circuitous route through Coahuila and Durango into Chihuahua, pursued as far as Parras by Aymard. So desperate seemed the situation that the president sent his family to New Orleans.

He had intended to seek Saltillo, but learned that Castagny had entered it on the 17th with over 3,000 men, meeting with little or no opposition. This general thereupon advanced against Monterey, regardless of the entreaties of Vidaurri, who had joined his forces at this city, and desired to let the submission of his state appear as a voluntary act of the people by public vote; nor would Castagny recognize him as governor.[45] Licenciate Aguilar was made prefect, and Vidaurri and Quiroga, who prudently took the oath of allegiance, had to proceed to Mexico, where the conciliatory Maximilian consoled the former by appointing him councillor.[46]

The republicans still held out for a while in this region, but a final defeat in December hastened the submission of Nuevo Leon and the greater part of Coahuila, to the banks of the Rio Grande.[47] Resistance seemed the more useless since Mejía had overrun Tamaulipas. Instead of taking advantage of the difficulties presented during the imperialist march in the rainy season through swamps and passes, Cortina, the

[44] Juarez' carriage was riddled with bullets. Fortunately the pursuing force was too small to accomplish anything more. *La Estrella de Occid.*, Dec. 15, 1864; *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 417. This author assumes that prompt coöperation during the pursuit into Chihuahua might have secured the person of Juarez.

[45] Owing to the troubles that might arise from party differences, it was said. At Monterey were found 55 pieces of artillery, besides much ammunition.

[46] He had retired from Monterey with his forces on the approach of Castagny, but recognized the hopelessness of exacting any terms. *La Estrella de Occid.*, Dec. 15, 1864, *Juarez, Biog.*, 49, and other republican sources naturally rejoice over his discomfiture. *Iglesias, Revistas*, iii. 21.

[47] Gov. Galindo of Coahuila, after the final defeat Dec. 29th at Palo Blanco, by Lopez, resigning office, Gov. Hinojosa of Nuevo Leon had less ground on which to sustain himself.

new governor of the province, preferred to hurry back to Matamoros. The movement was not unwarranted, however, for the squadron of Admiral Bosse had on the 22d of August taken Bagdad, thence blockading the river and menacing the port.[48] On the approach of Mejía, Cortina thought it best to surrender without a blow; and thus on the 26th of September the last important town on the gulf was lost to the Juarists.[49] He lowered himself still further by aiding in the pursuit of his late brothers in arms, including Canales and J. M. Carbajal, the new governor.[50]

The foreign legion under Dupin had rendered good service by subduing the district between Ciudad Victoria and Soto la Marina, receiving the submission of Garza, and dispersing the guerrillas not without some severity, which served to stir anew the republican movements. Dupin was created governor of the province, Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, and Matamoros being intrusted to the care of Mejía.[51] The subjugation of Tamaulipas was followed by the adhesion of mountainous Huasteca, in northern Vera Cruz,[52] where the republicans had in October been reduced to extremities near their last stronghold of Huejutla. At this stage their proposal to submit was entertained, and

[48] With four vessels. In Texas, on the opposite bank, the federals were at the time besieging Brownsville, and both they and the confederates sought to interest Mexicans and French, especially with a view to obtain artillery. The French held aloof; but Cortina countenanced the federals, while Canales, his lieut, formed a futile pronunciamiento in favor of the confederates.

[49] Niox gives Cortina 900 men and 12 cannon. A portion escaped with Canales to the confederate side, to return soon after for the guerrilla campaign. *La Estrella de Occid.*, Mar. 17, 1865. Several score of vessels were at the time in the river with cotton and other effects.

[50] *Iglesias, Intervencion*, iii. 110. He had reason for anger with Juarez, as we have seen; yet he intended to turn back to the republicans should fortune again favor the cause.

[51] Dupin's movements are fully related in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Oct. 1, 1865, Feb. 1, 15, 1866, etc. The outcry against his severity caused his recall soon after.

[52] Dupin had achieved a certain degree of success, but found the country too difficult for a satisfactory campaign; whereupon Col Tourre entered it from Mexico, and won a hard-fought victory on Aug. 1st at La Candelaria pass, which caused the evacuation of Huejutla, but led to no other results. Capt. Bessol now entered and managed to press the tired guerrillas under Ujalde, Escamilla, and Kampfner into greater compliance. Niox, *Expéd. du Mex.*, 406–10, follows the operations closely.

they were allowed to reoccupy for the empire several towns taken from them, a course which led to fresh troubles.[53]

Westward, the French, under L'Hériller, had entered Durango July 3d, Acting Governor Mascareñas retiring toward Nazas[54] and joining Governor Patoni, who, reënforced by Ortega and Carbajal, prepared in September to retake the city. They approached to Estanzuela with nearly 4,000 men, and gained at first an advantage over the smaller Franco-Mexican force which marched against them; but superior discipline prevailed over raw recruits, and they were obliged to retreat, with a loss of about 400 men, dead, wounded, and captured, and twenty cannon.[55] Two months later the new republican governor, Quesada, suffered another defeat.[56]

Juarez and his cabinet had reached Nazas in September, proceeding thence to Chihuahua, where the capital was established on the 15th of October.[57] General Ortega, who had lost prestige since his late defeat at Durango, and been wholly ignored, made a

[53] As explained by the letters and articles especially in *El Cronista*, Nov. 2, 1864, and passim. *Iglesias, Revistas*, iii. 459, 523. The liberal treaty in their favor was signed April 5th. After a fresh varying campaign, Dec. 1864 to March 1865, another armistice had been arranged. *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 432–3; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xvii. 831–2, 934–43, 1001–4. More decided triumphs were achieved by the imperialists at Tuxpan and Teziutlan.

[54] Sustained by General Ochoa, he had prepared for resistance, hoping that Patoni might come with aid, but in vain. On retreating, one of the chiefs, Corona, of Sinaloa, undertook, unsuccessfully, to operate between Nombre de Dios and Zacatecas, and passed thereupon to Sinaloa. Sarabia was appointed prefect by L'Hériller.

[55] This battle, known as Cerro de Majoma, was fought Sept. 21st. According to Niox, the victors numbered only 530 French and 80 Mexicans. Col Martin, the French commander, fell early in the battle, and was replaced by Japy. Iglesias maintained that the republicans had only 2,500 men, of whom less than half were engaged. *Revistas*, iii. 29. Ortega had the chief command, imposed on him, he claims, to lose his prestige. *Leg. Mex., Corresp.*, 1865–6, 57–9. Accounts in *La Estrella de Occid.*, Nov. 4, 1864, assume that the republicans remained masters of the field. See later versions, in *La Voz de Méj.*, Dec. 13, 1864; *Periód. Imp.*, Oct. 15, 1864.

[56] The republicans claiming an advantage by Borrego over a Franco-Mexican column.

[57] Ángel Trias had here been appointed governor in June, replacing Casavante, whom the local authorities ignored; Patoni being made chief of all forces in Durango and Chihuahua. *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, 51, 76; *La Estrella de Occid.*, Nov. 11, 1864.

demand about this time for the presidency, claiming that Juarez' term expired on the 30th of November, and that to himself, as president of the supreme court, belonged the office, since no proper election could be held, owing to the disorders created by war. It was pointed out, however, that the term did not expire till the following year. Disgusted with his position, Ortega thereupon proceeded to the United States, to await developments.[58]

After sharing the reverses in Durango, General Corona had passed into Sinaloa to increase his forces for a campaign in Jalisco, and finding Governor Morales there indisposed to assist with funds from the rich custom-house at Mazatlan and other sources, he had him seized and replaced by the more tractable Rosales.[59] Meanwhile the imperialists were preparing to enter the state. On the 12th of November a French squadron, under De Kergrist, appeared before the harbor and demanded a surrender, threatening otherwise to bombard the town. At the same time came news of the rapid approach of Lozada, the Tepic chieftain, with 3,000 Indians, to coöperate from the land side. Thus pressed, Corona thought it best to evacuate the place that night,[60] his forces now breaking into guerrilla bands for harassing the enemy. This made a large garrison less needful, and Lozada returned at once, leaving but a small force to assist the

[58] His correspondence on the subject may be found in *Leg. Mex., Corresp.*, 1865-6, 38-9. 43-4, 63-6, and passim; *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863-7, ii. 110-23, with official resolutions. See also *Iglesias, Revistas*, iii. 60-1. It was shown that the election having taken place in 1861, the term of four years could end only in 1865. It was proposed at the time to remove Ortega from the bench for having acted as governor of Zacatecas, and being so long away on expeditions; but this was not acted upon till the following year, when his prolonged absence in the U. S. afforded more just cause.

[59] He had at first sought to win him by an ostensible uniting among his troops in favor of Morales; but the wily governor was not to be caught, and so his removal became necessary, Roman taking his place till a speedy election made Rosales governor. Morales attempted to resist, but his troops deserted and Mazatlan was readily taken, Oct. 14th.

[60] Not aware of the evacuation, De Kergrist began on the 13th to cast some shells, but a white flag soon corrected the measure. Lozada entered as the last republicans departed, and ordered a fruitless pursuit. A vast amount of stores fell to the victors. The French fleet consisted of the frigate *Victoire* and three smaller vessels. See *Hist. North Mex. States*, ii., this series.

French in keeping the bands in check, and in holding from the Juarists so valuable a source for funds, as well as an avenue for supplies from abroad. The guerrilla campaign proceeded with alternate successes as far north as the Sonora border.[61]

A blow equally severe was dealt in Jalisco, where the only respectable Juarist army north of Mexico—that of the centre, under Arteaga—had remained in comparative inactivity on the northern border of Colima, hemmed in by the French lines,[62] and later detained, like them, by the rainy season. This over, General Douay set out from Guadalajara, and joined by Marquez, he made, October 28th, a well-planned attack on Arteaga, in the ravine of Atenquique. The position was strong; but finding themselves taken also in rear and flank, the republicans turned and dispersed, leaving their artillery and a large number of slain. A few days later Gutierrez and Rojas were routed near Ameca by Rivas, opportunely reenforced by a French column. Marquez now occupied Colima; and on the 18th of November took possession of the important seaport of Manzanillo, which was not retained, however. An attempt by Rojas and others to retake Colima resulted in a disastrous failure.[63] Arteaga himself was overtaken near Jiquilpan by a French force, four days later, and routed.[64]

These reverses were relieved only by a faint glimmer of success in the southern states, General Vicario being repulsed at Chilapa[65] in October, while on the

[61] Among republicans joining the victors was Francisco Vega, who carried their banner to northern Sinaloa, but was besieged at Villa Fuerte, and captured and shot. A small Franco-Mexican reënforcement by way of Altata was defeated. Iglesias claims 98 French prisoners, and calls it one of the glorious victories. *Revistas*, iii. 152–6.

[62] An effort early in August, by four of his battalions, to break through northward, at Cocula, was frustrated with a loss of 200 men killed, many taken prisoners, and six cannon. *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 430.

[63] And a loss of 800 prisoners.

[64] With a loss of 500 dead and captured, 2,000 fire-arms, etc. Previous to this he had successfully passed through the French lines by a circuitous route, proposing to gain Michoacan. The fullest account of operations in Jalisco and Sinaloa is found in *Vigil, Ensayo Hist.*, 211, etc., but from a republican standpoint.

[65] Diego Álvarez came to the rescue of this place, which Vicario had been

way from Iguala to replace the French garrison at Acapulco. The result was, that the port had to be abandoned by the imperialists in the beginning of December.[66] The whole country south of Puebla, including Guerrero, Oajaca, Chiapas, Tabasco, and southern Vera Cruz, practically remained in hands of the republicans, under the direction of Porfirio Diaz. The French being unable to spare sufficient troops for this direction, the proposed operations under Brincourt from Puebla southward were deferred, but a garrison was retained at Yanhuitlan, and exploration and road-making were pursued during the closing months, with a view to advance at the turn of the year.[67]

besieging for three weeks. The garrison under Pinzon, jointly with the reenforcement, made sad havoc among the imperialists, who were placed at from 2,000 to 3,000 men. Vicario, who had regarded the expedition to the malarious coast with disgust, was summoned to answer for his evident carelessness. Finding himself suspected of intrigues against the empire, he fled from the country to escape arrest. *Diario Ofic.*, Oct. 23, 1869.

[66] Mainly because the French squadron was needed at Mazatlan, and partly because Alvarez and his valorous Pintos, supported by Diaz, had frustrated every effort to gain further foothold in the province, and even cut off supplies from the land side. The last Frenchman embarked Dec. 14th. *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 435. The U. S. war steamer *Saranac* remained to protect foreigners.

[67] Diaz had been actively keeping guard, and had gained several successes at Cazatlan, Calipa, and Tlajiaco, repulsing Visoso; but he had failed in a previous attempt, in August, on Nazahuatipa, near Teotitlan, his brother Félix, nicknamed El Chato, from his flat nose, failing at Ayotla, in the same region. *Diaz, Biog.*, MS., 198–204; *Id., Datos Biog.*, 61 et seq. The Indians of Yucatan, ever suspicious of established governments, appearing troubled, the imperial commissioner hastened to conciliate them by appointing a defensor to represent and plead for them, as in colonial days, promising redress of wrongs. Zamacois has preserved the Maya text of the decree. *Hist. Méj.*, xvii. 583–4. Details concerning the preceding military operations will be found in *La Voz de Méj.*, Sept. 3, 1864, till Feb. 1865, passim; so also in *Período. Ofic., La Estrella de Occid., Diario Ofic. Imp., Pájaro Verde,* and other papers for the same period. In *Juarez, Biog.*, 38, it is estimated that 102 battles took place during the last seven months of 1864, in which 3,277 were killed and 1,300 wounded.

CHAPTER VIII.

IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT.

1865.

PROVISIONAL CONSTITUTION—PERSONAL GUARANTEE—NO SLAVERY—FONDNESS OF MAXIMILIAN FOR LAW-MAKING—PROMOTION OF COLONIZATION—FINANCES—CABINET—MAXIMILIAN PROTESTS AGAINST HIS AUSTRIAN RENUNCIATION—FRENCH LOAN AND FRENCH TROOPS—ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES — REPUBLICANISM GAINS STRENGTH — MAXIMILIAN ALARMED—BAZAINE BLAMED—TERRORISM.

IN 1865, on the anniversary of his acceptance of the crown, Maximilian issued the provisional constitution of the empire, according to which the emperor represented the national sovereignty, and exercised it in all branches, the form of government being moderate monarchical, and hereditary, with a catholic prince.[1] There were to be nine ministerial departments; namely, of the imperial household, of state, of foreign affairs and navy, government or interior, justice, public instruction and worship, war, fomento, or public works and material development, and finance,[2] the whole to be connected with an auditorial tribunal, with administrative and judicial

[1] The empress assuming the regency in case of the emperor's disability.

[2] The household minister took charge of decorations and titles and crown domains. The minister of state presided at the ministerial council, took cognizance of affairs relating to the council of state, tribunal de cuentas, visitadores, chancellorship, communicated appointments and decrees not pertaining to the other departments. The marine department was temporarily annexed to that of foreign affairs. An educational council was to be formed for promoting education. The minister of fomento attended to statistics, vacant lands, public works, railways, internal navigation, forests, industrial development, mining, colonization, mails, telegraphs, and weights and measures. For regulations and duties, see *Méx.*, *Col. Ley. Imp.*, i.-viii., passim.

power for inspecting and revising all financial matters.[3]

The council of state had to frame bills, decide in ministerial disputes, and give advice. The private cabinet, forming the medium of communication for the sovereign, comprised two departments, for civil and military affairs.[4] The country was divided into eight military districts,[5] each in charge of a chief, and at times placed temporarily under a commissary for correcting abuses by officials, inspectors being also appointed to make tours through departments for the same purpose. The departments, fifty in number,[6] were to be ruled by prefects appointed by the emperor, and guided by a departmental council.[7] Districts were placed under sub-prefects,[8] also assisted by councils, and municipalities with no less than 3,000 inhabitants were governed by ayuntamientos, popularly elected.[9] Smaller municipalities were controlled by comisarios.[10] There were five grades of tribunals, of which the

[3] Including those of municipalities and other public bodies.

[4] Each under the care of a chief. See also *Méx., Reg. Gabinete*, 3–18.

[5] Besides these, whose commanding generals at the time are named in *Diar. Imp.*, April 10, 1835, sup., there were formed two great 'commandements,' the first at San Luis Potosí, embracing the north-east provinces, under Douay, the second at Durango, for the north-west, under Castagny; a third was proposed in the south, under L'Hériller; but Bazaine not giving enough troops, it was abandoned. *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 505–6.

[6] List in *Almanaque Mex.*, 1867, 43; *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 274. Varying in size from that of Valle de Méjico, with 410 square leagues and 482,000 inhabitants, to that of California with about 8,400 square leagues and 12,000 inhabitants, the most populous being Guanajuato, with over 600,000 people upon an area of 1,452 square leagues, and the least Mapimí, with 6,700 people upon 4,500 square leagues. This evidently unequal division, of Guanajuato at least, was influenced by ministerial courtesy, says Arrangoiz, the minister of fomento being a native of the latter department. *Méj.*, iii. 275. The capitals were also badly selected in several instances, for significance and position. The existing division, fixed in 1857, embraced 22 states, 6 territories, and the federal district.

[7] Of five members selected by the supreme government from the nominations of the prefect.

[8] Appointed by the prefect, subject to approval.

[9] Varying from 5 to 19, according to the population, and half of it renewed every year. Every Mexican over 21 years, and with honest livelihood, could vote.

[10] Appointed like alcaldes, by the prefect. For a special treatise on local administration, see *Trigueros, Ramos Municip.*, 1–66. By decree of Oct. 12th, three maritime prefectures were created, at Vera Cruz, Acapulco, and Mazatlan.

superior judges held office for life. The people received the guarantee of equality before the law, security for person and property—slavery and confiscation being forbidden—and liberty to proclaim their opinions. Care was taken to alleviate the oppression weighing upon laborers, especially Indians, by limiting the deduction for debts to one fifth of the pay, abolishing corporal punishment, and prohibiting fathers from binding their children to employers.[11] But these, like many other excellent measures, were frustrated by corrupt officials, disorderly state of affairs, and other circumstances.

The emperor certainly had a greater taste for issuing laws than firmness and power to carry them out; and toward the end of this year there came in a flood of enactments, many of them being revivals of colonial decrees.[12] A characteristic effort was made in behalf of education, for the spread of rudimentary knowledge and the establishment of secondary schools,[13] while the empress fostered benevolent institutions.[14] Amid the great care lavished on court routine, it may be readily understood that the theatre received attention.

[11] *Méx., Col. Ley. Imp.*, vi. 186. And relieving children from debts contracted by parents. During the absence of the emperor, Charlotte brought a number of deeply studied bills before the council, and wrung from the members often too ready approval, as Domenech declares. *Hist. Mex.*, iii. 253. The empress herself wrote in Aug. 1865: 'Tous mes projets ont passé; celui des Indiens, après avoir excité un frémissement...a été accepté avec une sorte d'enthousiasme.' Rivera is willing to credit Maximilian with good intentions, but he was overruled in many instances. *Hist. Jal.*, v. 652–3. Romero abuses his law for operatives. *Leg. Mex., Circul.*, ii. 202–6; *Mex., Code Rural*, 1–13. On press regulations, see *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, ii. 33–73.

[12] To persuade Europe that he had a 'creative genius,' sneers Arrangoiz, *Méj.*, iii. 340, and was lifting Mexico out of barbarism. Too weak to meet discussion, says Domenech, he often took advantage of a minister's absence to execute his purpose. Ubi sup.

[13] Approaching the German gymnasia. Covarrubias, *Instruc. Púb.*, is not willing to give credit for this attempt, but Ratzel, *Aus Mexico*, 338, etc., takes pains to let it be known. I need only instance a law of Nov. 1st, requiring a free school to be established on every estate where over 20 families were occupied. This applied also to factories employing over 100 workmen. *Méx., Col. Ley. Imp.*, vi. 187. He approved the decree of 1857 suppressing the university, but created an academy for sciences and literature. For rules and ceremonies at opening, see *Acad. Imp., Acta Instal.*, 1–27.

[14] Assisted by a council de beneficencia, a sisterhood for visiting the sick and poor, and a protective union for workmen.

Colonization was given a hitherto unparalleled prominence, both in projects and decrees. An immigration bureau was established,[15] with a most favorable decree for the appointment of agents, the grant of free lands, and other privileges.[16] All races were to be admitted, and a special-contract law was issued regulating the term of service and treatment of colored persons.[17] Arrangements were also made for French, United States, and German immigration into littoral and interior districts; but the leading project was the formation of colonies by refugees from the southern United States. Prominently connected with this plan was William M. Gwin, formerly United States senator from California, who proposed a semi-independent settlement in Sonora, and received such countenance from Napoleon as to lead to an outcry against a supposed absorption of that state by France. Even the United States intimated that the establishment of hostile southerners along the frontier would not be regarded with favor.[18] But the disturbed con-

[15] With the confederate general Magruder for chief, and the astronomer Maury for comisario. Decree of Oct. 7th.

[16] Decree Sept. 5, 1865. Colonists could become naturalized at once, and were exempt from taxes for the first year, and from military service for five years, although forming a militia for their own protection. Report on grants and their partial occupation, in *Manero, Doc. Interes.*, 53–7.

[17] Branded by opponents as a renewal of slavery, *Leg. Mex., Circ.*, ii. 202–6, although the opening clause declares all free. The term was limited to ten years; in case of the father's death, children remained under the care and in the service of the employer till attaining majority. The question of African and Chinese immigration was not well received by the public, which expressed a fear for a deterioration of race. Morales, supported by Baron Sauvage, proposed to introduce 100,000 negroes and Mongols, and a Portuguese received in Dec. the privilege for ten years to bring in Asiatics.

[18] Gwin had labored for his plan ever since the French entered Mexico. Hidalgo, Arrangoiz, and other ministers opposed it, chiefly on the ground that any littoral or frontier settlement by foreigners might lead to a repetition of the Texas segregation. Although Napoleon favored Gwin, Bazaine neither could nor would promote it. The Juarist minister protested at Washington against any alienation of Mexican territory. *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, ii. 212–15. The U. S. government issued its warning to France, being likewise annoyed at the reception granted to confederate officers, several of whom Niox mentions. *Expéd. du Mex.*, 502. Several editors at Mexico were fined and imprisoned by Bazaine for joining in the outcry. *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, ii. 139. For details on these points, see *Leg. Mex., Circ.*, ii. 86 et seq.; *Méx., Mem. Fomento*, 1868, 66–76, 350–74; *Méx., Mem. Hac.*, 1868, doc. 2; *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 213, 279, 320, iv. 3, etc.; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xvii. 936, etc.; *U. S. Foreign Aff.*, 356 et seq., 39th Cong. 1st Sess.; *Id.*, 266, 2d Sess.;

dition of the country, and the lack of aid to efficiently promote colonization, neutralized the projects, so that hardly anything was done.[19]

Finances remained inextricably confused, especially after Mexican officials received charge of the empire. Their ill-will and inability became manifest in decreasing revenue; and notwithstanding a growing dislike for the French, Maximilian found it necessary to apply to Napoleon for an able director, and to arrange with Bazaine for French agents in the leading towns to supervise the collection of revenue. The Mexicans naturally objected to foreign interference, and arrayed themselves against it, so as to seriously interfere with the projects elaborated by Bonnefous, who came out as inspector-general of finances. This opposition served to render the need for money all the more pressing. By this time the news of military successes, and the glowing report of an agent[20] sent from Paris to examine the resources of Mexico, had so inspired the French government itself as to induce it to lend official countenance to the loan placed in April 1865 on the market. It was consequently obliged later to assume the responsibility.

The present issue was increased to 250 million francs, which, less the bonus of 32 per cent and expenses, including a lottery amortization, yielded a net sum of barely 97 millions, very little of which reached the Mexican government. The original debt of 81 million pesos, at the beginning of the intervention, had now swollen to 253 millions, and was growing rapidly under French military expenses. The interest alone, of over 10 millions, threatened to absorb

Iglesias, Interv., iii. 247-9, 264, etc.; also *La Voz de Méj.*, Apr. 4, 1865, and other dates and journals. Gwin, *Memoirs*, MS., 244, etc., condemns Maximilian for turning against the confederates afterward. Maximilian later admitted that France had proposed to obtain Sonora, but he objected.

[19] Some German colonists in Puebla retired to the U. S. and spread bad reports.

[20] Corta, whose report was read before the chambers on April 9th and 10th, just in time to influence the new loan.

the greater part of the imperial revenue, which, at the time Maximilian accepted the crown, was estimated at 15 millions; and we know, from the tenure of the Miramare convention, how little of the remainder could be claimed by Mexico. During 1865 the receipts increased to 19 millions, whereof 11 millions were from maritime custom-houses; but they were rapidly drooping.[21] Notwithstanding the reluctance of Maximilian to increase the burden on the country, fresh taxes had to be imposed in different directions, even on manufactures that should have been protected.[22] Langlais, the successor of Bonnefous,[23] prepared an admirable plan for the finance department, but he died before the application could be made, and little came of it between ministerial objections and countermeasures, and the change of French projects.[24]

[21] The returns were, from—

Vera Cruz custom-house	$4,878,735
Other custom-houses on the gulf	2,753,270
Pacific ports	2,988,787
Interior custom-houses, excise, etc.	6,941,960
Direct contributions	1,538,383
	$19,101,135

The former loan was now converted into obligations similar to the present. By arrangement with Jecker, his claim was reduced by 60 per cent. French claims for outrages were fixed at 40 million francs. For additional details, see *Payno, Mem.*, 1868; *Méx., Mem. Hac.*, 1870, 643 et seq.

[22] Arrangoiz, *Méj.*, iii. 305, iv. 9–10, takes special pains to point out mistakes and burdens in this department, wherein he had committed blunders perhaps worse. *Zamacois, Hist. Méx.*, xvii. 1085. The regency had introduced many reforms, such as stopping direct contributions, by decree of July 29, 1863, placing instead 3 and 4 per mille on town and country property, and adding in November heavy taxes on liquors and sugar. Maximilian reduced the duties of May 1863 by 50 per cent; but this had to be annulled, and further impositions levied, such as 6 per cent on paper, thread, and fabrics, followed by a series of decrees annulling or interfering with others, and creating no little confusion. Undertakings like the Vera Cruz railroad had to be supported by special increase of duties. *Romero, Mem. Hac.*, 1870, 648.

[23] Who retired through sickness, and was replaced in Oct. Langlais soon succumbed to the climate.

[24] A plan for a national bank had been long considered, and a decree appeared for its establishment, but nothing was done. *Arrangoiz*, iv. 37. Domenech, *Hist. Mex.*, iii. 233–4, blames Ramirez. The elaborate treasury regulations in *Mex., Col. Ley. Imp.*, i. 55–82, and *Méx., Boletin Ley.*, 1864, 45–56, looked well on paper. Bazaine is blamed for loose management and misrepresentations. *Pap. y Corr. Fam. Imp.*, 137–41. In *Legac. Mex.*, ii. 800–4, is a special tirade against the high allowances granted to French employés, whereof Arrangoiz also complains. *Méj.*, iii. 336, iv. 33; *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 496–7. A finance committee sat in Paris, by appointment of April 11, 1864. *Méx., Boletin Ley.*, 1864, 27, ap. 309. For bank project in connection

The process of reorganizing the administration was hampered at every step, as we have seen, by the lack of means, financial and military, for maintaining order and giving effect to the many commendable measures that were proposed. Party spirit and personal jealousy added their pernicious influence, which penetrated also to the council and cabinet, without, however, leading in this quarter to the discord that would long since have produced radical changes in any other Mexican government under similar circumstances. In October the cabinet still embraced Ramirez, who filled also the place of the absent Velazquez de Leon, Almonte, Peza, Robles, and Escudero, but Cortés Esparza had resigned the portfolio of gobernacion, now held by José María Esteva. Manuel Siliceo, a liberal, had taken that of instruction and worship; and Francisco de P. César had replaced Campillo as undersecretary of finance, Langlais being actual head of this department.[25]

The fact that the cabinet had held together so well, consisting as it did mainly of liberals who were known to be at heart hostile to the imperial cause, indicates at least a zeal, combined with absence of prejudice, that merits admiration for Maximilian. Eagerness for office seems a leading quality on the opposite side. He desired the best men for his purpose, irrespective of creed or popularity; but he was too readily persuaded or imposed upon to be esteemed for judgment. Siliceo, for instance, was on the point of being expelled for maintaining correspondence with Juarez, when Ramirez managed to change this order for a seat among the ministers, on the ground that it was necessary to win over republicans.[26] The gain in this direction must have been counteracted by the irritating appointment of L. Détroyat, a French lieutenant,

with mortmain property, see *Banco, Proyecto Soc. Hipot.*, 1–12; and for certain claims, *Weil, Contra Mex.*, 1–74.

[25] Esparza was made a councillor.

[26] *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 293. He entered the cabinet on April 13th.

as assistant secretary of the navy,[27] of French inspectors, agents, and police,[28] not to mention again the preëminence of foreign military officers; one effect being to promote a passive or even hostile attitude with regard to many commendable measures of Maximilian.

The discontent attained a marked manifestation even in the cabinet, where Escudero, the minister of justice, was pointed out as having joined a conspiracy. The plot really belonged to them, with the archbishop and General Zuloaga for leaders, the object being to unite, under the potent name of Santa Anna, the host of nominal imperialists who had become dissatisfied with Maximilian and his foreigners, and the numerous republicans who had grown tired of Juarez and the bloody conflict for the constitution of 1857. At the time of Uraga's removal from the Juarist army of the centre, in the middle of 1864, several of his officers indicated a readiness to conciliate conservatives with a modification of that organic law, and the latter, including the clergy, had been gradually approaching a similar state of mind, seeing that fully as good terms could be obtained from the liberals as from Maximilian. Michoacan, then in a state of ferment, was looked upon as a favorable cradle for the movement, from its central situation, and it was believed that Porfirio Diaz, and Álvarez with his Indians, might be induced to coöperate. Santa Anna launched from his retreat at St Thomas a proclamation to the two great parties to unite for the holy struggle of casting the invaders from the soil—an appeal which could not fail to obtain response also among the masses.[29] He proposed to dedicate the

[27] On Oct. 15th, after he had acted for seven months as director-general of the navy.

[28] Partly introduced from France, and placed under D'Istria, a Corsican. For public opinion regarding these appointments, I refer to the journals of the day, as *Diario Imp.*, Oct. 19, 1865, etc.; *Constitucional*, etc.

[29] He reminded them that he it was who had more than four decades before raised the successful cry against the Iturbide empire. The proclamation was dated July 8th, and issued some weeks later in Mexico by a nephew who

whole of his still vast fortune to the cause, and hinted at the active coöperation of the now idle United States armies. The plot was not allowed to develop, however, owing to vigilance of the secret police employed by Bazaine to watch in particular the conservatives.[30] Another source for pretentions against Maximilian had already been removed by his assuming the guardianship of the two grandsons of Iturbide and pensioning the sons.[31] The act created a wide-spread belief that he intended the boy Agustin, then in his third year, for his successor, either because he had no children, or in view of a possible departure from Mexico. The latter rumor, though officially denied, was strengthened by a protest made by Maximilian at the close of the preceding year against the renunciation of his rights as an Austrian archduke. Many, indeed, began to assume that his liberal policy and assiduous lawmaking in Mexico were intended greatly for achieving popularity and reputation in his native country.[32] The protest certainly encouraged the liberals, as it created distrust among imperialists.

acted as agent. Text in *La Voz de Méj.*, Aug. 29, 1865. He had been allowed to land in Feb. 1864, on recognizing the empire, but yielding to a natural bent for intrigue, he was expelled. For this recognition the Juarez government ordered the confiscation of his estates. *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, ii. 469; *Iglesias, Interv.*, ii. 292–7.

[30] The names of several accused personages are given in *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iv. 8, and *Domenech, Hist. Mex.*, iii. 226–8. Santa Anna had bought 4,000 rifles and other arms in the U. S., and received attentions on board one of their frigates at St Thomas. His son, an imperialist colonel, venturing to disapprove the father's manifest, he was declared disinherited from any share in the paternal fortune, estimated, says Niox, *Expéd. du Mex.*, 511, at 120,000,000 francs. See *Diario Imp.*, Sept. 5, 1865, and *U. S. H. Ex. Doc.*, 17, vi. 1–179, passim, 39th Cong. 2d Sess.

[31] The agreement signed at Chapultepec Sept. 9th is reproduced in *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iv. 12–14. The two boys, Agustin and Salvador, were the sons of Ángel and Salvador, the mother of Agustin being an American named Alicia Green. She protested soon after against the surrender of her son. The aunt Josefa remained at the palace as joint guardian, proud to be called 'querida prima' by Maximilian. *Basch., Érin.*, i. 52–3. The reason given for the arrangement was gratitude on the part of the nation.

[32] The protest was dated at Mexico Dec. 28, 1864, and communicated to England, France, Belgium, and Austria. Leopold objected, and the Mexican minister at Vienna, Murphy, refused to communicate it. Prince Metternich listened to it merely confidentially, and so it was allowed to drop out of sight. Zamacois assumes, *Hist., Méj.*, xvii. 755, that a withdrawal of the Austrian troops in Mexico might have been one of Francis Joseph's retaliative steps.

So passed the twelvemonth, amidst alternate hopes and fears. French successes in Oajaca and in the northern provinces rendered the outlook in the spring so glowing that Bazaine spoke as if the war was practically over. With Maximilian the illusion seemed to be impressed by the enthusiastic reception accorded him during a tour from April into June eastward, through Tlascala and Puebla to Jalapa,[33] districts blessed for a long time with comparative peace, and therefore more ready to yield to exhilarating intercourse with rare royalty. Even greater demonstrations were evoked by the later visit of Charlotte through Vera Cruz to Yucatan,[34] as might be expected from Mexican gallantry. France caught the infection, and subscribed eagerly for the new Mexican loan issued in April, under the guarantee implied by Rouher's utterance that the French army should not return till it had triumphantly accomplished its task.[35] This was supported by a letter from Napoleon to Bazaine, authorizing him to retain all his troops, contrary to the agreement formed at Miramare, and to the statements made before French representatives.[36]

These hopes and assurances were to be shaken by the decisive federal victories in the north, which left the United States at liberty to look freely into French aims and operations in Mexico, and to speculate upon the spirit of the Monroe doctrine, impelled by a natural sympathy for the republican cause, and

[33] He lingered in the Orizaba district, and reached Jalapa on May 25th, exhibiting himself freely and frequently in a ranchero dress, to which staid men naturally objected. The demonstration, on returning to Mexico, is said, however, to have come from official sources rather than from the people. 'Lo manifestó (Charlotte) con gran sentimiento en carta á una Señora de Bruselas,' says Arrangoiz, *Méj.*, iii. 316. Full reports of the trip may be found in *Diario Imp.*, April 19, 1865, and following numbers. Rivera, *Hist. Jal.*, v. 639–47, giving special attention to ceremonies in Vera Cruz, while in *Max., Alocuciones*, 86, etc., are given speeches for the occasion. Maximilian took care to have the enthusiasm reported abroad.

[34] In Nov. and Dec., as described in *Diario Imp.*, Nov. 6, 1865, etc. Special accounts of local demonstrations are given in such brochures as *Carlota, En Vera Cruz*, 1–28.

[35] 'Ne doit revenir.' Session of French chambers, April 10, 1865.

[36] *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, ii. 129 et seq.

sustained by a host of trained soldiers. Notwithstanding the popular pressure, headed by Grant and his party, who clamored for the fulfilment of the doctrine to the letter, and the immediate withdrawal of French troops,[37] the United States government wished by no means to rush into another war, and swell its enormous debt. It even endeavored to maintain a fair neutrality toward both of the contending parties, although officials did manage to favor the Juarists somewhat.[38]

Encouraged by this attitude, Maximilian ventured to write to President Johnson, only to find both his letter and envoy ignored.[39] In August, in connection with the Gwin colonization scheme, the American minister at Paris declared in an official note that the American people sympathized warmly with the republicans of Mexico, and looked impatiently on a continuance of French intervention. The French reply, while somewhat haughty, was reassuring; and in pursuance thereof, an effort was made two months later for a recognition at Washington of the empire, with a promise that this would hasten the departure of French troops. The United States refused, and, encouraged by the deferential tone of the notes from Paris, they assumed so hostile an attitude that the prospect of a rupture seemed to many inevitable.[40]

[37] The feeling is fully presented in the American journals, and in allusion to public speeches, as at the banquet given to the Juarist minister by men like George Bancroft, Dudley Field, and Fish, as reported in *Romero, Banquete*, 1–32.

[38] Although the French consul at San Francisco induced the U. S. war steamer *Shubrick* to overtake and bring back the *Brontes*, which had left San Francisco in March 1865 with several hundred volunteers and several thousand rifles, the same effects were allowed to reach Juarez by another route. *Vega, Depósito*, MS.; *Id., Ausiliares;* and *Vega, Docs*, ii.–iii., passim. Similar shipments were becoming more frequent across the frontier, as the attitude of the government grew more hostile toward France. See also *Mex. Affairs*, ii. 8, etc., 39th Cong. 1st Sess. Vega enumerates three shipments by sea from California during the summer, *Vega, Docs*, ii. 479–80, and 15,000 rifles with ammunition to the Colorado. *Id.*, iii. 73–4. Imperialists were naturally treated strictly.

[39] Eloin went to Europe to save appearances after failing to obtain recognition for his government at Washington, observes Iglesias, *Interv.*, 386, 441.

[40] The continual defeats of the Juarists, their fugitive government, and lack of means, were vainly pointed out as an argument in favor of the legality

During the progress of these humiliating negotiations the imperialists were racked by serious forebodings. In the middle of 1865, already an ominous gathering of troops and vessels in Texas and along the Rio Bravo induced Bazaine to concentrate most of his men in the northern provinces, to the neglect of provinces below, like Michoacan and Guanajuato. The result was a revival of republican operations in these regions, which only too plainly showed that the empire rested wholly on French bayonets.[41] It could not be denied that the intelligent and active Mexicans were nearly all imbued with republican ideas. A large proportion had listened for a while to the promises held out by a party in behalf of a strong central government under a permanent head; but these proving weak and illusive, national jealousy and impatience hastened the return to former principles. As for the Indians, they looked on with passive indifference.

Notwithstanding the eagerness for office, more than one of the prefects preferred to resign rather than occupy an equivocal position, unable as they were to carry out measures or to enforce order with the scanty troops at their command.[42] Their representations recalled to Maximilian the warnings uttered already at Miramare,[43] and in a series of alarming letters he himself depicted the situation in sombre colors, blaming Bazaine as the cause, and declaring him responsible.[44]

of the stronger imperial party. Even the doubtful conduct of Juarez in retaining the presidency after his term expired in November did not impair his standing with the states.

[41] Charged by Drouin de Lhuys to report on the state of affairs in Mexico, Domenech wrote in effect throughout the year: 'J'ai trouvé le Mexique sur un volcan, l'empereur et l'empire usés, l'insurrection triomphante, partout où les Français ne sont pas en grand nombre.' *Hist. Mex.*, iii. 210. But he was not believed; certainly not at first. See also *Iléricault, Max.*, 28–34.

[42] Prefect Moral of Michoacan, a most worthy and respected man, resigned four times without being allowed to leave. Some of his letters are very blunt. See *Domenech*, iii. 223–4. He also objected to the stringent measures which to the French seemed more indispensable the smaller their forces became.

[43] Notably by Teran, whose character as Juarez' agent caused him to be disregarded.

[44] 'La ville de Morelia est entourée d'ennemis; Acapulco est perdu... Oajaca est presque dégarni; San Luis Potosí est en danger... On a perdu un temps précieux, on a ruiné le trésor public, on a ébranlé la confiance, et tout cela parce qu'on a fait croire á Paris que la guerre est glorieusement finie.' Letter

Yet at this very time he had given the marshal, as he now ranked, a beautiful palace on the occasion of his marriage with a Mexican.[45] Regarding the French as the only reliable and efficient support, he continued to ask Napoleon for more troops, intimating that he preferred Douay for chief. Meanwhile he proposed to remedy the lack of soldiers with terrorism. Taking advantage of recent successes in the north, and the mere rumor that Juarez had actually fled from Mexican soil,[46] he declared in a manifest of October 2d that the president having left the territory, a legal pretence no longer existed for continuing to war against the empire, and guerrilla bands would henceforth be regarded as malefactors, and subjected to the extreme severity of the law.[47] To this effect was issued on the following day that much-abused decree of Maximilian, ordering the trial by court-martial and execution within twenty-four hours of any member of such bands, or abettors thereof, the trial and sentence to be carried out by the officer who captured them.[48] Even those who secreted guerrillas, or withheld information and aid against them, were to be imprisoned or fined.[49]

of June 29th. Again on July 18th: 'Je parle de ces hauts fonctionnaires qui dépensent l'argent et le sang du Mexique inutilement, qui font toutes les intrigues,' etc. See *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 488–91.

[45] A grand-daughter of Azcárate, the regidor of 1808. The palace of Buena Vista, with gardens and furniture, was given as a dowry to her, to be redeemed by the government with $100,000 in case she left Mexico, or preferred not to keep it. Mexicans were naturally surprised at this liberal bestowal of national property, and to one declared so unworthy. *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xvii. 1125–7; *La Voz de Méj.*, July 8, 1881. Bazaine is depicted as hypocritical and avaricious in *Pap. y Corr. Famil. Imp. Franc.*, 20. In *Payno, Cuentas*, 382–3, 699, etc., is given a list of expenses incurred by and for French officers. Both Woll and Eloin had gone to Europe to obtain the removal of Bazaine, *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 268, 301–2, in favor of Douay. *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 483.

[46] Juarez would in such a case have been replaced by another leader, so that the republican government still remained.

[47] The manifest begins: 'La causa que con tanto valor y constancia sostuvo Don Benito Juarez'—a phrase by no means to the liking of either Napoleon or other opponents.

[48] The only exemptions were persons who accidentally, or by force, happened to be with the bands. No regard was to be paid to the size of the band or the rank of the prisoner, so that a lieutenant might judge and execute a general.

[49] All persons between the ages of 18 and 55 must aid in defending their town or estate under a penalty. Authorities who failed to prosecute such

Decrees fully as severe had frequently appeared in the course of Mexican revolutions[50]—instance only that by Juarez in January 1862—so that this presented nothing very unusual. Unfortunately it was directed by a foreigner; and striking the national jealousy, as well as a rapidly growing sympathy among all classes, it was to rebound upon the author, to frame his own sentence. Maximilian's character was by no means cruel;[51] and in yielding here to what lay presented as an absolute necessity, he intended rather to convey a menace, as proved by more than one circumstance.[52]

delinquents were to be fined. All who surrendered before Nov. 15th received pardon.

[50] As shown in the preceding volume. Domenech brings together several instances, *Hist. Mex.*, iii. 332–5, including the so-called mortuary law of Jan. 25, 1862. Orders for reprisals had been frequently issued before this by Juarists, to be carried out with bitter barbarity. Alluding to Gov. Escobedo's campaign in April in the north-eastern states, Castro reports calmly that he executed all prisoners 'para ejercer asi el derecho de retorsion.' *La Estrella de Occid.*, July 7, 1865.

[51] Liberal journals had actually ridiculed his aversion for war and his ready leniency.

[52] Such as the modified decree of March 4th. The previous decrees of 1863–4 for treating guerrillas as robbers, and extending courts-martial, were little less severe, and could have been reaffirmed or applied. In fact, this would have been a better step. Further, Maximilian himself disapproved of a number of executions made in accordance with the decree, and gave orders to spare honorable soldiers, issuing on Nov. 4th a modified order to pass sentence of death only on leaders of armed bands, the rest being consigned to imprisonment, unless convicted of violence and robbery of person. Courts-martial were also restricted. Lefévre, *Doc.*, ii. 290–3, seeks to distort the leniency of this decree. Rivera, the republican champion, is ready among others to regard the law rather as a menace, and to clear Maximilian of cruel intention. *Hist. Jal.*, v. 658–9. The execution of General Arteaga and others in Michoacan was rather a retaliation by the commander there, notwithstanding the coloring applied in *Legacion Mex.*, *Circul.*, ii. 213–15, and which assisted to stir the U. S. to remonstrance. See *U. S. Sen. Doc.* 5, 39th Cong. 1st Sess., *Chandler* and *Nye*, *Speeches*, 1–8. Napoleon, while expressing his dissatisfaction with the decree, replied to the remonstrance that he was not responsible for Maximilian or his acts. *Lefèvre*, *Doc.*, ii. 270–1; *Legac. Mex.*, ii. 210–12. Kératry seeks to absolve Bazaine from connection with the decree, which he calls 'the suicide of the monarchy,' *Max.*, 82–4; but the marshal issued on Oct. 11th a circular urging upon his officers the fulfilment of the decree, and that no quarter should be given. Maximilian claimed later, at his trial, that Bazaine not only added clauses to the decree, but actually suggested it, the ministry approving. *Rivera*, *Hist. Jal.*, v. 660–3. In *Lefèvre*, *Doc. Maximiliano*, ii. 266, 285–6, is given a list of sentences passed during the closing months, under the decree. The Belgians joined in protesting against it. *La Voz de Méj.*, June 5, 1866; *Iglesias*, *Interv.*, iii. 506–12. McSherry, *Essays*, 36–8, objects to the undeserved censure roused against Maximilian. Flint, *Mex. under Max.*, 115, merely observes that the decree had an excellent effect. Arrangoiz attributes 'esta impolítica y bárbara ley'

Maximilian's severe decree was prompted as well as felt especially in Michoacan, which, owing to its favorable geographic features, with rich valleys, mountain fastnesses, and approachable sea-coast, formed a good field for guerrillas. They held forth in the south and west, under Régules, Pueblita, Salazar, Riva Palacio, and others; the last named now appointed governor by Arteaga, who, after his defeat in Jalisco, continued here to wield the supreme command. The first important action of the year 1865 was the defeat, with great slaughter, of the leader Romero, at Apatzingan, by Colonel Potier,[53] for which Salazar obtained revenge at Los Reyes.[54] After this a reenforcement from Douay's forces assisted in making a partial sweep of the territory, but this advantage was lost by its withdrawal to the north, and Arteaga occupied the region of Tacámbaro, Ugalde and Valdés captured Zitácuaro,[55] and Régules approached the frontiers of Guanajuato with a force of about 2,000 men. Finding himself checked here, the latter hastened back and surprised, April 11th, the town of Tacámbaro, forcing the Belgian and Mexican garrison to capitulate, after sustaining a heavy loss.[56] He thereupon advanced by a western circuit against Morelia,[57] but was overtaken and routed at Huaniqueo by Potier.[58]

to foreign advisers, *Méj.*, iv. 22; Domenech, not without reason, stamps the outcry abroad against the decree as absurd and based on ignorance of Mexican traits and requirements, *Hist. Mex.*, iii. 335–6; and so forth.

[53] On January 31st, with a loss of 200 killed and 160 prisoners, including Romero, who, with two comrades, was executed for brigandage.

[54] Including the capture of a foreign officer. The *Estrella de Occid.*, 19th May, 1865, places the republican victory at 400, against 700 French and 'traitors.'

[55] This was retaken by Mendez, but besieged and again abandoned in April by the Belgian and Mexican garrison of 300 men.

[56] Including Chazal, a son of the Belgian minister of war, and the commandant, Tydgadt, who died of his wounds. Arrangoiz, *Méj.*, iii. 282, places the prisoners at 350, Niox at 210. *Expéd. du Mex.*, 508. The loss created great excitement in Belgium, where several journals came out in denunciation of the sale of soldiers to be slaughtered in behalf of a usurper. *Iglesias, Revistas*, iii. 422–4. On the way to Tacámbaro, Régules took Cuitzeo with its garrison of 150 Mexicans. *La Estrella de Occid.*, July 28, 1865.

[57] After failing to take Uruapan.

[58] Who had replaced Preuil as chief in this province. The victory was for

After several alternate successes,[59] including the capture of Uruapan by Arteaga, the entire French force was called northward, leaving only Belgians to aid the Mexican garrisons, Pátzcuaro, Morelia, and Tacámbaro being the only permanent stations occupied. Arteaga advancing against the last-named town in July with nearly 3,000 men, Lieutenant-colonel Van der Smissen boldly attacked him with less than 1,000 allies, and achieved so decided a triumph as to cripple the Juarist general for some time.[60] The credit assumed for the Belgians in this and other encounters led to such discord with the Mexicans[61] that the former had to be withdrawn. Colonel Mendez, now chief in command, displayed great activity, and the republican nucleus having reappeared near Uruapan in October with about 1,000 men, he went in pursuit and obtained a signal victory at Amatlan, capturing 400 men, including the generals Arteaga and Salazar.[62] Maximilian's brigandage decree having just appeared, Mendez availed himself of this to promptly execute the two generals and three colonels, an act which created an outcry throughout the country, for the commander-in-chief of the republican

a time in doubt. Darkness prevented the pursuit of the republicans, who were said to have lost 500 men. Iglesias does not admit so severe a defeat.

[59] The republicans shot Col Lemus, the commandant, and sub-prefect Paz. At the same time Pueblita gained an advantage at Los Reyes, and thereupon entered Uruapan. Col Clinchant came up and drove away his force, killing this famous leader, the latter 'vendiendo cara su vida.' *Iglesias, Revistas*, iii. 458; *Bol. Rep.*, July 5, 1867.

[60] The united Belgians and Mexicans were placed at 850 men, and the republican losses at 300 killed, and 6 cannon and 165 prisoners taken. The allies suffered so severely as to retire to Morelia for recuperation. *Niox, Expéd du Mex.*, 508. Iglesias insists that only a part of the republican force was engaged; 2,500 escaped. *Revistas*, iii. 458; *Diario Imp.*, Aug. 11, 1865. The empress felt flattered at so great a victory by her compatriots. With her French descent she took the next deepest interest in the 'pantalons rouges.' 'Tout régiment français me cause un battement de coeur,' she writes; 'mais ...que suis-je pour ces hommes-là qui me sont tout!' *Domenech, Hist. Mex.*, iii. 321.

[61] Neither of the leaders choosing to submit to the other, the Mexican claiming superiority of rank, the Belgian of nobility, etc.

[62] Vega, *Ausiliares*, MS., reduces the Juarists to 400 men. *Vega, Docs*, pt 24. Mendez had 300 cavalry and 400 infantry. The battle took place on Oct. 12th. *Diario Imp.*, Aug. 11, 1865.

army of the centre could by no means be counted a brigand.[63]

[63] Petitions in his behalf were disregarded. The real reason was retaliation for the shooting by Arteaga in June at Uruapan of the commandant and prefect, as Rivera also admits. *Hist. Jalapa*, v. 658–9. The three colonels who suffered with him and Salazar were Diaz Paracho, Villa Gomez, and Father Mina. *Iglesias*, iii. 510. Another account calls the latter Gonzalez. The other twoscore and odd officers were spared, thus proving that Mendez was not actuated by cruelty, nor seeking to enforce the brigand law. Honors were afterward conferred on Arteaga's name, and steps taken to erect a monument to the victims. *Diario Deb.*, 9th Cong., iii. 212–14. Querétaro adopted his daughters, and added his name to that of the state. *Monit. Rep.*, Nov. 2, 1872; *Mich., Doc.*, no. 74. Régules might have retaliated on his Tacámbaro prisoners, but preferred to exchange them, not with the imperial government, but with the French. See also *Legac. Mex., Circul.*, ii. 213–15; *Pap. y Corr. Famil. Imp.*, 129–33, 144–5; *Vega, Docs*, pt 24; *Perez, Dicc.*, i. 168–9; *La Voz de Méj., Diar. Imp.*, and other journals of the day.

CHAPTER IX.

THE EMPIRE A FAILURE.

1865–1866.

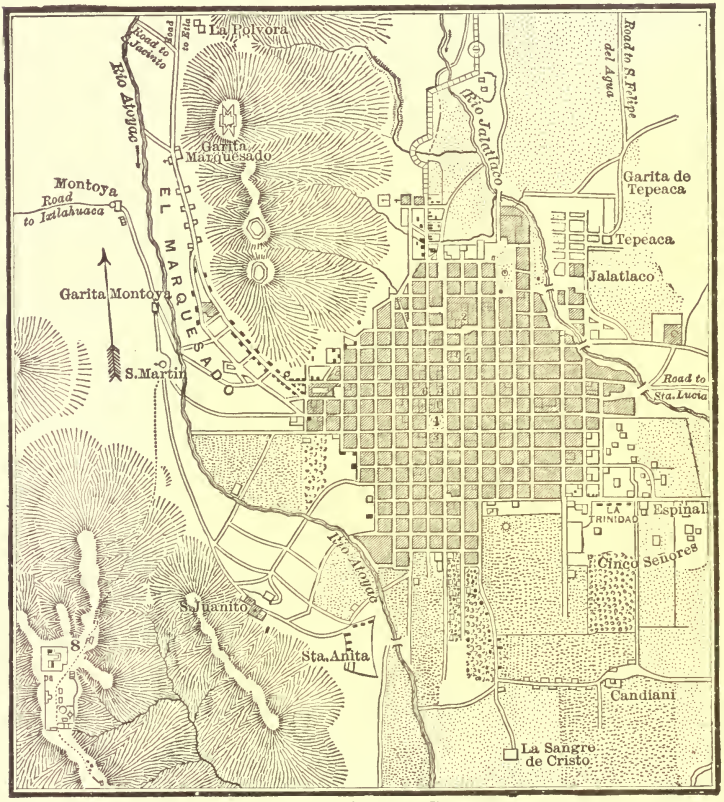
CAPITULATION OF OAJACA—ARMY MOVEMENTS—BATTLES AND SIEGES—WAR MEASURES—PRESIDENTIAL TERM—NEW REPUBLICAN PLAN OF CAMPAIGN—SYMPATHY IN THE UNITED STATES—NAPOLEON RECOGNIZES HIS FAILURE—THE UNITED STATES DEMAND HIS WITHDRAWAL—MAXIMILIAN OVERWHELMED—CHARLOTTE VISITS EUROPE—SHE PLEADS IN VAIN WITH NAPOLEON—THEN SEEKS CONSOLATION AT ROME—HER SAD FATE.

THE extensive provinces south of Puebla had in the middle of 1864 been abandoned to the indefatigable Diaz and his allies; but their wealth and proximity to the capital induced the imperialists to make in this direction an advance corresponding to that in the north. Extensive preparations were accordingly undertaken, and toward the close of the year General Courtois d'Hurbal entered by way of Yanhuitlan, other columns following from Orizaba and Mexico.[1] Diaz had concentrated at Oajaca his forces, consisting of 3,000 regulars and an equal number of mountaineers, and converted the town and surrounding heights into fortified camps, the inhabitants taking refuge elsewhere.[2] The importance of overcoming this last

[1] By way of Cuernavaca and Teotitlan. Iglesias assumes the total force to be 7,000 French and 1,500 'traitors.' *Revistas*, iii. 99.

[2] The four chief convents formed a sort of bastions at the cardinal points, enclosing a vast square, while a double line of barricades and fortified houses represented the curtains. Cannon extended along the terraces, and apertures had been cut in every direction for loop-holes and communication. Outlying houses had been razed. A fort on La Soledad hill commanded the town, and intrenchments covered every adjoining height. Niox describes some of these. *Expéd. du Mex.*, 447–8. In view of the extensive and determined preparations of the French, Diaz' policy has been questioned in thus passively

formidable army of the republican decided Bazaine to undertake the task in person,[3] and with his usual caution he took every measure to insure success, regardless of cost. Indians were employed by the



PLAN OF OAJACA CITY.

1. Cathedral.
2. Santo Domingo Convent.
3. Palace.
4. Plaza.
5. El Instituto College.
6. Mint.
7. Town Hall.
8. Monte Alban Ruins.

awaiting them at this place and ruining it with comparatively useless works of defence, instead of harassing them along the difficult route and prolonging resistance by skirmishing operations. It is easy to criticise, however, after the occurrence.

[3]Arrangoiz assumes that the popular Brincourt, who formerly commanded the southern operations, had been removed through the jealousy of Bazaine, 'no se quería dejar que aumentara su prestigio.' *Méj.*, iii. 269. The apparent reason was a lack of success, due, however, to insufficiency of troops.

thousands to convey siege material and supplies, and to throw up works round the city, which from the middle of January was so closely invested that a reenforcement under Félix Diaz failed to gain entrance.[4] The besieging force now numbered fully 7,000 men with twenty-six large pieces of artillery.[5]

On the 4th of February, 1865, firing began in earnest, and an assault was ordered for the 9th. Diaz, who had remained comparatively inactive, owing to a panic which had seized his men on account of the prestige and strength of the French troops, found that this fear had led to wholesale desertion, and would render effective resistance vain. To save useless bloodshed, he accordingly listened to the final summons and surrendered unconditionally.[6] Most of the men were set free or incorporated with the imperial troops, the rest being sent with Diaz and other officers to Puebla.[7] On his return, Bazaine learned that Tehuantepec had also been added to the empire. Thus ended an important but also enormously costly expedition.[8]

[4] Niox asserts that both Indians and well-to-do planters eagerly welcomed the French, tired of republican exactions. The laborers were paid. Ubi sup. Félix Diaz, commanding 700 cavalry, had left his brother shortly before on an expedition.

[5] Bazaine's men numbered 6,000. The rest were Mexicans. Diaz makes the number 16,000.

[6] With 4,000 men and 60 cannon, says Niox, while Diaz explains his misfortune by stating that the 3,000 with which he began the defence had diminished to 400. *Biog.*, MS., 204, 209. He does not allude to the irregulars. Iglesias states that Diaz prepared to cut his way through; but while attempting personally to entertain Bazaine with pretended arrangements for surrender, he was detained as an escaped prisoner, having been captured when the French took Puebla. *Revistas*, iii. 404. But this Diaz does not admit. See also *Rivera, Hist. Jal.*, v. 631–2; *Manero, Rel.*, 1–2; *Diaz, Datos Biog.*, 74–6.

[7] Diaz states that he had never given his parole, as some declare. *Biog.*, MS., 210–11, 213. He regretted that so many of his companions did so. *Vega, Docs*, iii. 54–5.

[8] 'Du 1er juillet 1864 jusqu'an 1er mai 1865, on dépensa en transports pour les expéditions sur Oajaca, 1,866,000 francs.' *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 450. 'Au point de vue financier,' says Domenech, 'ce siége fut désastreux.' *Hist. Mex.*, iii. 283. He enters into details on road-making, transport, etc., and asserts that Brincourt would have effected the subjugation of the whole region long before at little cost, had the jealous Bazaine not withdrawn troops from him. See also *Payno, Cuentas*, 619, etc. Arrangoiz takes a similar view. Loc. cit. Further details in *Diario Imp.*, Dec. 14, 1864, and subsequent numbers; *La Voz de Méj.*, id.

General Mangin remained with some foreign and Mexican troops to follow up the advantage, calling back the inhabitants of Oajaca,[9] installing local authorities, and organizing militia in Villa Alta and other districts. Félix Diaz' followers melted away after several ineffectual movements. Figueroa was driven from his retreat at Huehuetlan, and the independent mountaineers were either watched or won over. The French being called away, Austrians took their place, but ineffectually, for Figueroa achieved several triumphs, and other republicans rose in different parts

GUERRERO.

to contend, with varying success, for control in lower Puebla and Vera Cruz;[10] while farther south the Juarist cause remained supreme, favored to a great extent by the renewed outbreak of race war in Yucatan, which distracted the small forces of General Galvez.[11]

[9] The emperor sent a considerable sum to assist them.

[10] As near Vera Cruz city as Rio Blanco. Details in *Diario Imp.*, Mar. 18, etc., 1865; *La Voz de Méj.*, id.; *La Estrella de Occid.*, id.; *Iglesias, Revistas*, iii. 455–7, 663–72. 'Hoy Oaxaca está casi bloqueado,' states a correspondent, in *Pap. y Corr. Famil. Imp.*, 150–1; *Rivera, Hist. Jal.*, v. 632, 651, etc.; *Vega, Docs*, pt 24.

[11] The Indians had been encouraged by the too friendly efforts of the commissioner, Ilarregui, 'que fuese desarmada la guardia móvil.' *Iglesias*, iii.

After a close confinement at Puebla of over seven months, General Diaz escaped[12] and gained Guerrero, where Álvarez readily granted the necessary assistance to form a new army. This province had been left to the republicans after the evacuation of Acapulco in the preceding autumn; but the designs of Santa Anna induced the imperialists to reoccupy it on the 11th of September, with the aid of French vessels.[13] Beyond this, however, no advance was made, and the nearest allied forces eastward were stationed in the valley of Rio Mescala,[14] so that the opportunity was not unfavorable for reviving the spirit of patriotism.[15]

In the central provinces of Mexico, Querétaro, Guanajuato, and those adjoining, the patriotic fire was still kept alive, though feebly, and by scattered guerrillas, prepared to form the nuclei for larger uprisings at an opportune moment. In Jalisco the recent operations of Douay's forces, culminating with the defeat and death of the redoubtable Rojas,[16] had restored comparative quiet, which the proximity of large French bodies, and those under Lozada of Tepic, served to insure.[17]

280, 393; *Barreiro, Yuc.*, 60, etc. See also above journals. In June the imperialists had taken the adjoining town of Jonuta, in Tabasco, with the aid of a gunboat, but this was their only gain westward. *Pap. Var.*, civ., pt v. 39, etc.; *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 540–1. 'Où pas un soldat français n'a paru,' writes Maximilian in 1869, in alluding to Guerrero, Tabasco, and Chiapas. *Id.*, 588.

[12] On the night of Sept. 20th, by means of ropes. *Diaz, Biog.*, MS., 222; *Vega, Docs*, ii. 524. Evidently with the aid of friendly hands, to judge from his own statement. 'Se generalizó la idea de que por órden superior se le habían facilitado los medios,' says Arrangoiz, *Méj.*, iii. 269, but the term 'órden superior' is probably unwarranted.

[13] Four hundred Mexicans from Manzanillo, under Montenegro, forming the garrison. *Vega, Ausiliares*, MS.; *Vega. Docs*, pt 24. The inhabitants nearly all left the place. Niox mentions Aug. 11th as the date, and Gen. Oroñoz as commandant.

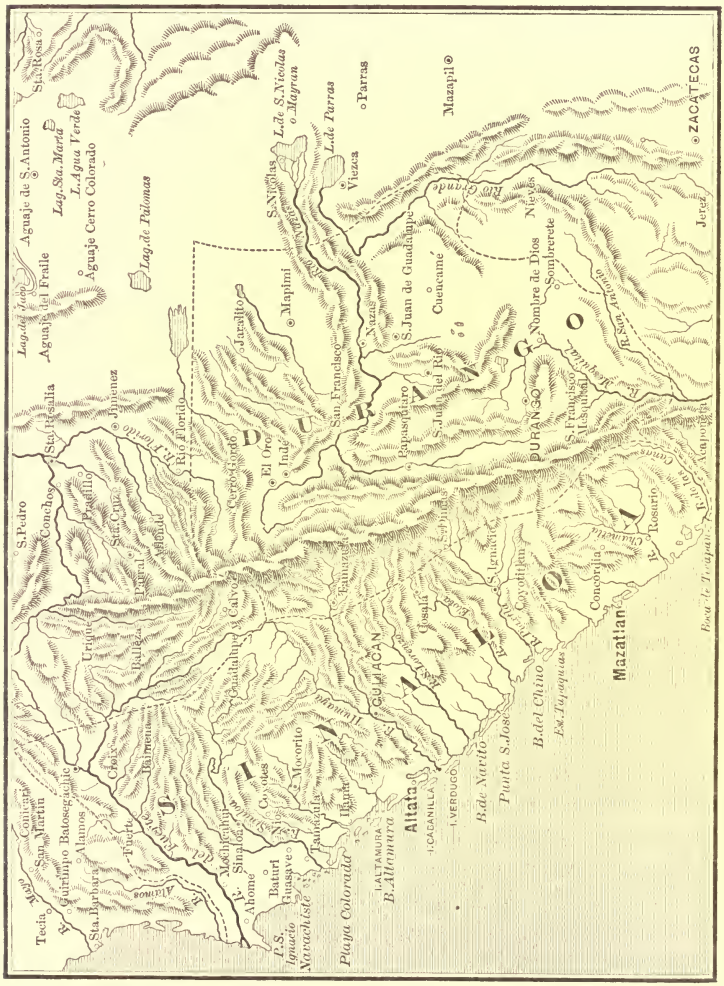
[14] Under Peña, who had succeeded Vicario.

[15] Fever proved another check to the imperialists at Acapulco, as it had to many of their expeditions on this lower coast. *Iglesias, Revistas*, iii. 677.

[16] Jan. 28th, at Potrerillos. He fell, together with 60 of his men, and loss of 500 horses. Antonio Rojas left an unenviable record for cruelty, which in 1858 had caused him to be outlawed by his chief to save appearances.

[17] Echeagaray, for a time commander-in-chief of the central army, Rómulo del Valle, Solis, Neri, and other republicans now gave in their allegiance.

The necessity for following up the advantage gained by the occupation of Mazatlan caused the transfer, in January 1865, of Castagny with nearly 3,000 men



DURANGO AND SINALOA.

Nevertheless, some movements took place at intervals, especially along the Sinaloa border. *Son., Bol. Ofic.*, May 9, 1865; *La Voz de Méj.*, July 13, Dec. 30, 1865; *Diario Imp.*, May 8, Oct. 24, 1865; *Gonzalez, Hist. Aguascal.*, 337 et seq.

from Durango to this port. Severe and determined in disposition, this general retaliated both on the life and property of republicans for their hostility, mainly, however, with a view of terrifying them into submission.[18] General Corona and his followers did the same, and a regular war of extermination ensued. Favored by the nature of the country, the guerrillas generally managed to avoid serious encounters, while inflicting no little mischief and annoyance by their flying movements to the walls of Mazatlan. Lozada had to be summoned to assist in the pursuit, and in April he succeeded in routing the republican main body near Rosario. The reverses suffered by the republicans compelled Corona to take the rest of his army to the northern part of the state, whence he went into Durango, but was back in five months and opened a successful campaign against the French, defeating them in Palos Prietos, where he won a glorious victory.[19]

The extolled mineral wealth of Sonora had long dazzled the eyes of Frenchmen, with such results as the Raousset de Boulbon expedition; and strong influence had been brought to bear in France for obtaining a cession of the province; but the objections of Maxi-

[18] Imperialist writers acknowledge this severity, as instanced in burning towns and estates, and executing partisans and prisoners. See *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xvii. 775–8, 823–4; *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 253; *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 463–4. If they condemned such acts, we may understand that republicans raised a cry of execration, as in *Iglesias* and *La Estrella de Occid.*, so frequently quoted; *Legacion Mex., Circul.*, ii. 285–8; *Laurent, Guerre*, 191 et seq.; and *Vigil y Hijar, Ensayo Hist.*, 284, etc.; in which latter this northwest campaign is fully related. Castagny was roused during the march across the coast range by the severity inaugurated really by Corona, who after being driven from a stronghold at Espinazo del Diablo Jan. 1, 1865, surprised ten days later a garrison left at Veranos and executed all the French prisoners, placed by Iglesias at 50. *Revistas*, iii. 158. Marquez de Leon, *Mem. Post.*, MS., 243, condemns the act severely. Castagny hastened back and burned the village. The numerous foreign traders at Mazatlan and elsewhere did not conceal their antipathy for the French, who had ruined a prosperous entrepôt and supply trade.

[19] His letters, serving to defend both them and himself against the charge of treason to the cause, are reproduced by Vigil and other authorities. Corona had a narrow escape from capture after his defeat. The republican governorship of the state had by Juarez' order been surrendered to Gen. Sanchez Ochoa, and subsequently to Rubí, by Rosales, who was promised other rewards for his activity; but he fell soon after at Álamos. *Iglesias, Revistas*, iii. 247, 531.

milian and other circumstances made the project undesirable. Its abandonment, however, did not diminish the allurements of the region, and the Sinaloa successes enabling Castagny to turn his attention to the upper coast, his soldiers eagerly entered upon the expedition. A main object was to deprive Juarez of Guaymas, the only valuable port left to him. On March 29th the French squadron landed several hundred men under Colonel Garnier,[20] Patoni retiring with the republican garrison, yet seeking to bar all communication with the interior, supported on the road to Hermosillo by the combined forces of Governor Pesqueira and Morales, numbering about 3,000 men. While unable to effect much in this direction for a time,[21] Garnier sent troops by sea to Álamos, and managed to gain several adherents, notably among the Yaquis, Mayos, and Opatas, Tauori, chief of the last named, joining at Guaymas with a large band.[22] Thus reënforced, the colonel marched unmolested into Hermosillo on July 29th, and a fortnight later into Ures, Pesqueira falling back on Arizpe. This left the main part of the state in the hands of the imperialists.[23]

The concentration of French forces at this time under Bazaine left this and the adjoining province of Sinaloa combined to the care of only one regiment;[24] one battalion, under Colonel Cotteret, confining itself almost exclusively to Guaymas; Hermosillo, Álamos, and other points being intrusted to the Indian allies, with varying success.[25] Such stanch auxiliaries

[20] Castagny accompanying only for the trip. The squadron consisted of the *Lucifer*, *d'Assas*, *Cordelière*, and *Pallas*.

[21] An attempt, May 22d, to surprise Pesqueira's blockading forces was only partially successful. Republicans seek to belittle the affair still more.

[22] The fruit of encroachments so long perpetrated by unscrupulous governors and colonists. Ex-governor Gándara is accused of using his influence with the tribes.

[23] 'Perdiéndose casi todo el Estado para la causa nacional,' laments Iglesias, *Revistas*, iii. 465.

[24] The 62d, which relieved the 51st. *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 531.

[25] In seeking to take Álamos in August, General Rosales was defeated and killed. A pronunciamiento at Hermosillo was suppressed and the city retaken by Prefect Campillo, assisted by three French companies. An attack by his

existed in Sinaloa that Corona, who had meanwhile been laying his plans, now resumed the campaign with a vigor that soon reduced the French battalion in this state to the immediate neighborhood of Mazatlan.[26]

Farther eastward, from Chihuahua to the gulf of Mexico, republican arms had met with a similarly varied fortune. The growing success of the federals in the United States created here a corresponding glow, with the hope that a portion of the surplus, or needless, northern armies would soon lend their aid to the sister cause.[27] As a result, the victories of the imperialists in this region were less overwhelming among the Juarists, and the spring of 1865 saw a number of leaders in the field, some menacing the eastern line of Durango, and others organizing forces in Nuevo Leon and Tamaulipas. Negrete so far mustered the largest army, of about 2,000, with which he in March moved from the Rio Florido district into Coahuila, and took possession of Saltillo on April 9th,[28] and three days later of Monterey.[29]

From here he advanced against Matamoros, joined by Cortina, who thought the movement favorable for again changing sides,[30] and by Carbajal, who, assisted

son on Malape was repulsed by Gen. J. G. Morales, who now figures as republican governor.

[26] Full details concerning these operations are given in my *History of the North Mexican States*, ii., based on original documents, local reports, and journals, and the works of Vigil y Hijar, Escudero, and others.

[27] This prospect was widely held forth, although not alluded to in the proclamations of Juarez to his patriots, for which see *Méx.*, *Boletin Ley.*, 1863–7, ii. 131–4, 222–5.

[28] The city had been taken on March 29th, by Col Aguirre, but the imperialists Olvera and Lopez coming from Monterey to the rescue, he had to abandon it. The republican governorship had passed from Galindo to A. S. Viesca, who before Vidaurri's usurpation had held the office. *Iglesias*, *Revistas*, iii. 204, 244, 288–9.

[29] Abandoned by the imperialists. The republicans claim to have found here 62 pieces of artillery. Many deserters joined them. *Periód. Ofic.*, and *La Estrella de Occid.*, May 19, 1865.

[30] It must be stated, however, that he had made the change unaided, April 1st, taking with him his command of 400 horsemen and 70 infantry, and securing a lot of ammunition buried at Matamoros before he gave allegiance to the empire. This he claims to have done by force, a portion of his men driving back, on April 11th, the imperial garrison, while another bore it off. His report, and the thanks accorded him, may be found in *Méx.*, *Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, ii. 235–8.

by a band of United States volunteers, and in conjunction with leaders like Naranjo, had captured all the towns along the Rio Grande, from Piedas Negras down.[31] Finding defection among his troops, General Mejía, who still held the command in this region, retired within the walls of Matamoros,[32] to await the aid promised by Bazaine. This coming by sea in the shape of a foreign legion,[33] Negrete thought it best to turn back on May 2d, after a feeble demonstration for two days.[34]

At the first news of the Juarist movements, the French commander-in-chief had despatched generals Brincourt and Neigre toward the Mapimí border, with a view to check the eastward movement of Negrete.[35] Coming too late for this,[36] he followed him, and at the same time Colonel Jeanningros advanced from San Luis Potosí,[37] both moving on Saltillo. Negrete had reached the latter place in the middle of May, and occupied the adjoining pass of Angostura to stop their approach; but after a feeble skirmish he retired during the night of June 6th,[38] taking, with

[31] This place had been taken April 23d, by Col Naranjo, the imperial garrison crossing the Rio Bravo to the confederates, who saved the greater number by opening fire on the pursuing Juarists. *Iglesias*, iii. 334.

[32] Negrete's forces are placed by Zamacois at 6,000, with 20 cannon, *Hist. Méj.*, xvii. 986, while Niox credits Mejía with 3,000 men, assisted by 800 local volunteers; says a report in *La Estrella de Occid.*, June 16, 1865, 1,800 infantry, 300 cavalry, and 1,000 volunteers.

[33] Of 500 men, under De Brian.

[34] Another probable reason for this lack of spirit was the failure of expected coöperation from the Texan side of the river. In his report, dated at Santa Rosalía on the same day, he declares that evidence was obtained of cooperation against him of confederates, who stood prepared to fall on his rear in case of an assault. *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, ii. 243.

[35] General Aymard, commanding at Durango, taking personal command of the advance post at Rio de Nazas, so as to render assistance. Dupin's contra-guerrillas were ordered toward Matehuala to aid the column forming at San Luis Potosí, under Col Jeanningros. *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 469–70. Dupin, recalled for his cruelty, had been replaced by Captain Ney d'Elchingen.

[36] Not finding him at Mapimí, he turned to check a guerrilla inroad from Sinaloa, by way of Papasquiaro. This resulted in the repulse of Carbajal, who afterward came back in company with Patoni.

[37] Mejía had orders to coöperate from his side, but the federal authorities taking possession at this period of Brownsville, and manifesting hostility, he dared not leave Matamoros.

[38] His forces are placed at about 4,800 men. Jeanningros came up May 31st with about 1,500 men, and indulged merely in a skirmish while awaiting Brincourt. The approach of the latter caused Negrete to withdraw.

2,500 of his men, the route to Monclova, while General Escobedo, governor of Nuevo Leon,[39] proceeded eastward to Galeana, with the remaining 2,000. The French passed through Saltillo on the following day, in pursuit of the former, pressing him so closely that his forces disbanded in flight.[40] Thus the republican main army was again dissipated, and with it confidence in Negrete, who separated from Juarez.[41]

A better record is presented by the minor Juarist forces in along the gulf coast. Beginning in January with the needless destruction of Linares, Colonel Mendez had, after a series of rapid movements, captured Ciudad Victoria on April 23d,[42] and Tula on June 4th, after which he kept in check the garrison of Tampico, cutting off all communication with San Luis Potosí. Farther up, the forces of Escobedo overran in several parties the region between Linares, Búrgos, and Matehuala, routing a large convoy under Tijerina at Paso de las Cabras on Rio San Juan, and capturing Catorce on August 21st.[43] Matehuala and Cadereita were strongly garrisoned, but could afford little aid beyond their limits, so that flying bodies had to sally from Querétaro and San Luis Potosí to drive back the daring guerrillas. Cortina rendering the communication with Matamoros additionally dangerous, efforts were concentrated to maintain that with Tampico, but rains and fevers impeded operations.[44]

[39] Replacing Gen. Hinojosa, the former holder. J. M. Aguilar figured at the same time as prefect, and F. Lopez as comandante superior. *La Estrella de Occid.*, March 17, May 19, July 7, 1865.

[40] This was effected mainly by Jeanningros, Brincourt having returned on the route to Parras to close this line against him.

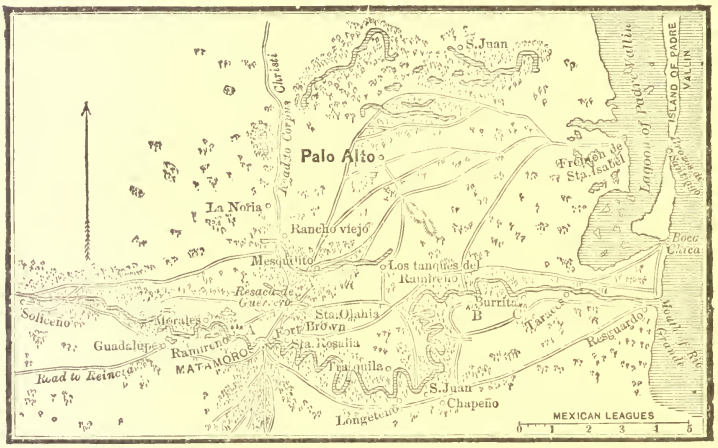
[41] His orders being to call French attention from Chihuahua, he continued to struggle for a while in Nuevo Leon, with the remnant left him. Being called to account for funds intrusted to him, he turned to labor for the substitution of Ortega as president. *Vega, Ausiliares*, MS., pt 24, in *Vega, Docs.*

[42] After a siege of over a fortnight; the garrison agreeing to leave the territory. Iglesias places the siege at 19 days, ending April 23d. *Revistas*, iii. 333.

[43] The latter feat was performed by Gen. Vega, the former by Espinosa, in connection with Canales, Cerdo, and Naranjo, the convoy being estimated at 900 men. Niox credits the latter victory evidently to Cortina, and gives the loss at 250 men, the party being on the return march from Cadereita to Matamoros. *Expéd. du Mex.*, 552.

[44] Chopin's African battalion and the foreign legion at Matamoros were

The rainy season over, Escobedo reunited his troops and laid siege to Matamoros in October, with 3,000 men and eleven cannon. On the 25th a spirited assault was made, but poorly sustained, and consequently repulsed.[45] Owing to the fear of defection and the active sympathy of the adjoining United States forces, Mejía feared to take the offensive against Escobedo; but one of the French vessels penetrating up the river, and further aid approaching, the latter raised the siege on November 8th. Both Mejía and the French naval commander, Cloué,



MATAMOROS AND VICINITY.

protested against the aid given by United States men to the republicans in war material, supplies, and hospital care, and above all, in lending them soldiers; but the commandant at Clarksville replied curtly that

brought to Tampico for the purpose, but fever reduced both rapidly, the latter losing half of its men. They were therefore sent back. On their way to Tampico, Mendez nearly succeeded, Sept. 9th, in overwhelming the convoy with its invalids.

[45] It was made in two columns by Hinojosa and Escobedo, both achieving decided advantages; but being made successively instead of simultaneously, Mejía could direct his whole strength against both. Hinojosa and his second in command, A. Garza, were wounded. Iglesias states that the French steamer *Antonia* came up the river and assailed them in the rear. *Revistas*, iii. 526. Mejía's sorties were repulsed. See also *Arias, Reseña*, 33–5.

the men who had joined the Juarists were no longer in the United States service. His manifest hostility continued, and early in January 1866 bands of negro soldiers, with Cortina's name on their caps, came over and sacked Bagdad, carrying off the garrison. This being a manifest infringement of neutrality, the United States government hastened to make amends by removing the commandant and arraigning the participants in the outrage.[46]

Escobedo fell back on Monterey, taking possession of the town; but a part of the imperial garrison retired, after a sharp contest, into the citadel, and held out till Jeanningros came to the rescue on November 25th, after a flying expedition to Monclova,[47] and compelled Escobedo to hurry away to Camargo, and there recruit for the next favorable opportunity. In the lower part of Tamaulipas Mendez remained supreme, notwithstanding a temporary advantage of Ornano, who took Victoria on the 17th of November, and held it for a month, after which it was finally evacuated.[48]

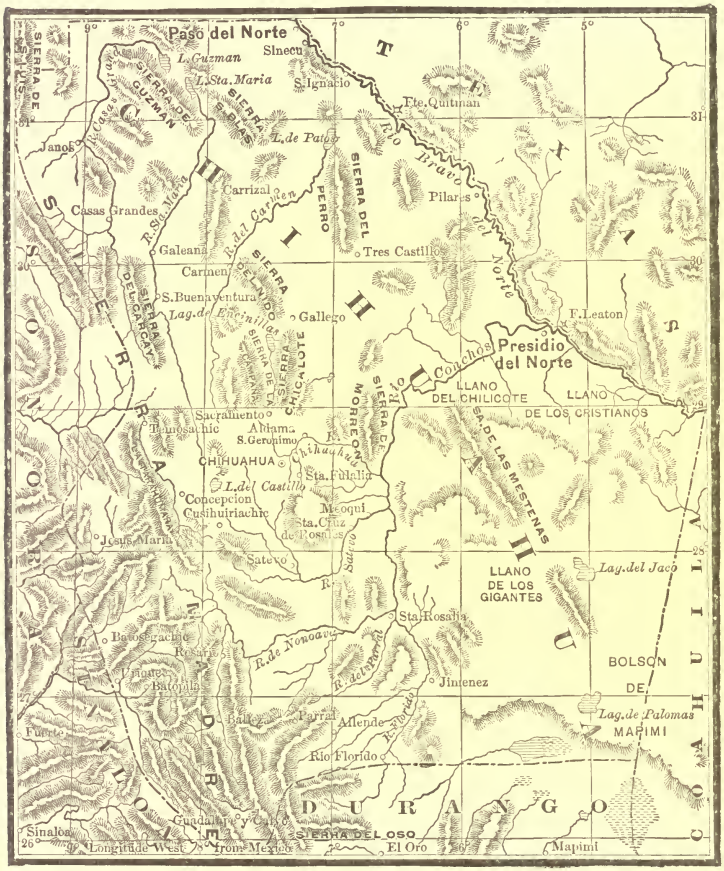
The dispersion of Negrete's army having deprived Juarez of his last imposing support, Maximilian be-

[46] An act in accordance with the similar conduct of Bazaine, who some months previously had removed certain officers and restored war material in order to maintain harmonious relations with the commandant at Brownsville. Sheridan sustained Gen. Weitzel, the commandant at Clarksville. During the sacking of Bagdad, French vessels were fired upon by the invaders, and U. S. regulars came over to stop the excesses, only to continue the pillage in their turn, according to imperialist accounts. They remained at Bagdad till the 22d of Jan. Three days later an Austro-Mexican body retook the town. Alvensleben, *With Max.*, 43–6, relates his personal observations on the spot. Niox, *Expéd. du Mex.*, 534–8, reproduces a part of the sharp correspondence. Mejía's conduct under these trying circumstances brought a letter of thanks from Maximilian and the grand cross of the Aguila order. *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iv. 40, 60.

[47] La Hayrie, commandant at Saltillo, arrived earlier in the day with a small force, which managed to cut its way through Escobedo's lines and reach the citadel. Elton, *With the French*, 115–16, places his force at 110 men, and the republicans at 1,400. Iglesias speaks of 'la derrota de La Hayrie,' *Revistas*, iii. 530, in allusion to his later sortie from the citadel. Escobedo failed to collect the $200,000 levied on the city. *Pap. y Corr. Famil. Imp.*, 165–7.

[48] For additional details on the north-east campaign, I refer to *La Voz de Méj.*, *Periód. Ofic.*, *Diario Imp.*, *Pájaro Verde*, *Mexicano*, and other journals, throughout the year.

came more anxious than ever that the advantage should be followed up by driving the president from the territory, and before the meeting of the United States congress, in the belief that this might change the feeling of the northern republic toward the em-



CHIHUAHUA.

pire. The manœuvre was a natural sequence to the preceding operations in the north; and the simultaneous activity of the French columns, east and west of Chihuahua province, rendered it more effective by

occupying the republicans in different directions, and preventing their government from seeking refuge in Sonora or Coahuila.

Brincourt had returned to Parras in June, after the defeat of Negrete, and now continued his march north-westward into Chihuahua with 2,500 men, leaving fortified depots at Rio Florido, Allende, Parral, Santa Rosalía, and Santa Cruz de Rosales, to secure communication. The Juarist forces under Ruiz, Aguirre, Villagran, Ojinaga, and Carbajal retired in different directions without molesting the main body, although its march might have been harassed with advantage, impeded as it was by flooded rivers and bad roads. Brincourt entered Chihuahua city August 15th, reorganizing the administration,[49] and urging on the several Indian movements in favor of the empire, prompted on the one side by discontent with republican exactions, and on the other by illusive promises from the sovereign.

Fearing a collision with United States troops, Bazaine had given the general strict orders to return to Durango within three weeks after reaching Chihuahua, and to let his forces penetrate only a day's march beyond this city. It was enough to drive Juarez out of the last state capital occupied by him.[50] Brincourt saw that this would render fruitless the whole expedition, by restoring the province to the enemy, and giving him fresh confidence. He accordingly delayed his departure while awaiting a reply to his representation. "A thousand men," he said, "could hold the entire region and exclude the Juarists, to the ruin of their party." But his orders were repeated, and he left October 29th.

Juarez had meanwhile made Paso del Norte his capital;[51] but hearing of the evacuation, he hastened

[49] Appointing T. Zuloaga prefect.

[50] 'Ce serait folie que de vouloir le suivre en ce moment dans tous les recoins où il voudra aller.'

[51] Leaving Chihuahua August 8th, he had established himself here on the 15th, as announced in circular of same date. *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, ii.

back, reëntering on the 20th of November, amidst great demonstration. Shortly after, however, came news that Bazaine had yielded to Maximilian's instances to retain Chihuahua, and that 500 men were approaching under Billot. On December 9th, accordingly, two days before the entry of the French, he was again on the way back to his refuge on the border of the friendly sister republic; and with him fell also the hope of his officers for any effective achievement for some time to come. Not that they had been idle. Villagran, for instance, had surprised the French post left by Brincourt at Parral, and Ojinaga, lately made governor of the state, operated near Guerrero, where he fell.[52]

In addition to the military crisis which for a moment threatened to ingulf him, Juarez had to contend with another among his own party. His term as president expired on November 30th. Under the present condition of affairs an election could not well be held, and according to the constitution his office should in such a case be assumed by the chief justice.[53] But General Ortega, who held this position, had long been absent in the United States, so long, indeed, and without formal permission, that his position was now declared forfeited.[54] Further, the assumption of the

251; *Juarez, Biog.*, 31. 'Juarez habia sacado de Chihuahua mas de 400,000 pesos.' *Rivera, Hist. Jal.*, v. 654.

[52] The actions and skirmishes in 1865 are estimated at 322, with 5,674 killed and 1,279 wounded. *Juarez, Biog.*, 30.

[53] 'Si por cualquier motivo la eleccion de presidente no estuviere hecha y publicada para el 1° de Diciembre...cesará sin embargo el antiguo, y el supremo poder ejecutivo se depositará interinamente en el presidente de la Suprema Corte de Justicia.' Art. 82 of the constitution.

[54] In his defence, Ortega published a letter of Dec. 30, 1864, granting him permission to leave his post for an indefinite time, but with the understanding that, whether passing through foreign territory or not, he should in some unoccupied part of Mexican territory continue the war for independence. He had remained wholly in a foreign land, however, yet engaged, as he claimed, in actively aiding the cause, advising to this effect the president, who knew of his movements from journals. He received no reply to his letter, asking for authority to enroll volunteers, etc., and declared that a private suit at law was concocted to detain him as long as possible abroad. He also instanced previous futile attempts to obtain his removal from the post of chief justice, for having acted as governor of Zacatecas, and to injure his prestige as a military leader by placing him in critical positions with insufficient forces. His arguments are fully presented in *Legac. Mex., Corresp.*, 3–210, passim, with special

presidency by the chief justice was intended, according to Juarist interpretation, to be only temporary, till a speedy election could install the one chosen by the people. In view of the war, the tenure promised to become anything but brief, and this appearing contrary to the constitution, it was deemed a better procedure to prorogue the power of the actual president and his substitute, thus preserving the government from the danger attending a doubtful change. The president had for that matter been elected to govern, while the president of the supreme court had been elected for the administration of justice; and the people's choice having been repeatedly confirmed by congress, together with the bestowal of dictatorial power, Juarez did declare the functions of himself and his substitute prorogued till they could be surrendered to a new officer, duly elected.[55]

Ortega had hastened to the Texan frontier as the critical time approached, and learning of the measures taken against him, he thence launched his protests; but finding the people too occupied with the war, and himself in little favor, he returned northward to plot against his rival.[56] A somewhat similar course was adopted by Manuel Ruiz, the substitute chief justice, who saw fading, not only the hope faintly entertained

points at 35–90, and in *Ortega, Protesta*, 1–25. The suit against Ortega was by Col Allen, for $7,000. There is no doubt that the executive officers intrigued to invalidate his claims; but warned by the spirit manifested against him in 1864, he should not have afforded them the stronger grounds now raised by going away. He lived in reduced circumstances in the U. S., according to Cuevas, *Vega, Ausiliares*, MS., and he sought both funds and free travelling pass through the Mexican legation. *Legac. Mex., Circ.*, 20–5. His protest was written in Texas. It was claimed by the Juarists that Ortega's letter concerning his movements was not official, and therefore not recognized. By his prolonged absence as chief justice and general, in foreign parts, he had committed a grave fault, and by decree of Nov. 8, 1865, he was declared amenable for abandonment of his post, the government appointing another chief justice. *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, ix. 719–21.

[55] Text of decree, followed by ministerial circular, arguing the case and giving instances. *Id.*, 718–19, 721–6; *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–67; ii. 276–9, 283–94.

[56] Although announcing in an official letter of Feb. 3, 1866, to Gov. Vega of Sinaloa that he would retain only the title of president of the supreme court, for he considered it improper to create discord under the present circumstances; 'still, the country was not bound to recognize the acts of Juarez.' *Vega, Doc.*, iii. 212–15.

of securing what Ortega had missed, but of retaining the leading position on the bench. Thoroughly disappointed, and with waning faith in the republic, he availed himself of the imperial decree to retire into private life at Mexico.[57]

Sophistry is plentifully used in the arguments of all the candidates; and the Juarists undoubtedly stretched the interpretation of the article bearing on the case, for personal as well as national reasons. Ortega had certainly lost prestige, and was no longer a favorite, either with the people or their leaders. Actual generals, governors, and other officials owed their position mainly to Juarez, and in sustaining him they sustained themselves. The essential point, however, although probably secondary with many of them, was the superior fitness of Juarez for his position as compared with Ortega, or perhaps any candidate then available. Moreover, it would have been impolitic to increase existing complications by removing the head which had so well maintained the government and kept the party united for the one great object. A change was apt to cause dissolution. Juarez' success in asserting himself at this critical period attests both his influence and ability.[58]

It was fortunate that such was the disposition of Juarez that he did not find it necessary for armies or escorts to guard himself. It was a remarkable repetition of the old-time story of the European hunting

[57] Letters of submission, etc., in *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, ii. 302–6. This unpatriotic act relieved the government from replying to his protest, yet it was pointed out that both constitution and congressional decision opposed the claim of any accidental occupant of the chief justiceship to succeed as president. Argument, in *Id.*, 306–10.

[58] Minister Iglesias, who later as chief justice claimed the presidency, argues warmly for his chief, and gives a list to show the immense preponderance of leading men supporting him, while a scanty few upheld Ortega, including generals Patoni and Huerta, and Guillermo Prieto. *Revistas*, iii. 650–3; also Quesada and Negrete. *Vega, Ausiliares*, MS.; *Marquez de Leon, Fé Perdida*, MS., 54–5. The latter wrote sharply to Juarez. *Mem. Post*, MS., 246. They were termed Orteguistas, the others calling themselves legalidad. The feeling in the U. S. favored Juarez. *Legac. Mex., Circ.*, ii. 91–175, passim; *Mex. Affairs*, ii. 5, 63, 39th Cong. 1st Sess. Maximilian himself pays at this time tribute to the zeal and intelligence of his opponent in a letter to Baron de Pont. *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iv. 53–6.

down the Indian to kill him for loving home and liberty; only in the present instance the Indian was arrayed in the garb of the same European civilization which the other thought himself better capable of administering. Unpretentious, and with the patience and tenacity of his race, Juarez was prepared to meet any hardships and seek any refuge, intent only on the cause he had undertaken and the object for which he had aimed. To meet the French in open field at present seemed indeed suicidal, and he proposed rather to save the issue by distracting the enemy with desultory and rapid movements in small parties, especially east and west of his own position. The withdrawal of Brincourt, and the retrograde concentration of other bodies in different regions, lent confirmation to the rumor of a speedy French evacuation, under pressure from the northern republic, and to a revival of republican operations in all parts, as we have seen, under men like Diaz, Escobedo, Corona, Régules, and Álvarez, who now figured respectively as commanders-in-chief of the eastern, northern, western, central, and southern armies, with Ignacio Mejía for minister of war.[59]

Although disappointed in the long-expected coöperation from the United States, the republicans felt grateful for the sympathy there so widely extended. Many feared their too active interference in view of the late disastrous loss of territory, and preferred the diplomatic and pecuniary aid which had so long helped to maintain them, and which now was forcing their main foe to fall back. A loan of thirty millions had just been placed in New York, with a success that in

[59] Appointed Dec. 25th. *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, ii. 297. The governors of states were at this time Ignacio Pesqueira in Sonora; Domingo Rubí, Sinaloa; Antonio Pedrin, Lower California; Luis Terrazas, Chihuahua; Silvestre Aranda succeeding Pereyra in Durango; Miguel Auza, Zacatecas; Andrés S. Viesca, Coahuila; J. C. Doria acting for Escobedo in Nuevo Leon; Santiago Tapia succeeding Carvajal in Tamaulipas; Juan Bustamante, San Luis Potosí; Joaquin Martinez of second district in Mexico; Álvarez, Guerrero; Gregorio Mendez, Tabasco; J. Pantaleon Dominguez, Chiapas. In other states the office was vacant. All these men adhered to Juarez, says Iglesias. *Revistas*, iii. 651–2.

itself proved inspiring.[60] Volunteers asserted their confidence in the cause by ready enlistment,[61] and flattering contributions and recognitions flowed in from different quarters.[62] Juarez had every reason, therefore, to look into the future with a hopefulness which brightened in proportion as the prospects of the empire grew darker.[63]

The pronounced attitude assumed by the United States since the conclusion of their civil war had served, not alone to intimidate Napoleon, but to open his eyes to the illusive nature of this Mexican enterprise. The irresistible advance of his troops had for a long time blinded him to dangers and disadvantages. He now saw that, although defeated, the republicans were never crushed; springing up ever with renewed courage and in larger numbers, or abiding with firm and bitter purpose the moment favorable to their cause, confident also in ultimate aid from the sister republic. His triumphs were sterile, and the end seemed more remote the further he advanced. He had set out primarily to recover an indebtedness; but

[60] It was arranged by J. M. Carbajal and Minister Romero with the house of Corlies & Co., for a term of 20 years from Oct. 1, 1865, at an interest of 7 per cent, and secured by the joint credit of the governments of the republic and the states of Tamaulipas and San Luis Potosí, 500,000 acres mineral lands being hypothecated, as well as the general revenue. The imperial minister Arroyo protested in the states against the loan. *Legac. Mex., Circ.*, i. 77–8; *Mex. et la Monarch.*, 50–6. 'Grant...se han apresurado á tomar bonos.' *Iglesias, Revistas*, iii. 498; *Rivera, Hist. Jal.*, v. 663–4; *Diario Ofic.*, Aug. 25, 1879.

[61] As instanced in *Vega, Ausiliares*, MS.; *Vega, Doc.*, pt li.; *La Voz de Méj.*, May 13, 1865 et seq.; *S. F. Call*, July 4, 1865, et seq.

[62] Notably republics to the south, as Guatemala, Colombia, Chile, and even from Holland. *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, ii. 56–68, 142–9, 170–9, 253–65; *Rivera, Hist. Jal.*, v. 632–77, passim; *Legac. Mex., Circ.*, i. 57, 76, etc.; also journals already referred to.

[63] This he had expressed already on his first arrival at Paso del Norte, in a letter to his former secretary and minister Teran. The day was not long distant when the French would abandon the empire, either from recognizing the impossibility of subjugation or under pressure from the U. S. The very victories of the French would destroy them, wrote another observer. *Domenech, Hist. Mex.*, iii. 337–41. Teran, holding friendly intercourse with Baron de Pont, a friend of Maximilian, the latter was kept informed of these views; but to the advice that he should withdraw, he replied by expressing the utmost confidence in his prospects. Arrangoiz wonders what he means, *Méj.*, iv. 56–7, but preceding occurrences reveal that mere effect was intended.

millions had been expended and lives sacrificed without insuring even the first claim. The whole nation took alarm at the gloomy prospects of an expedition which from the beginning had found many opponents, and had gradually encroached upon the patience of the majority.

At the opening of the chambers in January 1866, Napoleon accordingly announced that he had taken steps to arrange for a recall of the troops. It was by no means a pleasant course, this acknowledgment of failure in an undertaking so long vaunted as the most glorious of his reign, and into which he had deluded so many of his subjects. But the step was opportune in saving France from yet greater disasters and humiliation;[64] for politics in the United States was assuming an aspect which required the government to pursue a more determined foreign policy than ever. In reply to a note asking for at least a strict neutrality in Mexican affairs, Seward, on February 12th, insisted that the withdrawal of the French army should be effected without any conditions; for the states would not prove untrue to the political principles they had so far practised, or depart from the line of conduct traced by Washington. Napoleon answered this imperious demand in the most amiable manner; and grasping at the vague promise of an adherence to the principles of the first president as 'sufficient guarantee,' he declared that the return of the troops would no longer be deferred. They would be withdrawn in three detachments, "the first to depart about November 1866, the second in March 1867, and the third in the following November."[65] Encouraged

[64] Domenech blames Montholon, the French minister at Washington, lately at Mexico, for exaggerating the war feeling in the U. S., to which he was bound by strong family ties, while the empire had never obtained his sympathy.

[65] 'Nous n'hésitons jamais à offrir à nos amis les explications qu'ils nous demandent. M. Seward nous donnant l'assurance que les Etats-Unis resteront fidèles à la règle de conduite que leur a tracée Washington, nous accueillons cette assurance avec une pleine confiance, et nous y trouvons une garantie suffisante.' So runs this remarkable note, dated April 6, 1866. While certain Frenchmen, like Niox, admit the humiliation to France, some,

by this ready compliance, Seward required, further, that the proposed reënforcements to fill gaps should not be sent, and Austria was at the same time requested to stop the enrolment of volunteers for Mexico. Both governments promptly acquiesced.[66]

Unconscious of the impending blow, and recognizing only too well that to France alone must he look for safety, Maximilian made once more, in January 1866, an appeal for money and men[67] wherewith to check the growing republican movements. In the same month Baron Saillard was sent to communicate the resolution of Napoleon for a speedy withdrawal, and arrange for a convention to replace that of Miramare, which Mexico had been unable to carry out.[68] The emperor felt overwhelmed. Saillard could obtain no satisfactory proposals, and left the negotiations with Minister Dano;[69] but the result had been achieved of shifting the responsibility upon Maximilian, and permitting the announcement of the time of evacuation.

like Detroyat, seek to avoid the subject, and others join Domenech in the futile effort to draw diplomatic victories for their country. Instance: 'La forme dans laquelle l'empereur Napoléon annonça sa résolution lui [Seward] a enlevé ce triomphe' of acknowledging the effect of Seward's note. *Hist. Mex.*, iii. 377; *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 1832–75, pt x. 86–90. It would have been more satisfactory to show that France merely carried out the convention of Miramare, in letter if not in spirit, by withdrawing the troops.

[66] The Austrian volunteers were ready to embark when the countermand was issued. This empire was at the time menaced by Prussia, and France began also to look to her frontiers. The respective protests of Motley and Bigelow were made in April and May 1866. For details concerning the relations of the U. S. with Mexico and her allies, see *Mex. Affairs*, i.–ii., 39th Cong. 1st Sess.; *Congress. Globe*, 1865–6, passim; *U. S. H. Ex. Doc.* 20, 31, 38, vii., 39th Cong. 1st Sess.; *U. S. Sen. Doc.* 6, 8, in *Id.*; *U. S. Foreign Affairs*, 266–388, 39th Cong. 2d Sess.; *Legac. Mex., Circ.*, i. 5–102, 169–87, passim. Imperialist consuls were not recognized. *Iglesias, Interv.*, iii. 361, 602, et seq.; *Domenech, Hist. Mex.*, iii. 359, etc.; *Id., Le Mex.*, 297–348; *Flint's Mex. under Max.*, 199–227; *L'Interven. Française*, 235, etc.; *Kératry, Max.*, 105–14.

[67] If merely to replace the troops sent back to France. Toward the end of 1864 left: 'Outre la batterie de la garde...le 1er et le 20e bataillons de chasseurs à pied; le 99e de ligne...el le 2e zouaves.' The last in March 1865. *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 484.

[68] The French minister at Mexico, Dano, was instructed to support the negotiations, to point out that France stood released from responsibility, and that 'le plus dangereux pour un gouvernement qui se fonde est certainement celui [accusations] de n'être soutenu que par des forces étrangères.' Despatch of Jan. 15, 1866. Rather peculiar language from the foreign power that had forced the government upon the country.

[69] Returning to France within a fortnight after his arrival.

Something had to be done, however, if only to gain time. The French government was asked to postpone the departure of the army for three years, and to accept twenty-five million francs a year in payment of its claims on Mexico, as soon as the Mexican treasury could afford the sum.[70] This proposition was forwarded by Almonte, who had also to replace Hidalgo as minister at Paris,[71] the hope being entertained that his previous relations with Napoleon as conservative leader might have an effect. The request was refused, as might have been expected, involving as it did only fresh sacrifices without any definite prospect of paying the growing debt. It was, moreover, coupled with the demand for financial guarantees, including the assignment of one half of the custom-house receipts; otherwise France would regard herself as liberated from all engagements, and take immediate steps for withdrawing her troops.[72]

The object of the note was no doubt to force Maximilian to abdicate, and so facilitate the new course

[70] All the war material was to be purchased from the army on its departure. The manner of pursuing the hostile bands roaming the country had to be agreed upon. Maximilian alone should communicate orders to the Mexican army, into which French officers would be admitted with an advance of one or two grades. Two French naval stations to be formed; in the Atlantic and Pacific. Influence should be brought to bear with the U. S. to recognize the empire.

[71] The latter was blamed for having produced a false impression in France. Arrangoiz accuses Maximilian of ingratitude and calumny. *Méj.*, iv. 88. Almonte eagerly accepted the mission to escape the humiliating neglect into which he and his party had fallen. He never returned. His death took place at Paris, March 21, 1869, con 'remordimientos de la conciencia...lleno de angustias.' *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, ii. 643; *Monitor*, April 30, 1869.

[72] Her expedition to Mexico had been undertaken merely to secure guarantees for her claims. This required the formation of a government for maintaining order. France could not impose such a government. Elements existed for erecting it, and Maximilian undertook the task. Napoleon merely offered the necessarily limited assistance defined by the convention of Miramare, measuring 'à l'importance des intérêts français engagés dans cette entreprise l'étendue du concours qu'il lui était permis de lui offrir.' France had largely fulfilled the treaty; not so Mexico, who had on the contrary given preference to English claims, and allowed her officials to systematically oppose the interests of France. Despatch of May 31st. The peremptory nature of the note might have assumed an even more decided tone had Almonte carried out his instruction, 'de pedir que las tropas francesas evacuasen immediatamente el territorio del imperio,' unless Maximilian's proposal was accepted. Almonte's letter, in *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, ii. 311.

entered upon.[73] Such might, indeed, have been the result[74] but for the firm stand taken by the empress,[75] who undertook to plead with Napoleon in person; for neither she nor her consort at this time regarded the attitude of the United States with the same fears as France. She took with her a letter from Maximilian, presenting an elaborate answer to the last peremptory note. It assumed that Napoleon stood compromised to found a strong government in Mexico. This could be done only after establishing the peace needful for creating resources. So far the loans and revenue had been absorbed mainly by the army, to the sacrifice of other interests and projects, proof enough that every possible effort had been made to fulfil the convention of Miramare. Maximilian could not be blamed for the state of the finances. They had always been in disorder, and the task of reform had all this time been intrusted to French officials. So far only a portion of the country had been brought under the empire by the French commander-in-chief. The very condition of placing all the imperial forces at his disposal implied an obligation for him, the representative of France, to effect the subjugation; instead of doing this, he had, by inaction and disregard for Maximilian's remonstrances, lost to a great extent the results achieved by costly campaigns. In short, both military and financial failures were charged to the French.[76]

[73] Saillard had declared, on his return, that an empire under Maximilian was impossible.

[74] 'L'abdication devait avoir lieu le 7 juillet,' writes Détroyat, *L'Interven.*, 246. 'Am 7 Juli ergriff er in der That die Feder, um den Fall der Monarchie zu unterzeichnen,' adds another witness. *Kaiser, Max.*, 146; and so Arrangoiz; but among the officials were those who believed differently. They bethought themselves of his obstinacy, which would be affirmed by the prospect of increasing the trouble for France. *Niox, Expéd du Mex.*, 584. Kératry declares that Maximilian spoke to his friends of a formal agreement with Napoleon for retaining the French troops till the end of 1868, without which he would never have accepted the throne; but he must have depended on rumor, and reveals weakness in his own statements.

[75] The moment for abdication seemed unfavorable for Maximilian's hopes in Europe, for the result of the 'seven days' war' was not yet known in Mexico. Had a cable existed at the time to bring the news, he might have hastened home to take advantage of the blow at his brother's popularity.

[76] He had not expected the subjugation to cover only a part of the coun-

In all this lay a great deal of truth. The French had encountered obstacles, but they were mainly connected with the nature of the undertaking, and not due to the Maximilian government. Deceived with regard to his expedition, Napoleon had deceived the archduke; and now discovering his mistake, he resolved to ignore the spirit of the compact, and disregard the various promises held forth.[77] Fortunately for himself, he would save appearances to some extent by pointing to the letter of the Miramare convention, followed near enough by him for all essential purposes, while Mexico could give no hope of fulfilling her part. Maximilian was accordingly to be sacrificed—a victim to a sanguine and over-confiding nature.

Charlotte found Napoleon obdurate.[78] Thereupon she proceeded to Rome in such a frame of mind that she became insane.[79]

try, nor the transport charges alone to rise to several millions. Bazaine had been charged to organize a national army, but neglected to do so, casting obstacles also in the way of Thun when he undertook the task; lately the subsidy needed for effecting it had been withdrawn. Maximilian had been accused of favoring too much liberal principles and men; but he followed the line drawn by the French.

[77] Instance only the utterances of Rouher at the issue of the last loan, and the order then issued to Bazaine to retain all needed forces. Charlotte brought copies of two letters of March 1864, which she regarded as guarantees of union between the emperors. *L'Interven. Française*, 262.

[78] At first he declined to receive her, pleading illness. Finally on the 24th of Aug. she received her answer. So low was the treasury at Mexico that her travelling money had to be taken from the drainage fund. She embarked July 13th, taking the mail-steamer for St Nazaire, yet refused to be conveyed on board by the French naval boat. *Domenech, Hist. Mex.*, iii. 393–4. Castillo, minister of foreign affairs, was one of her companions. Although not officially advised, Almonte went to receive her. She stayed at Paris from Aug. 9th to the 29th, Empress Eugénie calling upon her. *Le Saint, Guerre*, 172–3; *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, ii. 336, etc. See also *Masseras, Essai*, 66 et seq.; *Revue Deux Mondes*, Feb. 1, Sept. 15, 1866; *Méx. Emp.*, 1–13; *Diario Imp.*, July 7 et seq.; *Nacional*, id.; *Elizaga, Ensayos*, 145, etc.

[79] She remained for a few days at Miramare, and left for Rome Sept. 18th. At Boetzen her mental condition suddenly became manifest. She believed herself henceforth surrounded by hirelings of Napoleon engaged to poison her, and frequently refused the food set before her, preferring the water, chestnuts, or other articles which she sometimes bought. The pontiff received her and gave her his sympathy, though he had to listen mainly to this now fixed topic. After a stay of three weeks her brother took her away to Miramare. Thence she was conducted to the palace of Tervueren, near Brussels, one of the most picturesque localities in that country, which henceforth became her home. The loss of her husband tended to increase her malady. Reports concerning her continually clouded mental condition are given in *Constit.*, Feb. 6, Mar. 13, 1868; *Monit. Rep.*, Oct. 17, 1872; *Diario Ofic.*, and

La Voz de Méj., Mar. 14, 1880, and in 1885. The rumor is current among certain classes in Mexico that she was poisoned with juice from the dreaded palo-de-leche tree, and by the orders of Napoleon or Bazaine. Alluding to this subject, Hall writes: 'Her physicians have lately attributed her insanity to the effect of poison.' 'In the fall of 1866 his majesty Maximilian received an anonymous letter, stating that the empress had been poisoned in Cuernavaca.' 'Her insanity, as emanating from such a source, had been talked about in Mexico before the news of its actual occurrence.' *Life Max.*, 56–7. What object Napoleon might have in poisoning her is not mentioned. Others state that she was sun-struck while promenading with a crown on her head. Velazquez de Leon spoke of peculiarities during the trip to France. *Masseras, Essai*, 79–80. Arrangoiz publishes extracts from notes made at Rome, showing the extreme form taken by her fancies. *Méj.*, iv. 130–5, 157–9, 220. The emperor was moved to tears on learning the truth, as Basch minutely relates. *Erinnerungen*, i. 45–51, 71. This occurred Oct. 18th. Before this news had come of her leaving Paris indisposed. The public manifested for her great sympathy, and public prayers were offered by request. See *Diario Imp.*, Oct. 18, 1866, et seq.; *La Voz de Méj.*, id., also Feb. 18, 1876. The truth is, that while Charlotte was yet a girl, it was understood that she was precocious, having had a joyless childhood, in which may have been sown the seeds of her disease. The death of her father, the murder of the envoys from the new king, the irritating attitude of Napoleon, and the beginning of military reverses, all shocked her sensitive mind, and inclined it toward disease, fostered also by distrusting self-restraint and reserve. Before her appearance at Paris there were fancies and acts which struck many as peculiar, and have since been recalled as clear symptons, especially those manifested during the trip to Vera Cruz and across the ocean.

CHAPTER X.

IMPERIAL HOME LIFE AND VICISSITUDES.

1866.

Money Matters—New Treaty—Army Reorganization—Austrians Discontented—Domestic Affairs—Character of Charlotte—Maximilian's Habits—Hours of Labor, Food, and Exercise—Dress—Amusements—Religious Shows—Washing Feet—The Emperor's Cold Wit—Conservatist Plot—Santa Anna—New Policy of Maximilian—Bazaine's Quarrel and Recall—Castelnau—Abdication Urged—Ortega and the United States—Maximilian at Orizaba.

The departure of the empress only served to precipitate negotiations at Mexico, and on the 30th of July, 1866, Maximilian was obliged to sign a new convention regulating the financial question, whereby the French government should receive one half of all maritime custom-house receipts,[1] after November 1st, in payment of interest and capital due for the loans

[1] Including export and import duties, 'internacion' and 'contraregistro,' 'mejores materiales' fund, now liberated from payments to the Vera Cruz railroad, but less three fourths of the Pacific custom-house receipts, which were already hypothecated. The sums so granted were to be applied to the payment of interest and capital of the loans of 1864–5; to the payment of three per cent interest on the 216 million francs recognized by the treaty of Miramare, and on all subsequent advances by the French treasury, amounting to about 250 million francs. Any surplus left after making these payments should serve to reduce the capital due the French government. No change of tariff must be made tending to lower the sum now granted. Special agents under the French flag should direct the collection of duties at Vera Cruz and Tampico, all of which were to be assigned for the above payments, less the part already set aside for acknowledged claims, and for salaries of officials at these custom-houses, the latter not to exceed five per cent of the receipts. Any surplus or deficiency remaining after applying these receipts to the total one half were to be adjusted in the accounts rendered from other custom-houses every three months, with assistance of French consular agents. This document was signed by Dano and Luis de Arroyo, the latter assistant secretary of state, in charge of the foreign portfolio. It had to take effect on a date to be determined by Napoleon, which was Nov. 1st. See *Derecho Intern. Mex.*, pt ii. 386–90.

negotiated in France, and for the heavy war expenses. The Vera Cruz and Tampico custom-houses were surrendered to the French agents as guarantees. A great part of these receipts being already hypothecated, and the advance of the republicans cutting off one resource after another, so small a revenue remained with which to conduct the government that bankruptcy was inevitable.[2] Both sovereigns must have recognized the uselessness of the convention; yet they signed it, one because he was obliged to, and the other to save appearances.[3]

Notwithstanding the effort to seek better terms from Napoleon, Maximilian had taken several steps to secure his position in case of need, and among them ranked foremost the reorganization of the army. Napoleon had promised his aid for the formation of a European army, to embrace the Austro-Belgian volunteers of some 7,500 men, and the foreign legion of the French expedition, placed in the Miramare treaty at 8,000 men, and Bazaine was occupied in organizing a Franco-Mexican body, under the term of cazadores, or chasseurs, which should become fully as strong. Add to this the 25,000 or more of rural guards and auxiliaries in different parts, one third mounted, and 600 pieces of artillery, together with the means for manufacturing arms at more than one of the fortified points in the empire, and the strength of Maximilian appeared by no means insignificant.

[2] The net receipts of the empire in 1865 amounted to 19 millions, of which nearly 5 millions came from Vera Cruz, 2½ millions from other gulf ports, and 3 millions from the Pacific, the remainder being obtained from excise, direct contributions, and other sources. Of the Pacific receipts, 75 per cent had already been assigned, and a large proportion of the gulf duties; further claims were impending, a convention having been signed June 26th whereby English claims should be decided upon by a body of four commissioners. 'Nada se estipuló...respecto de las reclamaciones de ciudadanos Mexicanos contra el gobierno británico,' observes Romero caustically. *Méx., Mem. Hac.*, 1870, 683. The continual reverses of 1866 cut off resources in every direction.

[3] And to secure by manipulations at Vera Cruz all the money possible. 'En prévision d'une chute prochaine.' *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 603. The Juarist minister at Washington protested against the arrangement as intended to prolong the stay of French troops. *Legac. Mex., Circulares*, ii. 244–9. The relations with France becoming more strained, the convention was soon ignored by Maximilian, as will be seen.

Unfortunately for him, the warfare was rather of a guerrilla character, involving the scattering of forces; many of the soldiers drafted into the ranks from unwilling subjects, and from the class of deserters, or even malefactors, could not be relied upon;[4] and outfit as well as pay proved scanty or lacking, so that altogether the value and efficiency of the army were greatly reduced.[5]

In addition came discontent among the Austro-Belgian regiments, ever opposed to any subordination to Mexican officers, or even to French—a trouble increased by unforeseen hardships, and by the war in Europe.[6] The greatest obstacle of all, however, was the lack of money, which was causing an outcry from every direction, impeding operations, and threatening wide-spread disbandment.[7] The case was placed before Bazaine in April, with an urgent appeal for assistance. A small advance now would obviate a crisis, and save enormous outlays at a later time. France could not allow its work to collapse by refusing so slight a sacrifice. The marshal yielded by granting a monthly allowance of two and a half million francs.[8] The

[4] A battalion ordered to Yucatan during the spring was composed mainly of vagabonds and criminals, and Casanova, the commander, refused to go unless a reliable force was added to control the rest. *Niox, Expéd.*, 554.

[5] The cazadores were offered a bounty of $25. It was proposed to form 40 battalions of them, under French officers and French army regulations. The term of service extended from two to seven years. Osmont and Friant had immediate charge of them, and Courtois D'Hurbal organized the artillery in a manner that received the acknowledgment of Maximilian. *Domenech, Hist. Mex.*, iii. 381, 415–16; *Détroyat, L'Interv.*, 244. Le Saint pays a tribute to the bravery of the Mexicans. *Guerre Mex.*, 193. For drafting orders and other regulations, see *Diario Imp.*, June 3d, 25th, Aug.–Dec., passim; *Voz Méj.*, Feb. 20, March 6, Aug. 28, 30, 1866, etc., and other journals. This system, so frequently forbidden as unjust and unsatisfactory, had to be resumed, as Kératry shows. *Max.*, 137–9. Col Shelby, lately of the U. S. confederate army, had brought some men and urged an enlistment of American soldiers as the most effective measure; but Maximilian did not entertain the idea. *Edward's Shelby's Exped.*, 22–4, 42, 90–2.

[6] Large numbers of them insisted on returning to Europe, and great efforts had to be made to quiet the feeling. *Niox, Expéd.*, 554–7, 579.

[7] Lacunza, who had charge of the finance department, explained the critical situation in a letter to the marshal of April 28th. Mejía and Quiroga in the north were suffering from actual want, and had to impose forced loans. Lopez could not leave San Luis, nor Franco Oajaca, for similar reasons; the Austro-Belgians owed half a million, and so forth.

[8] The question was discussed in a council presided over by Maximilian. Dano and Maintenant, inspector of the treasury, objected to granting any ad-

French government objecting, the allowance stopped, and consequently any progress of army organization.

The temporary coöperation of Bazaine was greatly due to Maximilian's effort to retain French army officials for the finance department, thereby placing additional responsibility on their government.[9] But all this had served merely to postpone the trouble. The budget for 1866 placed the expenses, with a low estimate, at over $35,000,000,[10] and as the revenue in the preceding and far more prosperous year came to little more than half this amount, the outlook for the present one may be imagined. Among the measures adopted to meet a portion of the demand was a contribution on the net revenue of town and country estates of one sixth and one seventh respectively, and a tax of six and one quarter cents on each 50,000 square varas.[11] But the difficulty with these and previous exactions was to collect them.[12]

vance, in accordance with instructions from their government; but Bazaine took upon himself the responsibility, although a previous advance by him had been objected to in Paris. Kératry quotes the letter written by Maximilian in Feb., thanking him for this aid. *Max.*, 97–102. See also *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iv. 90.

[9] Langlais having died in Feb. 1866, M. de Maintenant, French inspector-general of finances, took his place till Friant, intendant en chef of the French army in Mexico, was permitted to occupy it jointly with his own—a double duty which led to conflicting measures. *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 598–9.

[10] The estimate as prepared by Lacunza for May till Dec. demanded for the

Ministry of war	$4,395,710
Ministry of treasury	2,379,077
Other departments	2,807,962
Subventions for railroads, steamship lines, etc	1,466,334
Interior debt	1,937,000
Old contracts	720,948
Interest on debt	6,715,150
French army support	3,205,130
	$23,627,311

[11] 'Contribucion injusta y desigual,' exclaims Arrangoiz, *Méj.*, iv. 94, since property near towns was far more valuable than remote land. But the object was also to compel the distribution of land among the Indians and immigrants for cultivation. Domenech, *Hist. Méj.*, iii. 383–4, takes a more reasonable view. An attempt to bring sold church property under fresh levies failed, as did many another measure, such as Basch, *Erin.*, i. 136–7, enumerates, 'ergaben auf dem Papiere ein sehr annehmbares Resultat.'

[12] The attempt of Détroyat and others, *L'Interv.*, 241, to attribute causes to single individual effort or neglect is hasty. Comparison with municipal taxes. *Jalisco, Tarifa*, 1865, 1–14; *Trigueros, Mem. Municip. Mex.*, 1866, 1–66.

Maximilian had been assigned a civil list of $1,500,000, like his predecessor Agustin I.; but in view of the financial distress, he now renounced two thirds of this sum,[13] Charlotte relinquishing half of her allowance. The sacrifice hardly affected them, for their mode of living was extremely simple for a court. The loss fell rather upon officials of the household, and upon benevolent objects and the poor, for whom the list had mainly been expended. Both of them were imbued with a noble but misguided ambition for all that was good and just, and they were courageous in following this bent. Charlotte had a more nervous energy, as was displayed in her assiduous attention to public affairs, and in her disinterested application to schools, charities, and other institutions.[14] She would personally examine scholars and distribute rewards, enter the hospitals and cheer the sick with a kind word, decorate the soldier whose bravery deserved the medal, and charm the multitude with her gracious manner. The gallant Mexicans could not fail to show devotion in return, the more stolid Indians being mollified by the marked intimacy with which she honored one of their own race, as one of her maids of honor.[15] Like them, she delighted in flowers, and found one of her greatest pleasures in supervising the garden, leaving also a beautiful record of her taste in the blooming aspect of the Paseo and the palace-ground.

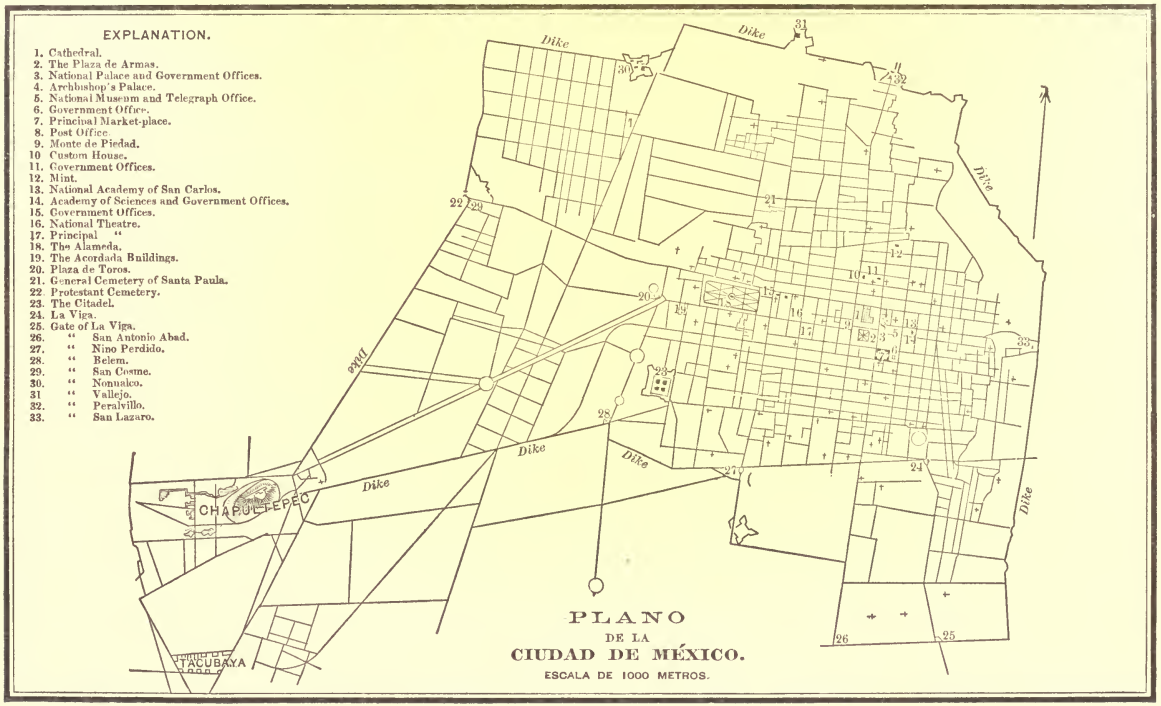
The imperial couple had at first taken up their abode in the national palace at Mexico, dating in foundation from or before the time of Cortés, and consecrated by a long line of viceregal residents.[16] In

[13] By letter of March 15, 1866. See also *Diario Imp.*, May 1, 1886.

[14] As president of a charitable society, she influenced similar efforts by prominent ladies in the capital and elsewhere.

[15] Señorita Josefa Varela, a descendant of Montezuma, about 22 years of age and of dark complexion. She, like Señora G. P. Pacheco, received $4,000 a year, while other ladies of honor who attended merely on certain occasions had no pay.

[16] See *Hist. Mex.*, vols i. and iii., this series, for site, building, and reconstruction.


EXPLANATION.
1. Cathedral.
2. The Plaza de Armas.
3. National Palace and Government Offices.
4. Archbishop's Palace.
5. National Museum and Telegraph Office.
6. Government Office.
7. Principal Market-place.
8. Post Office.
9. Monte de Piedad.
10 Custom House.
11. Government Offices.
12. Mint.
13. National Academy of San Carlos.
14. Academy of Sciences and Government Offices.
15. Government Offices.
16. National Theatre.
17. Principal "
18. The Alameda.
19. The Acordada Buildings.
20. Plaza de Toros.
21. General Cemetery of Santa Paula.
22. Protestant Cemetery.
23. The Citadel.
24. La Viga.
25. Gate of La Viga.
26. " San Antonio Abad.
27. " Nino Perdido.
28. " Belem.
29. " San Cosme.
30. " Nonualco.
31 " Vallejo.
32. " Peralvillo.
33. " San Lazaro.
Dike
CHAPULTEPEC
TACUBAYA
PLANO
DE LA
CIUDAD DE MÉXICO.
ESCALA DE 1000 METROS.

this vast though plain pile, embracing three courts and practically three stories, they occupied only the southern section, the central being left to state officers and the northern and eastern to soldiers and prisoners.[17] It faced the great plaza with its throng of people and imposing cathedral, but was otherwise relieved only by a small garden. Maximilian, with his unassuming informality and sailor traits, looked upon it as a cloister, and soon selected for his chief residence the palace of Chapultepec, standing on the oval hill 160 feet high, and a league south-west of the capital. It stood within groves of cedar, elm, and poplar, interspersed with wild shrubbery and flowers, the building rising upon different terraces in plain and irregular form, and nothing gorgeous within to remind the royal pair of their imperial presence.[18]

For this spot, hallowed by the myths as a resting-place for monarchs, Montezuma had shown his predilection when oppressed with omens of a falling throne, or drawn by longing for peaceful intercourse with nature; watching from the forest-girded summit the city reflected in the changing waters of the lake, and surrounded by verdure-clad shores, with whitened tenements, waving fields, and the shady copse, which extended in variegated hues until it merged in the hazy distance with the circling ranges that marked the limits of the valley. And now another last monarch

[17] Juarez preferred the central court, where at this time lived the princess Iturbide. Her name was sometimes applied to the great reception-room, in the third story of the southern part of the palace, with its gilt-edged cross-timbered ceiling, holding a dozen pendent chandeliers, its floor of dark inlaid wood, and its numerous life-size portraits of prominent Mexicans and of Washington. In the parallel Lion saloon hung likenesses of Charles V. and other Spanish rulers. South-east of the former room was the audience-chamber, the walls covered with crimson silk damask, having inwoven the Mexican arms. The former senate-hall had been converted into a chapel, with starred blue ceiling. Consult *Rivera, Mex. Pint.*, i. 2–29, for views and detailed description; also *Arroniz, Viajero*, 110–12, etc.; *Bullock's Across Mex.*, 90–1; *Wilson's Mex. and Relig.*, 265–6.

[18] The front formed two stories, with verandas, flanked by a tower, and connected in the rear on a higher terrace with a line of one-story buildings, surmounted by a still higher and more pretentious tower. Shady walks and flower-beds, with statuary and fountain, lent their attractions. For views and detailed descriptions, see authorities in preceding note.

abided here the lifting of the veil, pondering on the changes wrought by christian civilization. The towering temple pyramid, with vestal fires and reeking stones of sacrifice, were replaced by crested naves, with domes and steeples, and the famed Aztec garden dwellings by dense and cheerless blocks of houses. The canals, with their throng of gliding canoes, embowered and flower-decked, had disappeared, and the glistening lake had shrunk away from the new-built city, and from the ravaged shores, once fringed with groves and shrubbery.

Here Maximilian lived, on the whole, an unostentatious life, making occasional visits to Cuernavaca, a score of leagues or so south, midway on the slopes into the tierra caliente, a paradise of balmy air and enchanting environment. He rose sometimes as early as three o'clock in the morning, and attended to letters and documents. Two hours later he took coffee, and was soon afterward in the saddle. He breakfasted usually between eight and nine. Ministerial consultations were held between one and half-past two. At half-past three he dined with the empress and a few friends, eating but little, and drinking either mineral water with ice, or champagne, but neglecting fruit and coffee. The table-service was plain, and also the food, despite the cooks imported from Europe, and excuses were not infrequently made before guests.[19]

This was usually the first reunion of the consorts during the day, for the empress had her hours and duties. She rose at half-past six, opening the day with a bracing ride. Prayers were held between eight and nine, followed by breakfast in the company of her maids of honor. Then she drove round to schools, hospitals, and other institutions, turning her steps about two for Chapultepec, in readiness for dinner. This over, she sauntered in the grove, retired with a

[19] 'Haben Sie jemals so schlecht gegessen wie bei mir,' he said one day apologetically to Countess Kollonitz, as she relates. *Reise nach Mexico*, 185. See also *Court of Mexico*, 222.

book, indulged a little in authorship, or yielded to the allurements of pencil and crayon, not forgetting to scan the journals and mark interesting articles for Maximilian's perusal, adding keen observations of her own. Receptions were not frequent, but during the winter her saloons were open every Monday. On these occasions the cambric, muslin, or plain silk and woollen dresses gave way to décolleté robes of rich material, with a profusion of ornaments and jewelry; and she manifested an almost childlike pleasure in impressing one class with her beauty and taste, and another with the glitter of her apparel. She joined in quadrilles to a limited extent. A series of court regulations served to check certain easy manners that provincialism had introduced among an otherwise ceremonious people.

Maximilian personally objected to formality, as shown by his preference for the country. He delighted in white linen suits and a Panamá hat, or one of soft white felt with low crown; yet a plain civil dress was usually worn, of black frock-coat and vest, with light-colored pantaloons, gray overcoat, and in the city, a gray high-crowned hat. On great occasions he could be seen in a simple dark green uniform, with gold-embroidered collar, red sash, and white gold-striped trousers. He wore little jewelry.[20] On special occasions he donned the national dress, preferably the ranchero's, with a view to flatter the masses.[21] He certainly enjoyed the life with which this was connected, riding, roaming, and exercising, especially swimming.[22] Billiards formed a favorite entertain-

[20] Two heavy plain gold rings on the second finger of the right hand, one of them with the initials G. G. G. and the date July 1857. On the little finger of the hand was a ring with a large blue stone bearing the Mexican arms. A similar stone setting marked his studs and sleeve-buttons, worn for years without change. On first putting on the Mexican uniform at Miramare he seemed sensitive, and whispered to a friend something about 'Nichts lächerliches als solch einen Anzug.' *Kollonitz, Reise*, 181.

[21] 'Que ninguna persona de respectabilidad usaba en poblado,' exclaims the punctilious Arrangoiz. *Méj.*, iii. 222.

[22] At Acapantzingo he erected a bathing pavilion, and cultivated a little garden.

ment, following the after-dinner drive. In his driving he put on a certain pomp, his carriage being frequently drawn by six white mules, and attended by a groom and a mounted escort in advance, dressed in apparel of soft leather. He retired between eight and nine, reading in bed for half an hour, always some instructive book, for novels he never touched.

The imperial pair paid great attention to religion, partly for effect, as may be judged from their descending one day from their carriage and kneeling in the street while the host passed. Another silly performance was to wash the feet of twelve poor persons on Maundy-Thursday, in imitation of the pope and amidst great ceremony.[23] The devotion of the empress and her frank benevolent disposition were generally recognized. Not so with her husband, whose geniality and kind-heartedness proved insufficient to counteract the often intrusive liberalism in views, and the cold wit and innate bent for raillery which spared not even friends and partisans.[24] This examination into the private life of the emperor and empress does not tend to elevate our estimation of their strength of mind or originality of character.

The failure of the last conservative plot had by no means stilled the efforts of the discontented. Santa

[23] The ceremony took place at noon in the great reception-room of the national palace, to which tickets admitted a large number. On one side of the room stood a table and bench for twelve old men, on the other for twelve women, both parties dressed in black, with white collars. The emperor in the uniform of a Mexican general, and the empress in black, served at the respective tables, pouring out wine and water, and changing plates. The dinner over, a dozen boys and girls removed the foot-gear of the old folk, and the imperial couple knelt and washed their feet, concluding with each person by kissing one of the feet. Let us hope that God was well pleased at this foolishness.

[24] For other details concerning the mode of life and traits of the sovereigns, see *Kollonitz, Reise nach Mexico*; *Id., Court of Mexico*, passim; *Hall's Life of Max.*, passim, especially the first half; *Basch, Erinnerungen aus Mexico*; *Id., Recuerdos*, passim; *Max. y Carlota Adven.*, passim, the authors of which had all associated with the imperial pair. Additional points may be found in the books quoted for Maximilian's acceptance of the throne and arrival in Mexico, including those by Domenech, Flint, Kératry, Détroyat, etc. Kératry speaks of his leaning to mysticism, which fostered his belief in the divine right of kings, and himself as a chosen one. *Max.*, 161.

Anna continued to intrigue, issuing a stirring manifesto;[25] and the archbishop pursued his agitation, joined by a large number of prominent persons, including members of the cabinet. Encouraged by the dissatisfaction in the army, and the weakness of a government now to be deserted by its main supporters, they resolved to act decisively upon the French desire for Maximilian's removal, with the hope of uniting parties in support of a more popular government. The emperor had due warning, and sought to defeat the plot by conciliatory measures. These failing, he caused the arrest, July 15th and 17th, of threescore conspirators, and had the greater number deported for safe-keeping to Yucatan,[26] ordering also the confiscation of Santa Anna's vast estates. This schemer received about the same time a decided snub from the Juarists, with whom he sought to ingratiate himself.[27]

The preceding fiasco convinced Maximilian how little reliance was to be placed in liberals who had chosen to pocket their republican sympathies for the sake of imperial offices. Nor had his long effort to court and conciliate the Juarists and constitutionalists produced any marked benefits. A few needful and severe measures had served to counteract the good impression at one time produced, and wherever military authority declined, there rose at once anti-imperial sentiments. Moreover, in the futile attempt to win over the main party, he had lost his hold upon the

[25] Of June 5th from Elizabeth Port. Santa Anna had mingled freely with U. S. naval officers, and had even been visited by Seward at St Thomas. *Diario Imp.*, July 10, 1866, etc.; and the most was made of it. See also *Elizaga, Corte de Roma y Max.*, 1–93.

[26] Including generals José Rojo, Zires, Parra, and Partearroyo, also Ignacio Ramirez, J. M. Arroyo, and others. See *Diario Imp.*, July 16, 1866, etc.; *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iv. 109–11. A few arrests were also made in the departments and several changes in official positions. The most active agent of Santa Anna was Padre Ordoñez, his natural son. *Lefêvre, Doc.*, ii. 335; *Le Saint, Guerre Mex.*, 174.

[27] He wrote in May to Minister Romero: 'Es mi propósito cooperar á la reinstalacion del Gobierno constitucional republicano;' but his services were declined. See correspondence in *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–67, iii. 59–70, and *Iglesias, Revistas*, iii. 654–62. He could not be trusted. The Juarists decried him as a traitor. *Legac. Mex.*, ii. 218–41; *Estrella Occid.*, Sept. 28, 1866, Jan. 25, Feb. 1, 1867.

clerico-conservative element which had created him. To pursue further so fruitless a policy seemed therefore out of the question.

As early as January 1866 he began to consider a change;[28] yet when in March Ramirez, Esteva, Peza, and Robles[29] resigned, in face of the hopeless prospects, he still chose for their successors moderate republicans, in the persons of General García, Francisco Somera, a rich land-owner, and Salazar Ilarregui, lately commissioner in Yucatan, intrusted respectively with the portfolios of war, fomento, and gobernacion. Luis Arroyo, late minister at Washington, was given charge of foreign relations as under-secretary. Artigas was dismissed from the department of public instruction,[30] which, merged into that of gobernacion and the treasury control,[31] passed to J. M. Lacunza, president of the council, now made president of the cabinet. Several of these changes were dictated by economy. The conspiracy of July brought about the dismissal of Lacunza, Somera, García, and the older member Escudero;[32] and now a decided approach was made toward the conservatives, by appointing Teodosio Lares minister of justice;[33] the departments of fomento and gobernacion were combined. The effect of this departure was neutralized among Mexicans by the otherwise commendable surrender of the war and finance divisions to two Frenchmen, General D'Osmont and Friant, intendant-general of the army, and by the appointment of Father Fischer[34] as chief of his cabinet, who

[28] Asking Almonte in fact to suggest a new cabinet; but the general did not believe in his sincerity, and did not do so.

[29] The last three were made comisarios, and the learned Ramirez president of the academy of sciences, all receiving a decoration. See letters to them, in *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iv. 79–81.

[30] Receiving the post of abogado-general in the supreme court.

[31] M. de Castillo had charge of the treasury and foreign relations for a while. Among new comisarios were Bureau, Saravia, and Iribarren, and the generals Castillo, Portilla, Casanova, and Gutierrez received the military control of divisions 4, 5, 7, and 8.

[32] 'Sin darles aviso previo,' says Iglesias, *Revistas*, iii. 635, but Arrangoiz reproduces a courteous letter to Lacunza. *Méj.*, iv. 72, 77, 112.

[33] Assisted by T. Marin, president of the Tribunal at Mexico.

[34] A German Lutheran, who after a varied life as colonist, notary, and gold-

soon acquired a decided influence with Maximilian, despite his doubtful antecedents. The French appointments appeared a necessary adjunct to the July convention with France and the Franco-Mexican reorganization of the army; but Napoleon objected to the semi-official interference implied, and Bazaine was soon obliged to seek an excuse for withdrawing them.[35]

Meanwhile advances continued to be made for conservative favor, and on September 14th Lares, as president of the cabinet, was reënforced by García Aguirre, Teófilo Marin, and Mier y Teran, for the department of public instruction and worship, gobernacion, and fomento respectively; and to these were added the Portuguese, J. N. Pereda, I. T. Larraínzar, subsequently M. Campos and R. Tavera, intrusted with foreign relations, finance, and war, Arroyo being placed at the head of the household.[36] In the programme now issued the necessity was pointed out of harmonious cöoperation between political and military powers, and of suppressing hostile demonstrations, while otherwise allowing freedom of opinion and sustaining individual guarantees, with inviolability of property. The administration had to be intrusted exclusively to the ministers, who were responsible, and territorial divisions to reliable adherents—an im-

digger in the United States, became in Mexico a catholic priest and secretary to the bishop of Durango, and later curate at Parras, under the patronage of the rich Sanchez Navarro, who subsequently recommended him to Maximilian. He had just returned from Rome without achieving anything at the Vatican. His coarse heavy physique and smooth sensual face stood in marked contrast to the oily tongue and flitting eyes. Maximilian came soon to speak ironically of him, and Basch accuses him of 'Mangel an Offenheit und politischer Ehrlichkeit.' *Erinnerungen*, ii. 1, 3, 16–17, etc. Kératry alludes to his dismissal from the episcopal palace at Durango for loose conduct. *Max.*, 160; *Constit.*, June 19, 1868.

[35] Influenced partly by a protest from the U. S. Note dated at Washington Aug. 16th. Payno alludes to Friant as harsh and autocratic. *Cuentas*, 856; a man who held more absolute control of the treasury than any previous imperial minister.

[36] Iglesias criticises Lares as an 'hombre malo, pero de capacidad,' he and Aguirre being secessionists from the liberal ranks. Tavera's record was blemished with cruelty; the rest were unknown or incapable *Revistas*, iii. 637–9. He adds something about sub-secretarial changes. Arrangoiz grieves over the fate of Marin, Teran, Lacunza, and others as having to die in exile. *Méj.*, iv. 137. Niox calls Lares an agent of the archbishop. *Expéd.* 618.

plied conservative right to offices. A good understanding should be restored between church and state by means of a concordat with Rome, embracing a removal of the insecurity hanging over alienated estates, the right of acquiring property and the means of sustenance for the clergy.[37] Meanwhile steps should be taken to smooth difficulties, and foremost to hasten the organization of the army, and perfect a plan for the finance department. As a means to improve the condition of the poorer classes, a system of land grants was inaugurated.[38]

In accordance with this plan came a host of additional appointments, and changes, especially in the ranks of prefects and councillors,[39] and several anti-catholic enactments were revoked, including that which had transferred the cemeteries to municipal control.[40] Nothwithstanding the declared inviolability of property, an embargo was laid on that of all persons hostile to the empire, to be administered for the benefit of bereaved loyal families—an act which only encouraged the Juarists to larger reprisal.[41] The change of policy was received with mixed feelings. Stanch conservatives accepted it as a triumph,[42] and

[37] A base for such a concordat had been brought by Fischer, and it was widely believed that a payment of ten per cent of the value of seized estates might be accepted. Maximilian later declared that he had been deceived by Fischer. So says Basch, *Erinn.*, ii. 17, etc. Seminaries should be founded to promote education among the clergy.

[38] The usual suggestions followed for fostering colonization, agriculture, commerce, etc., for reforming the administration of justice, for settling land disputes between communities and individuals. The number of councillors should be increased, but only a few to receive salary. The government had to sustain its free control of the national army. 'Una parte del programa era la reprobacion completa de los actos del Emperador,' observes Arrangoiz, *Méj.*, iv. 151. Iglesias and others sneer at it.

[39] Complete lists from *Diario Imp.*, Sept. 19, Oct. 17, 1866; *La Voz de Méj.*, etc., have been preserved by Arrangoiz. *Méj.*, iv. 143, 151, etc.

[40] Thus by decree of Sept. 19th the bodies of persons not belonging to the catholic religion were to be interred in special cemeteries or parts. Catholic grounds were to be surrendered to the bishops. The issue of the civil code on July 6th, with affirmation of the civil marriage rite, had left an unfavorable impression.

[41] Larger, because conservatives owned most estates. See Juarez' decree of confiscating property of imperialists. *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1862–7, iii. 128–30, 134–7.

[42] Deputations come to thank the emperor for the step. *Rivera, Hist. Jal.*, v. 681–2.

hoped with the regained coöperation of the clergy to achieve good results. Liberals, on the other hand, condemned it as a suicidal declaration of war against the majority, and foresaw only dire consequences. Yet it was but a return of the government to the party to which it really stood pledged, and probably as good a course as could have been taken under the pressing circumstances, after so many failures.[43] It was worth an effort to win over the clergy; yet it may be compared to the clutch of a drowning man.

The reconciliation of the emperor with the clerical party, and his evident intention of retaliating upon the French for their abandonment, made relations with Paris more disagreeable than ever, and upon Bazaine as agent fell no little of the brunt. The general had received many a favor from Maximilian,[44] and had granted many a one in return, as instanced lately by advancing funds against the wishes of his master. But the disposition of the prince for ridicule, and his occasions for discontent with military operations, aggravated by a vacillating character, all tended to interpose frequent clouds between the two. The failure to maintain or follow up advantages gained, the concentration of troops, and other measures were mainly the result of political exigencies and lack of sufficient forces, yet the attitude at times assumed by the marshal from offended pride or arrogance[45] led to his being suspected of greater iniquities. Complaints had not been sparing, joined with requests for his removal, and in April 1866 came a letter authorizing Bazaine to return to France, leaving Douay in com-

[43] Kératry, in condemning, assumes it to have been an effort to support the appeal of Charlotte at Rome. *Max.*, 161. Arrangoiz believes in the influence of Maximilian's mother, or the reprobation in Europe of his having abandoned the party which called him. *Méj.*, iv. 196. Niox regards it as a doubtful movement. *Expéd. du Mex.*, 619; as do several others.

[44] Their Majesties had held the marshal's infant at the font, and even offered him the title of duke. Letter by Loysel of May 20th.

[45] There were ever persons ready to bring him an account of Maximilian's pleasantry concerning himself, and the consciousness of controlling the real power which upheld the throne frequently led to disagreeable self-assertion.

mand.[46] This arrived at a time when his relations at court were again amicable, and he replied accordingly, without pretending to understand the hint to return, for his connections with the country by marriage and business affairs made it inconvenient to depart. Changes being made in the plan for evacuation, it was finally thought best to allow the marshal to remain in command.[47]

There was no objection to his conduct as commander-in-chief, but he did not show himself sufficiently pliable to the wishes of Napoleon in carrying out the political programme,[48] and it was resolved to send out an agent in the person of General Castelnau, with full power to give effect to it. The pecuniary interests of France, which had now become the main consideration, demanded above all a firm government in Mexico. The conservatives seemed to offer little prospect for its formation, owing to the attitude of the United States and the strength and growth of the Juarists; and furthermore their clerico-financial principles were unfavorable to those interests. The only hope for success appeared to lie with the liberals. Maximilian had failed to win them over, and it was unlikely that any other foreign prince would do better. The head of the new government must therefore be sought among the liberals themselves. An arrangement with the tenacious Juarez was unpromising as well as humiliating,[49] and Diaz, Ortega, Lerdo de Tejada, and Ruiz were assumed to be preferable.[50]

[46] 'En lui annonçant que l'empereur lui réserverait en France une haute position.' *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 596.

[47] Douay had objected to carry out the evacuation on the plan announced in April. Napoleon's reasons were overcome by the inadvisability of changing commanders at the close of the expedition, and on Aug. 15th the marshal was advised to remain. 'Jusqu'au dernier soldat,' was his eager reply. *Id.*, 625. In *Pap. y Corresp. Famil. Imp.*, 74–80, are given reasons for this eagerness.

[48] Often only implied. Bazaine preferred to act to the letter of instructions, and such were not always sent, for prudent reasons.

[49] The opinion presented by Niox, *Expéd.*, 642, that Juarez was regarded as a figure-head, could not have been entertained by many, after this exhibition of strength during the contest with Ortega and others.

[50] Castelnau favored Lerdo, and Bazaine is said to have preferred Ruiz,

Castelnau was moreover instructed to hasten the departure of the French troops, now fixed for the spring of 1867, in one mass, on the ground that evacuation in detachments might expose the last division to the combined onslaught of the rapidly swelling republican armies.[51] This measure was also intended to impress Maximilian with the necessity of abdicating before his position became wholly untenable, and thus promote the installation of a new government favorable to France and acceptable to the United States.

Advised beforehand of Napoleon's desire, and recognizing that Maximilian could not sustain himself, Bazaine began to recommend abdication. The moment proved favorable. The efforts of the new conservative cabinet to collect means served only to expose their poverty; news had arrived of Charlotte's failure at Paris, and the discouraging aspect was rendered still gloomier by the delicate health of the emperor.[52] Now on the 18th of October came the

but it seems that he looked with more respect on Diaz. Lerdo had displayed admirable tact as Juarez' minister, and many regarded him as the controlling power, while his connection with the Lerdo law and other measures presented him to all as a leader among liberals. Ruiz, as mere occupant of Ortega's place, never had much influence; but Diaz was again assuming among Juarist generals the leading place acquired before his imprisonment at Puebla.

[51] Troops arrived at Vera Cruz Sept. 26th, ready to embark, but had to return into the interior to support the general retrograde movement. The order came in advance by telegraph, dated Sept. 12th, with injunction to defend the honor of the flag—against the U. S., explains Kératry, *Max.*, 193.

[52] Affected by intermittent fever. Basch, the physician and intimate associate of Maximilian, declares that the latter frequently alluded to a letter from Napoleon imploring him to abdicate the throne, 'den er [Napoleon] nicht mehr im Stande sei zu halten,' and that in the beginning of Sept. already he had taken the resolution to liquidate the Mexican business. *Erinnerungen aus Mexico*, i. 22–3. Arrangoiz thinks a proof of the latter lies in the neglect or failure of any one to deny it, in the face of Basch's bold declaration. *Méj.*, iv. 167. Nevertheless there are doubts, supported by the statement that Napoleon had stooped to plead considerations for his dynasty. That less committing verbal utterances had been transmitted through Charlotte or other personages is possible. Basch may not be so wrong about the date, however, for on Sept. 26th Maximilian asked Bazaine to recall a number of Austrian troops to Mexico, and on the 14th of Oct. he announced his departure for the coast 'to meet the empress,' and the desire to consult the marshal on 'some points of exceeding importance,' hoping that he would let no obstacle of whatever nature prevent his appearance at the interview. A note of the 19th again demanded attention to escort 'for the empress,' and to the insecure condition of the route. Now, the emperor

message announcing the mental condition of his consort. With trembling voice and tear-dimmed eyes he consulted with his intimate associates[53] what best to do, and his health and nerves requiring in any case a change, he was advised to proceed to Orizaba, there to await developments, while benefiting from the balmy temperature of the tierra templada. A strong reason for leaving is said to have been the hope of succeeding to the sceptre of his brother, on the strength of his own popularity as the once liberal governor of Lombardy, and of the discontent evoked by the late humiliating war with Prussia.[54]

On learning of the intended journey, the public in general immediately suspected the truth, and the fate of the empire was freely discussed with voice and

already knew of Charlotte's mental condition, and that business connected with the estate of her father, Leopold I., lately deceased, and other matters, would in any case have detained her; hence the escort could be only for himself, and the departure for the coast meant embarkation. That the point to be discussed included abdication, 'lo sé por persona á quien lo refirió Maximiliano mismo,' asserts the positive Arrangoiz. *Méj.*, iv. 156. Kératry, *Max.*, 189–92, reasons to the same effect, as do Niox and others.

[53] Among whom were counted Basch, Councillor Herzfeld, lately consul-general at Vienna and early bosom friend, Count de Bombelles, formerly captain in the Austrian navy, and raised to a general in Mexico, Fischer, the unctuous priest, and Prof. Bilimek of the museum. Basch declared that the French having broken their compact, Maximilian was justified before all Europe in departing, and was called away besides by the condition of the Empress. Herzfeld did the same, and urged immediate embarkation, intent only on the safety of the 'archduke.' Basch thought that undue haste should not be allowed to reflect on the duty of the 'emperor.' *Erinnerungen aus Mexico*, i. 49–59, etc. According to Kératry, Bazaine urged that the abdication should be performed in Europe, so as to prevent anarchy and protect French interests.

[54] 'Il nous répugne de croire que ces sentiments coupables aient pu pénétrer dans l'âme élevée et si généreuse de ce prince,' objects Détroyat. *L'Interven.*, 290; and Basch, *Erinn.*, i. 79–80, naturally defends his prince warmly against 'die schamlosen Insinuationen,' declaring that he intended to travel for two years before returning to Austria. In the plan, as dictated by Maximilian, Corfu is mentioned as a point at which to meet the empress, 'or somebody' from Miramare, if she could not come. But Basch, who would probably not have been informed of such designs, forgets that the protest of Maximilian in Dec. 1864 against his renunciation meant something, that brotherly feeling would no longer have deterred him, and that the letter of Eloin, then on secret mission in Europe, as will be alluded to, is entitled to a certain weight. Kératry lays great stress on this letter, and even believes that Maximilian may have hoped to unite the Austrian and Mexican sceptres. *Max.*, 221. Arrangoiz adds the testimony of Father Gomez, Spanish teacher to the prince, and Bazaine, to the effect that Charlotte had more than once spoken of a better crown in Europe. *Méj.*, iv. 84–5. This came from second or third hand, however.

pen, some journals advocating departure, others opposing it.[55] The conservatives were seized with consternation, for the fall of the throne implied to them loss of power and privileges, the fading of all prospects, and with all the dire vengeance of the republicans on their persons and estates. The blow startled above all the clergy, whose prelates were even then uniting at Mexico, hoping to settle questions between church and state.[56] Petitions by committees and in writing came pouring in against the departure, and Lares rushed forward with the resignation of the cabinet. But with the aid of Bazaine the ministers were reassured, and the journals gave notice that the journey was nothing more than one of the trips so frequently undertaken.[57] This served only in a measure to allay the excitement, and Bazaine thought it best to take precautions both against a possible mob in the capital, and against a combination of parties throughout the country.[58] Maximilian left Chapultepec for Orizaba before dawn the following morning, October 21st.[59]

[55] L'Estafette, the French journal, *La Sociedad*, and certain liberal papers, showed good reasons for abdication, to which *La Patria*, the ministerial organ, replied by pointing to a probable anarchy in consequence. One journal declared that Bazaine would remain as lieut-gen. of the empire, and created no little excitement in numbers for Oct. 21st et seq. Also *Diario Imp.*, for announcement of the journey, etc., *La Voz de Méj.*, etc.; *Lefèvre, Doc. Maximiliano*, ii. 352–5. Several writers express themselves as if Maximilian's departure was certain, but Rivera, *Hist. Jal.*, v. 683, assumes that this rested on false assumption.

[56] Maximilian had himself prepared a speech for opening the synod, and Basch, *Erinn.*, i. 39–44, produces, not without a certain vanity, his own Latin translation to be read by the emperor.

[57] Arrangoiz upholds the self-sacrificing patriotism of the ministers against the charge that they lost their heads, recognizing their lack of strength and energy. *Méj.*, iv. 162–70. He scouts the idea that Bazaine's persuasion proved stronger than their own voice of honor. Basch writes that Maximilian's first impulse was to form a regency of Lares as presiding minister, Lacunza as presiding councillor, and Bazaine, with the charge to summon a congress to which the abdication should be submitted. The decree was made out, but kept for consideration. The second thought was to remove the government to Orizaba, Minister Arroyo accompanying, and Bazaine remaining in control at the capital. *Erinnerungen aus Mexico*, i. 56–7.

[58] Car il ne doutait pas...on verrait les administrations se désorganiser et tous les partis unir leurs forces contre les Français. *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 633.

[59] Attended by Arroyo, minister of the household, Father Fischer, Dr Basch, Professor Bilimek, officers Rodrguez, Pradillo, and Secretary Ibarrondo. Herzfeld with an escort of 300 men under Kodolitsch remained to

General Castelnau had arrived at Vera Cruz more than a week previously, and after an unaccountable delay[60] set out for Mexico, passing the imperial cortege at Ayotla, without being allowed to see Maximilian. Bazaine submitted with tolerable good grace to the subordination imposed upon him by this representative of his sovereign. Castelnau displaying laudable tact, no unpleasantness occurred.[61] Joined by Minister Dano, they began actively to prepare the way for the formation of a new government. Nothing could be acomplished with a man of Diaz' stanch loyalty and patriotism; Lerdo de Tejada was supposed to be equally unyielding, and so the choice for presidential candidate finally settled on Ortega. He possessed the advantage of a decided claim to the chief magistracy, which had been set aside on a mere technicality, and was therefore supposed to have left him a strong hold on popular sympathies. Moreover, his active supporters were by no means insignificant, notably along the Texan border, where Matamoros was foremost in his favor.[62] It was believed that many more adherents would join as soon as he could present himself with sufficient strength to face Juarez.

Less clerical than Santa Anna, who held so large a following, he was also less radical than his successful rival, and could not therefore be so obnoxious to conservatives. In his eagerness to obtain French support he had shown a disposition to promote an

prepare letters to Bazaine, arranging for the embarkation of the Austro-Belgian troops, farewell letters to the Iturbide family, promising to recommend them to the new government, orders for taking inventory of effects, and to obtain the concession of the estate Olindo near Cuernavaca for Uraga and other officers. While little came of all this, it shows what decision had been reached in Maximilian's mind. See *Basch, Erinn.*, i. 60, etc.; *Kératry, Max.*, 209–13. The latter is somewhat free in framing words, etc., for the prince. The reception along the route was all that could be desired.

[60] Attributed to the intrigues of Bazaine. Maximilian sent Capt. Perron, chief of his military cabinet, to receive him; but Castelnau declined an interview.

[61] While Bazaine could take no step without consulting the envoy, his power remained otherwise unimpaired, and there was no occasion for him to 'briser son épée,' as the rumor ran. *Détroyat, L'Interv.*, 293. He could have left the command to Douay and departed, if so inclined.

[62] Then held by Canales, who was besieged by the Juarist governor Tapia.

arrangement for securing the claims connected therewith, and his stanch federalist principles and legal rights to the presidency were believed to prove sufficient inducements for obtaining the favorable consideration of the United States.

Unfortunately the cabinet at Washington felt less disposed than ever to assume a yielding attitude. The first news of a change in the plan of evacuation, while really approaching more than the former toward the wishes of Seward, provoked a haughty note to the minister at Paris.[63] There were no objections to Ortega; but to favor him would be to support French influence in Mexico, and it was preferable to substitute that of the United States by sustaining Juarez, to whom moreover the latter stood pledged to a certain extent by the recognition accorded.[64] Mr Campbell, who had already been appointed minister to the Juarist government, was accordingly instructed to hasten to his post.[65] In order to give more effect to this mission, General Sherman[66] accompanied him.

[63] Casting doubts on the real intentions of Napoleon. The U. S. would entertain suggestions for the firm establishment of order, etc., in Mexico only after the evacuation had been effected. Despatch of Oct 8th. Bigelow was told that French troops would be withdrawn in the spring if Maximilian consented to abdicate. In case, however, the prince believed he could maintain himself, the departure of the troops would be as previously arranged by Drouyn de Lhuys. Despatch from Paris of Nov. 8th; see *Leg. Mex.*, *Circ.*, ii. 264 et seq.

[64] This was greatly due to Minister Romero's active support. The fear expressed by some writers that Ortega's entry would lead to dissensions bears different interpretations. As a famous soldier, with a large liberal following and the adhesion of conservatives and moderates, he seemed the man most likely to unite the several factions; but the late Juarist successes had materially affected his chances. Domenech gives too much importance to support accorded to Santa Anna in the U. S. He assumes that Seward proposed to install the arch intriguer as president and use him as a tool, while permitting the recognition of French claims and debts contracted by Maximilian. Finally his influence in Mexico was thought to be insufficient, and he was cast aside. *Hist. Mex.*, iii. 371–2.

[65] His instructions of Oct. 22d allude to the promised withdrawal from Mexico of French troops, and the observance by France of a non-intervention policy similar to that of the U. S. The withdrawal would lead to a crisis, and he ought then to be present as the representative of the U. S. with the republican government. Juarez was recognized to be the president, and he must acknowledge no other head. The U. S. had no designs on Mexican territory, but were ready to make demonstration along the border to promote the reëstablishment of order.

[66] Grant, the general-in-chief, having declined.

In the same month of November Ortega was arrested in Texas while on the way to join his supporters in Mexico, and American troops soon after crossed to Matamoros, hoisting their flag there, and indirectly promoting the capitulation of the city to the Juarists. Demonstrations like these could not fail to excite alarm among imperialists, and convince them of the hopelessness of coming to an understanding with the northern republic.[67]

[67] See *Diario Imp.*, Nov. 30, 1866, etc. The *Estrella de Occid.*, Dec. 21, 1866, reproduces triumphantly Gen. Sheridan's order to the commander at Brownsville against Orteguists and other opponents of the 'only recognized government.' *La Voz de Méj.*, May 26, 1866, etc., alludes to the significant attentions paid at that date already to Juarez' wife, then at Washington. For correspondence and comments on the relations between the U. S., Mexico, and France, see *U. S. Foreign Aff.*, 1–423, passim, 39th cong. 2d sess.; *Leg. Mex., Circ.*, i. 1–454, passim, ii. 230–83; *Id.*, 1865–6, 187–91; *Lefévre, Doc. Maximiliano*, ii. 355–71; *Mex. Aff.*, ii. 275–8, 39th cong. 1st sess.; *Senate Jour.*, 535–6, 39th cong. 2d sess.; *House Jour.*, 716; *Cong. Globe*, 1866–7, 71, etc.; *U. S. H. Ex. Doc. 93*, xii., 39th cong. 1st sess.; *U. S. Mess. and Doc.*, 13 et seq., 39th cong. 2d sess. The position of the U. S. in the question is discussed from different standpoints in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 1832–75, pt x. 90–4; *Mex. under Max.*, 138, etc.; *Flint's Mex.*, 228 et seq.; in *Mex. and U. S., Amer. View*, in *Max. and the Mex. Empire*, 1–8, and in *Domenech, L'Empire Mex.*, 55–68, the prospect of a conquest by the northern republic is considered. There was even talk of a secret treaty at El Paso, ceding certain territory in return for the arms and funds which had now become so abundant among republicans. In *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, iii. 6–9, is an effort to rouse feelings against imperialist cruelties.

CHAPTER XI.

MAXIMILIAN'S VACILLATION—REPUBLICAN SUCCESSES.

1866.

MAXIMILIAN AT ORIZABA—PREPARATIONS FOR DEPARTURE—INDECISION—PERSUASIONS OF FATHER FISCHER—RETURN OF MIRAMON AND MARQUEZ—AUSTRIAN CROWN PROSPECTS—MAXIMILIAN WARNED NOT TO RETURN TO AUSTRIA—COUNCIL OF ORIZABA—FRENCH PROTESTS—JUARISTS GAINING STRENGTH—UNITED STATES VOLUNTEERS—ARMY MOVEMENTS—ORTEGA'S PARTY—BAZAINE'S QUARRELS.

MAXIMILIAN had meanwhile been recreating at Orizaba,[1] relieving his conscience by modifying the bloody decree of October 3, 1865,[2] and making arrangements for departure, by settling his private affairs and shipping his effects[3] on board the Austrian frigate *Dandolo*. But while the rumor spread at the close of October 1866, from Mexico to foreign parts,[4] that he had already left Mexico, he was still meditating what

[1] Making frequent scientific expeditions in the neighborhood, with Bilimek, Basch, and Fischer, and leading a simple invalid life, as Basch, *Erinn.*, i. 117–21, describes.

[2] On the way to Orizaba he had asked Bazaine to arrange with the ministers to this effect, and to forbid courts-martial in political matters, even urging the stay of persecution and 'hostilidades,' the latter term very properly applied by the marshal only to political offences, for a stay of 'hostilities' was not to be thought of. See *Niox, Exped. du Mex.*, 132. Basch, 65–8, gives extracts from Maximilian's diary to show that he placed the responsibility for the decree on Bazaine and the ministers. Kératry brings up the fact that when Maximilian in August sought to proclaim martial law Bazaine dissuaded him from the measure as needless. *Max.*, 149–54. Arrangoiz, *Méj.*, iv. 183–7, reproduces the modified decree of Nov. 4th.

[3] The shipment of his effects had begun before the news came of Charlotte's condition, it seems. Herzfeld was now sent to Europe to prepare for his arrival there. *Basch, Erinn.*, i. 74. The account of his civil list sent in showed a balance in his favor of $180,000.

[4] *L'Estafette*, Oct. 31, 1866, etc. See also *Niox*, 631–3. Doubts were dissipated to some extent by a telegram announcing that his health had improved, whereby the object of his journey was achieved! This was intended merely to allay any excitement which might arise.

to do, swayed now by reported disasters to his arms, and again by mirages conjured up by interested advisers.

The best evidence of his varying mood, as influenced by men and happenings, is furnished in the correspondence with Bazaine and his colleagues, entered upon partly with a view to learn the plans of the French for evacuation and for protecting imperialist interests, and partly to arrange matters connected with the civil list, intimate adherents, and Austro-Belgian troops, which appealed to his personal sympathy. The nature of these arrangements, as well as verbal and written expressions, continued to inspire a confident belief in his withdrawal.[5] Suddenly, however, came a change which overthrew all these expectations.

[5] Lares and Arroyo had been permitted to confer with the French representatives, and informed of the project for a new government, they demanded a reply in writing as to the war material to be left to the Mexican minister of war, and the measures for securing protection to towns and the country generally. By letter of Nov. 9th it was answered that Castelnau came to promote the departure of the French troops, during the opening months of 1867, and to ascertain whether Maximilian could sustain the government with the resources left to him. The Mexican troops and the war material were ever at his command. The government would be informed of the evacuation of towns by the French in time to take measures. So long as the French troops remained at a place they would protect the people. As for steps to prevent anarchy in case Maximilian abdicated, they would be dictated by French interests and the need for maintaining order. Meanwhile Castelnau had become alarmed at the resolute declaration of Lares that the government could maintain itself, supported by a note from Maximilian, wherein he alluded to negotiations the failure of which would determine him to abdicate. Arrangoiz interprets the negotiations to be with republican leaders. *Mej.*, iv. 174. An intercepted letter from Eloin confirmed the advice of certain confidants that an abdication before the departure of the French would be an act of weakness and a triumph for Napoleonic intrigues. The French envoy accordingly sent Capt. Pierron to Orizaba to promote the abdication. He returned on the 9th of Nov. with the assurance that Maximilian would depart. Before renouncing the crown, however, he wanted certain assurances. These Castelnau was ready to make; and in a despatch to Paris he gave the impression that his object had been attained in this respect. The request by Maximilian came in a letter dated Nov. 12th, and in a declaration of the 16th, signed by Bazaine, Dano, and Castelnau, he was assured that the French government would send home the Austro-Belgian troops before the last French brigade departed, paying gratuities to crippled and invalid soldiers, and indemnity to all. An effort would be made to secure an advance on their pensions for Princess Josefa and Prince Salvador de Iturbide. The debts of the civil list and the gran chancellería were to be settled, and if necessary the aid of the new government invoked to this effect. Maximilian had requested a promise of fixed sums for these payments, to be made before the French evacuation, and the answer was therefore not wholly satisfactory; but in transmitting his thanks for the efforts, he added that there

Father Fischer's persuasive tongue had been wagging fluently yet cautiously in behalf of the clerical cause, and was acquiring ever greater power as the improving health of the emperor gave buoyancy to his spirit.[6] Nor had he been unaided, for Navarro and other conservatives came to support his promises of large pecuniary assistance from the church,[7] and the speedy formation of an army. In their anxiety for the imperilled estates and other prospects, they were intent above all on delay, and Mexicans are proverbially lavish with promises.[8] The outlook for an army

yet remained to arrange measures for a stable government to protect the interests pending, and to this end he had summoned the council of state, Bazaine being invited to attend. This overthrew all the calculations of the French leaders, for the journey of so large a number of prominent conservatives would hardly imply or result in a simple abdication. On the 20th, indeed, came a telegram from the emperor intimating that none of the steps so far taken authorized the belief that he would abdicate in favor of any party. The council had been called to determine into what hands the supreme power should be placed from the date of abdication till the result of a national vote could be ascertained. He must restore the power to the nation which conferred it. The marshal had declined to attend the council, and now 'se arrepintió,' says Arrangoiz. *Méj.*, iv. 194. Kératry, *Max.*, 244, dilates on the trap into which Maximilian had drawn the French representatives by their disclosing that a new government was near at hand; but the trap is probably an assumption. Basch, 93–4, admits, however, that the discovery of negotiations for a new ruler without deference to his own wishes did affect the emperor deeply. 'Mehr denn je fühlte er jetzt die tiefe Verletzung.'

[6] Fischer feared at first to press the point, and aimed only to keep Maximilian irresolute; 'and I aided him,' says Basch, 76–7, but with the object of preventing abdication till the proper time—when the French left. He could then have retired with honor, observes Kératry, 235. Basch, 66–7, declares that the abdication would have been performed on the way to Orizaba but for the remonstrances of Fischer and himself. Diaz' triumphs in Oajaca had a very depressing effect. Domenech scouts at the influence of Fischer, *Hist. Mex.*, iii. 404, but others held it at a higher value. D'Héricault understands that $150,000 were offered to induce Fischer to urge the departure of Maximilian, and names Martin Daran as the banker holding the check; yet it may have been an invention by Marquez and others. *Max. et Mex.*, 38–9. Basch always suspected the sincerity of the oily priest, and states that the emperor came too late to a similar conclusion. 'Pater Fischer hat mich mit dem Concordate betrogen und belogen,' he exclaimed in his prison at Querétaro. *Erinnerungen*, i. 99.

[7] 'Mille promesses, de la part du clergé.' *Détroyat*, 294. Fixed at $4,000,000 without delay. *Kératry*, 254. The sources were 'a secret with the party.' Rivera indicates Campos' hacendarias laws as the means. *Hist. Jal.*, v. 696.

[8] Intent on the arrangement for settling British claims, Minister Scarlett is said by Basch to have supported Fischer's pleading, but Arrangoiz doubts it. *Méj.*, iv. 181. Maximilian ratified the convention with England Nov. 9th. *Mex., Mem. Hac.*, 1870, 682. For text, see *Derecho Intern. Mex.*, pt ii. 373–85, 391–408. 'Le ministre de Prusse, M. le baron Magnus, parlait dans le même sens, declares Détroyat. *L'Interven.*, 295.

was based on more solid grounds, however, for just then Miramon and Marquez returned from Europe and tendered their coöperation.[9] Their fame as the ablest and most influential of conservative generals could not fail to draw recruits, and their assertion that they had more than once extricated themselves from worse positions than the present tended toward widespread encouragement.

And now came a letter from Eloin, at the time on a secret mission in Europe, who brought his undeniable influence to bear against abdication before the French departed, as a sign of weakness, and a triumph to Napoleonic intrigues. Called by the nation, the emperor should appeal to it when freed from the pressure of foreign intervention; and if the appeal failed, he might return to Europe with the prestige of a mission nobly fulfilled. Such conduct, he intimated, would have its effect in Austria, where the discontented people were turning from the present ruler to himself.[10] The aspirations of his brother, real or fancied, reached the ear of Francis Joseph, and he took the precaution to warn him that he would not be permitted to enter Austria as emperor of Mexico, and that the family compact would be adhered to, thus attaching to the return as many humiliations as possible.[11] His mother wrote at the same time that he

[9] All admit the value of the offer, and Détroyat assumes that this decided Maximilian; not so Basch, 92, who states that at first their arguments had no effect. Marquez had been summoned back, but Miramon came of his own accord, allured by the prospects of becoming the leader in view of the emperor's departure. Finding him still here, he sacrificed his own hopes, despite the treatment he had received. Arrangoiz, 183, stoutly defends him against the charge that he really came to work against the empire. The truth probably is, that he saw no good chance for himself, owing to opposition from the French and others, and thereupon yielded to the noble impulses he undoubtedly possessed. The two generals arrived Nov. 9th.

[10] This letter, dated at Brussels, Sept. 17th, was heedlessly addressed to the care of the Mexican consul at New York, and fell into the hands of Romero, Juarez' agent, who distributed copies of it. Arrangoiz, 189–90, assumes that the secret mission was to sound the prospects in Austria. Kératry, *Max.*, 221, attributes to this letter a decisive effect, and so does Domenech, 406, in the main, while Détroyat believes that the emperor had already resolved to stay before the letter came. There is no denying, however, the coincidence between the advice of this letter and the course adopted.

[11] Détroyat, 296, claims possession of several documents attesting the hostile

should not compromise his honor by yielding to the pressure.

These letters impressed Maximilian with the idea that, whatever his plans, circumstances were not then favorable to his reappearance in Europe; and as the extent of the secret negotiations for a new ruler became revealed, his pride revolted at the slight cast upon himself, and the humiliating role of slinking away at the bidding of Napoleon, like a disgraced servant, or a tool which had served his purpose. Finding him in this frame of mind, his conservative advisers pointed out how unworthy of a Hapsburg to turn his back to a foe and desert his party in the hour of danger.[12] The effect of such an appeal can readily be understood upon the frank sailor prince, whose idealistic and chivalric disposition had been impressed by the lustre inherited from a long line of noble ancestors. Duty now became a guiding motive—duty to his family record; to himself, with a view to his more or less important projects in Europe; and consequently to the party whose cause he had embraced.

The course he now proposed to follow was outlined in a note to Lares, the chief minister. The condition of affairs seemed to demand that he should return to the nation the power vested in him, and to this end he summoned his council to give their advice.[13] This body met on the 25th of November at Orizaba.[14] The

attitude of Baron Lago, the Austrian minister, toward Maximilian. Arrangoiz and others assume that a total exclusion from Austria was intended. Able lawyers held the opinion that the family compact was null. Niox, *Expéd.*, 651, considers that Francis Joseph had reason to suspect his brother.

[12] Lacunza is said by Basch to have given this successful prompting.

[13] As reasons he enumerated the deplorable civil war, the hostile attitude of the U. S., and the widely uttered belief that a republican government, for which France and the U. S. were negotiating, alone could benefit the country. He would not stand in the way of such prospects. The entry in his diary, 'deseo de salir, llamado de los consejos,' implies that the advice of the council would determine his duty. By this time all official communications by him were in Spanish.

[14] Rivera names 19 who attended, including four ministers. Niox reduces them to 18, and Arrangoiz makes the number 23, on the strength of Basch's vague intimation. Bazaine had also been invited, but pleaded the need of his presence at Mexico. Lares, in the opening speech, stated that nothing official was known of Franco-American negotiations for a new government; Maximilian should return to Mexico, and there sustain his government after the de-

concentrating and retrograde movements of the French troops, now going on for some time, had placed the republicans in possession of the greater part of the country, including practically all the region north and west of a line drawn from Tuxpan through San Luis Potosí to Morelia, and south of Cuernavaca. Success had swollen the number of their adherents, even hitherto passive or hostile factions joining for prudential reasons, till every province was overrun by their triumphant bands, hemming in the retiring foreigners, and threatening the neighborhood of the capital. Even stubborn conservatives, therefore, began to look upon the struggle as hopeless. Lares nevertheless prevailed with his views in so far that, as abdication at the present moment might lead to anarchy, it should be deferred till measures could be taken to obtain better security for the interests at stake.

Although this resolution was carried by a bare majority, Maximilian hastened to respond; yet, in order to render the sacrifice of value, he desired the

parture of the French. The committee on the subject, composed of Vidaurri, Fonseca, and Arango, reported that the reasons for abdicating were insufficient, and that Maximilian should be requested to relinquish that idea for the present, Arango explaining that abdication at this time might prove disastrous; it was necessary to inspire confidence by retaining the empire till elements had been collected for combating disorder. The finance representative said that a revenue of fifteen millions could be counted upon, and the greater part of this could be used to raise the army to 30,000 men, not counting the militia. Siliceo had his doubts about obtaining this amount; it was, in any case, insufficient; a levy of troops would not answer; he saw no elements with which to sustain the empire, and Maximilian had no longer influence enough to rally sufficient support. Fearing the turn given to the discussion, Lares interposed by declaring that the question was what to do, not how to do it; the point was not means, but the advisability of present abdication; the nation would not then take back the power bestowed. Mendez and Orozco foresaw a republican triumph, but the abdication should be made with honor, by entering into arrangements to secure the interests at stake. The objection was raised that an arrangement could hardly be effected. By a vote of 10 to 9, it was thereupon resolved that Maximilian should be requested to defer his abdication. Siliceo and Cortés Esparza, former ministers, urged unconditional abdication; another larger party believed that the empire should be sustained under any circumstance; but the majority took the middle course, revealing 'unverschämt ihren nackten Egoismus!' as Basch exclaims with righteous indignation. *Erinnerungen*, i. 109. Rivera, *Hist. Jal.*, v. 689, 693, appears contradictory in his account of the affair. Détroyat, *L'Interven.*, 298, declares that Vidaurri urged immediate abdication; but his vote went with Lares nevertheless.

council first to report on the prospects of calling a national congress for deciding what form of government the country desired, the means for raising funds and armies, and the settlement of the questions with France and the United States.[15] The questions were too uncertain to be entertained by the conservatives; and content with having gained what they considered the main point, they passed them over with a promise to consider them in due time.[16] The emperor himself must have recognized that the solution was exceedingly doubtful, yet he accepted the promise as satisfactory, and on the 1st of December issued a manifest to the people, declaring that he had yielded to the desire of his council, on the condition that a congress representing all parties should be summoned to decide the existence of the empire.[17] The reunion of a national congress could not be effected without a previous armistice, and Juarez was not likely to entertain such terms in face of the French withdrawal, and the victorious progress of his arms sustained by the United States. Maximilian saw the difficulty, for the republican leaders so far approached had repelled him; but his foremost aim now was to achieve with the forces at his command triumphs of sufficient importance to induce the enemy to listen to this or any other reasonable proposals, and to enable him at least to retire with honor, conscious of having fulfilled his duty toward his adherents. Like a reckless gambler, he somewhat blindly risked all upon one cast; yet his motive must be applauded, even if wounded pride and self-interest formed ingredients therein.[18]

[15] Also laws for colonization.

[16] A minority of nine protested against this postponement of vital points. Basch stamps the conduct of the majority as dishonorable and deceptive.

[17] Text in *Diario Ofic.*, Dec. 6, 1866. If the empire were confirmed, he would devote himself to promote its welfare.

[18] The convocation was draughted, also the communication to Juarez, with terms for armistice, and a manifest to the nation in case Juarez proved obdurate. Querétaro was named as the best place for reunion. In voting for empire or republic, the ruler was to be designated and the constitutional congress summoned, a general amnesty attending the new order of affairs. It was proposed that congress should introduce the following reforms: establishment

The French representatives formally signified their regret at the course adopted, and the conviction that the empire could not sustain itself.[19] On the 19th of December came the intimation from Napoleon to withdraw all Frenchmen, soldiers and others, who so desired, including the foreign legion and the Austro-Belgian column.[20] This was an open violation of the convention of Miramare, which still held in this respect; and in return Maximilian resolved to ignore the financial agreement of July 30th. The result was a series of protests and embargoes, with interruption to business, and a bitterness of feeling which neither emperor nor subjects took pains to conceal.[21]

of a chamber of senators; judges of the supreme court, except their president, to hold office for life; president and deputies to be elected by direct vote; clergy to reassume active and passive vote; corporations to be at liberty to acquire property; amnesty to be issued, persons excluded from this to be tried before common courts under the laws of Dec. 31, 1861; the recognition of the debts contracted and the grants made by the empire should be considered. See, further, *Restauracion Lib.; Estrella Occid.*, May 10, 1867; *Rivera, Hist. Jal.*, v. 700–1. Efforts so far made to win republican leaders for a congress had failed. See Maximilian's letter in *Hall's Life Max.*, 171–4. It was probably not duly considered how many victories might be required to prevail with the irrepressible and unflinching Juarez, nor that the republicans would have the advantage over the foreign prince by intimidation and other manœuvres. A fusion of parties seemed improbable. The volatile character of the people, and the unreliability of prefects and soldiers were additional factors. In considering Maximilian's motives, Basch gives prominence to family pride; Niox, rather to the humiliation imposed by France; Détroyat combines the two: 'Il ne voulait pas se retirer vaincu, chassé;' and so does Kératry, while loosely assuming that he places great confidence in conservative prospects. Arrangoiz seeks to defend this party from the charge of deception, by implying deceit on Maximilian's side.

[19] Bazaine personally approved the determination of Maximilian, and believed that he might with prudence hold his own, in the interior at least, till a more favorable moment. He felt an interest in the empire he had assisted to erect. *Niox, Expéd.*, 655–6. Drouyn de Lhuys doubted his energy for a campaign that alone might prevent 'une tache pour sa vie politique.' *L'Interven. Franc.*, 302. A circular of Dec. 10th advised the foreign ministers of the resolution formed, and not without giving emphasis to the role played by France. Another circular exhorted the comisarios to coöperate by letting friends and foes understand the patriotic intentions of the emperor.

[20] Castelnau and Dano had meanwhile made another vain effort to dissuade Maximilian. The interview took place at Puebla on Dec. 14th. 'Mi permanencia salva el pais de este peligro' (of plundering Mexico by an arrangement with Ortega), runs the entry in his diary. See *Basch, Erinn.*, i. 152. D'Héricault, *Max.*, 39–40, considers that the French efforts failed partly from lack of delicacy.

[21] At Mexico the people had hissed the portrait of Napoleon during a dramatic presentation, and Bazaine closed the theatre. *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iv. 180–1. Maximilian had always entertained an antipathy for the French, observes Kératry, *Max.*, 211–12. Early in Nov. Bigelow had been informed

In the midst of the rejoicings instigated by the jubilant conservatives after Maximilian's resumption of power,[22] news came that the United States envoys had arrived off Vera Cruz. They came with the impression that the emperor had departed, and were prepared to enter the country to meet Juarez, yet with a friendly spirit toward France. Finding matters different, they turned back at once.[23]

Maximilian left Orizaba for Mexico in the middle of December,[24] lingering at Puebla for nearly three weeks, and taking steps above all for the campaign. The country was divided into three great military districts: the western, comprising the provinces north of Colima, including Durango and Chihuahua; the eastern, stretching from Aguascalientes and Tampico northward; and the central, embracing all the vast remainder to Chiapas. Miramon, who took command of the western district, had already set out to create his army, with little regard for the means to be employed, but Mejía in the east stood at the head of nearly 4,000 men; and Marquez, controlling the centre, had 4,000 under Mendez in Michoacan, and fully 2,000 at Puebla. Maximilian assumed the supreme command, and issued orders for the active formation of the new national army as well as militia, and for

that if Maximilian chose to remain, the French troops would stay according to the former terms fixed by Drouyn de Lhuys. This new resolution must therefore be attributed to the anger of Napoleon at Maximilian's stubborn opposition to his plans. The officials had already placed obstacles in the way of French efforts to assume control of the Vera Cruz custom-house, and protests and reprisals took place which seriously interfered with business. See observations in *Diario Ofic.*, Jan. 7, 1867, and other dates, also in *Ère Nouvelle*, the French organ, and other journals. Several French writers condemned the forcible encroachment by their government on the few available resources of an empire which it had 'condemned to death.' See *Kératry, Max.*, 273 et seq.; *Détroyat, L'Interv.*, 293–4, etc.

[22] Attended by salvos, ringing of bells, illuminations, etc., greatly to Maximilian's annoyance, as Basch declares.

[23] Touching at Tampico, but failing to communicate with Juarez from the gulf coast. They arrived Nov. 29th, in the *Susquehanna*, and retired during the night of Dec. 2d, after receiving friendly invitations from the French.

[24] On the 12th; yet with half an intention to let Orizaba remain the seat of government, or even to cross to Yucatan. *Rivera, Hist. Jal.*, v. 697. He was still preparing plans for improvements at Miramare. *Basch*, 153.

the dissolution of the Austro-Belgian legions, yet holding out special inducements for their reënlistment in the new Mexican army, with a view to form a foreign nucleus. Few, however, took the hint.[25]

They could hardly be blamed, for the entire western and eastern army districts were in possession of the republicans, as well as the region south of Puebla, while the few remaining central provinces were overrun by hostile bands, and about to be invaded by the victorious Juarists. On the other side the long-projected national army had become reduced to insignificant proportions amid the lack of means and energy, especially of late, when the question of maintaining the empire hung in the balance, to the demoralization of all branches; and the prospects of raising the force to any effective proportions seemed slight.[26]

The disappointments and reverses of the imperialists, so far outlined, indicate in a measure the corresponding hopes and gains of their opponents. With every retrograde step of the French grew the courage and activity of the Juarists, and every victory served to swell the number of their adherents, and expand

[25] The offer, with thanks for their past services, was made Dec. 10th. An advance of one grade was tendered, with promise of land grants after six years' service, or free passage home. See *Diario Imp.*, Dec. 24, 1866. The cause for the small reënlistment is attributed to the French officers, and especially to the Austrian and Belgian ministers. See charges by officers against Baron de Lago, in *Salm-Salm, Diary*, ii. 269–79; also *Basch*, 143–4; *Détroyat*, 296, 376, etc. French efforts promoting militia troops had been made already in Nov. The decree for the three army districts appeared in *Diario, Ofic.*, Dec. 13, 1866, Miramon, Marquez, and Mejía being entitled chiefs of the 1st, 2d, and 3d army corps respectively. Marquez received the grand cross of the eagle.

[26] Bazaine reported early in Oct. that the national army numbered 22 battalions of infantry, including cazadores, 10 regiments of cavalry, and 4 companies of gendarmes, with plenty of artillery and other arms; 46,000 muskets and other arms had been distributed among the army and people within three years. See *Kératry*, 198. All this had declined; it was declared that even these numbers were correct only so far as concerned the battalions, which at the time counted only 200 or 300 men each. *Pap. y Corr. Famil. Imp.*, 206. D'Héricault enumerates some 2,500 foreign troops in Dec. *Max.*, 74–5. See Elton's discouraging review, *With the French*, 172–7; *Pap., Var.*, cxii. pt viii. Yet Miramon had already written rather hopefully of the proposed levy of 60,000 men, in 6 divisions, with Woll, Uraga, and Parrodi as additional commanders. *Domenech, Hist. Mex.*, iii. 347.

the confidence of their sympathizers. The effort to procure a loan from the government at Washington had been rejected in congress,[27] but private coffers were opening more freely every day among bankers, traders, and others.[28] Arms and ammunition were obtained in any quantity,[29] and a large number of volunteers offered themselves, more indeed than it was thought needful or prudent to accept.[30]

In pursuance of the plan for withdrawing the French troops, Billot had retired on the 31st of January, 1866, from Chihuahua, leaving it in charge of a Mexican garrison, sustained by the Indian tribes which had pronounced for the empire and proved its stanchest adherents;[31] but erelong the whole country was in revolt. Chihuahua fell in March into the hands of Luis Terrazas, the Juarist governor. Allende, Batopilas, and other places revolted; and the posts still held at Parral, Cerro Gordo, and to the south had to be evacuated.[32] The province of Durango also responded, from the beginning of the year, to the liberation movement, especially as the French in July fell back on its

[27] Only by a small majority, however. See *U. S. H. Jour.*, 355, etc., and *H. Res.*, 80, 30th cong. 1st sess.

[28] Instance alone the advances reported by García, *Libro Mayor*, MS., from California, $15,500 from Widman & Brothers, and $24,000 from General Vallejo and three other native Californians. In *Vega, Doc.*, i.–iii., we find lists of loans and contributions from the same state, and in *Legac. Mex.*, i.–ii., correspondence on loans generally, especially on pp. 300–403, 461–96.

[29] See *Romero, Contratos en E. U. por Mex.*, 1–590, for a history of contracts for war material and other supplies, including money, obtained in the U. S.; also *Vega, Depósito*, MS., *Doc.*, etc. Eldridge of San Francisco figured among the creditors for $64,000. See also notes on similar points for previous years.

[30] Col Green brought from San Francisco 27 American officers who had served in the union war. Gen. Vega followed with a larger number, and Major McNulty, from Texas, with more than a dozen, not to mention other parties of officers and private soldiers. Over threescore, serving under Aranda in Dec. 1866, were organized into a company, as the American legion of honor. *García, Libro Mayor*, MS.; *Vega, Doc.*, iii.; *Overland Monthly*, vii. 445–8; *S. F. Bulletin*, Sept. 14, 1866; *S. F. Times*, Jan. 11, 1867; *Legac. Mex., Circ.*, ii., passim; *Caballero, Hist. Alm.*, 47–8; *Edwards' Shelby's Exped.*, 22–5, 41–3, on confederate enlistments.

[31] Notably in the districts of Cusihuiriachic, Concepcion, Abasolo, and Guerrero.

[32] Maximilian almost commanded Bazaine in May to retake Chihuahua, and Castagny was actually ordered to prepare at Durango a new expedition, with the intention to push as far as Paso del Norte; but the new instructions from France caused the movement to be suspended. *Niox., Expéd. du Mex.*, 580.

capital, which in its turn was evacuated in November, Castagny having already removed his headquarters to Leon.[33] The republicans at once took possession, levying a heavy contribution on the inhabitants, and Juarez, who had for some time held forth at Chihuahua, made Durango the seat of his government on December 26th.[34]

In Sonora and Sinaloa republican triumphs had been attended with more arduous campaigning. The French had confined themselves properly to Guaymas and Mazatlan;[35] but in the interior of Sonora the imperial comisario, General Langberg, held possession of the central and northern districts, assisted especially by the brave Ópatas. In the south the Juarist, Martinez, had, with forces from Sinaloa, managed to secure possession of Álamos,[36] and to inflict some sharp lessons upon the Mayos and Yaquis. He thereupon marched north and captured Hermosillo on May 4th;[37] but the imperialists regained the place.[38] In September the French were withdrawn from Guaymas, and about the same time Langberg fell in a battle which insured to the republicans the town of Ures.[39] The

[33] In Aug., leaving Cottret to hold in check a while the republicans who swarmed around and threatened to cut off his communications. He made several sorties against them and the invading Apaches, and a more regular movement in Sept. against the large force which had occupied the road to Fresnillo. Returning in Oct., he at once made preparations to evacuate, and effected this Nov. 13th. The Mexican garrison followed him three days later, regarding it as hopeless to maintain the position.

[34] *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, iii. 146; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, ix. 750. For details concerning the campaign in these provinces, I refer to *Hist. North Mex. States*, ii., this series, based on government reports, local histories, journals, etc.

[35] The garrisons numbering respectively about 800 and 1,300 men.

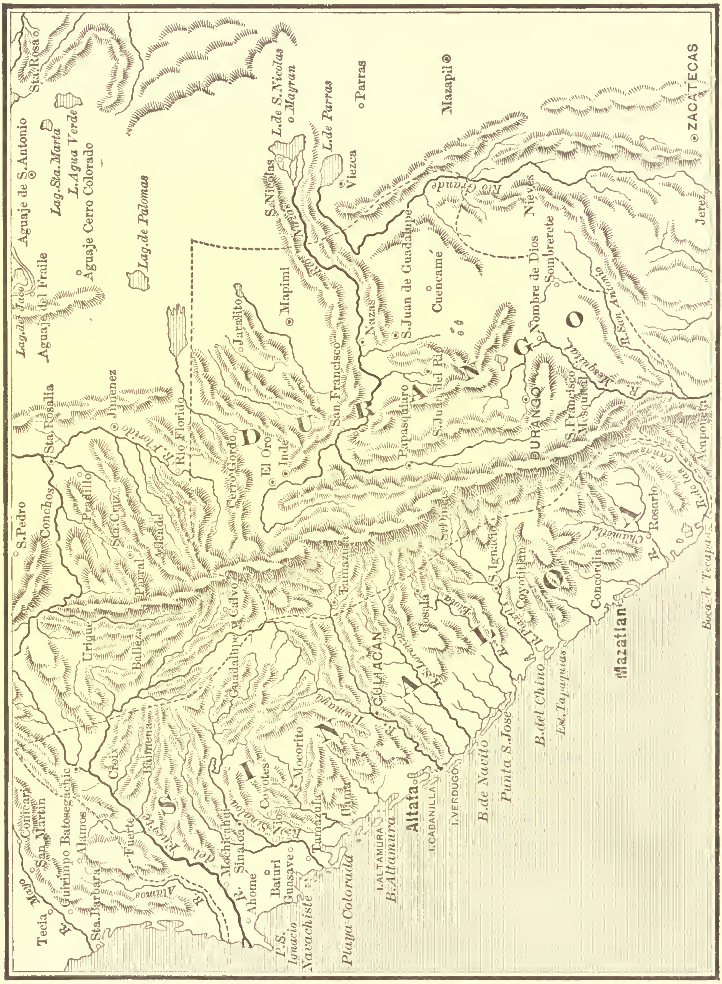
[36] In Jan., after an open fight in which the commandant T. Almada lost about half of his 400 men.

[37] Massacring the French residents, according to imperialist accounts. Vega names Gov. Pesqueira as leading 1,300 men against the garrison of 350 men under Almada. *Ausiliares*, MS.

[38] Langberg came up with 800 men, and would have been defeated, says Iglesias, but for the confusion created by Martinez' cavalry charge among his own party. The republicans, nevertheless, held possession of the town till the morning of the 5th, when news of French reënforcements caused them to leave it. *Revistas*, iii. 687–8. In June the republicans assailed both this place and Ures, but without success. In Aug. they held it for a few days.

[39] Térnon, Arévalo, and Teran fled with the remnant of Langberg's forces, and Ures was captured Sept. 5th, after a brief resistance. The French could

rest of the province now yielded almost without a struggle, but hundreds of people hastened away to the United States or attempted to place themselves under the wings of the French to escape the vengeance of



DURANGO AND SINALOA.

render no assistance, for they were about to embark, the last of them leaving Guaymas for Mazatlan Sept. 15th. Lt-col Fistié, who had commanded the garrison, killed himself, partly out of despondency over certain faulty manœuvres. *Niox., Expéd. du Méx.*, 663.

the victors, among them Tanori and Almada, who were overtaken and shot.[40]

Corona, commander-in-chief of the western republican army, had been practically in possession of Sinaloa since the preceding autumn, and began soon after a series of assaults on Mazatlan. The French found it necessary to clear the immediate vicinity; and Lozada having consented to assist, they gained some advantages during the spring, but were unable to maintain them.[41] The Tepic chieftain became dissatisfied at not receiving the payments expected, and finding the struggle unpromising, he retired shortly after, proclaiming neutrality. In September the republicans gained one of the outposts of Mazatlan, after a hard battle, and harassed the French constantly till their embarkation on November 13th for San Blas.[42]

In the eastern provinces the imperialists occupied in the beginning of the year a line extending from Matamoros, through Cadereita, Monterey, and Saltillo, to Parras, under the control of the generals Mejía, Jeanningros, and Douay, the last named as chief, with headquarters at Matehuala.[43] Fears of an interven-

[40] With their families, 'sin distincion de sexo ni edad.' *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iv. 200. On the peninsula of Lower California the French had not found opportunity to set foot, and it had remained in the comparatively passive occupation of the republicans.

[41] Presidio was taken March 19th, but reënforced to fully 3,000 men, Corona compelled the Franco-Mexican column to retire again, with great loss, says Iglesias, iii. 679, but with great credit according to *Pap. y Corr. Famil. Imp.*, 184–5. The French are accused of cruelties. Lozada defeated Perfecto Guzman, Corona's lieutenant, and reached Concordia April 1st, with 2,000 men. Here he was attacked by Gov. Rubi and Gen. Gutierrez, but managed to sustain himself. Gutierrez fell in the assault.

[42] By this time the force from Guaymas had swelled the garrison to fully 2,000 men, of whom 750 were on the sick-list. The intention to march by land had to be abandoned, owing to the strength of the enemy and the difficulty of the route for invalids and baggage. Of the sick 600 were sent to Panamá. Col Roig, the commandant, was joined at Tepic by Castagny who protected the retreat. For details concerning the above campaign, I refer to my *Hist. North. Mex. States*, ii., for which Vigil and Híjar, the historians of the western army, have been consulted among other supplementary or more original authorities. The effort to form a Mexican garrison at Mazatlan proved futile.

[43] Parras was left in charge of Prefect Campos, Saltillo was held by Briant, and Cadereita by Col Tinajero, while Jeanningros occupied Mon-

tion by the United States, fostered by the sacking of Bagdad, kept the French from active campaigning, content to hold a few strong positions, and to maintain communication, especially with the ports of Matamoros and Tampico. But this plan could not be long adhered to, in view of the projected retrograde concen-

CAMPAIGN IN THE NORTH-EAST.

tration and the growing audacity of the republicans, encouraged as they were by the passive attitude of their opponents and the motive influencing it.

The principal forces threatening the line of posts

terey, from which a series of posts connected with Matehuala, by way of Saltillo, Encarnacion, Salado, and Cedral.

were those of Mendez, who blocked the route to Tampico, of Escobedo, chief of the army of the north, who held forth between Linares and northward, and Gonzalez Herrera and Treviño, who hovered round Parras. This place being surprised during a sortie by the Mexican garrison, Commandant Briant of Saltillo came to the rescue, and reinstalled Campos, the imperialist prefect, on the 20th of February. A few days later he set out with 400 men to attack the liberals at the adjoining rancho of Santa Isabel; but he had miscalculated both their number and position, and his force was cut to pieces and captured, a few horsemen alone escaping to Parras.[44] This place was now attacked, but relief columns arrived, and it was held till the progress of events enabled the Juarists to occupy it permanently toward the close of June.[45]

The sad result of Briant's rashness caused Bazaine to issue more stringent orders than ever against any operation by Frenchmen beyond the immediate vicinity of their posts and lines; the pursuit of guerrillas must be left to the Mexicans.

A still greater disaster to the imperial arms occurred on the route from Monterey to Matamoros, traversed at intervals by convoys. Jeanningros had in April advanced to Charco Escondido to exchange caravans and give Mejía a reënforcement of 600 Mexicans. With this aid the latter was able to take a more determined attitude toward the closely pressing opponents, whose ranks were swelled by discharged soldiers from the Texan side. In June again an exchange of convoys was to be effected; and to this end General Olvera left Matamoros with about 1,800

[44] The liberals estimate Briant's force as high as 900. *Legac. Mex., Circul.*, 1862–7, 198; while Elton, *With the French*, reduces it to barely 300. He had been warned by Campos, but believed the reports of the enemy's strength to be exaggerated, and paid for his rashness with his life. One officer and over threescore men were captured, the wounded being murdered, says Elton, who also unjustly accuses the Mexicans of cowardice. *Niox, Expéd.*, 570–1, is more correct. Lt Bastidon remained at Parras with 80 men, and was besieged on March 1st to 3d. Arias, *Reseña*, 50–2, 512–13, adds a plan of the field to his account.

[45] The hitherto loyal militia pronounced June 23d, and Campos had to flee.

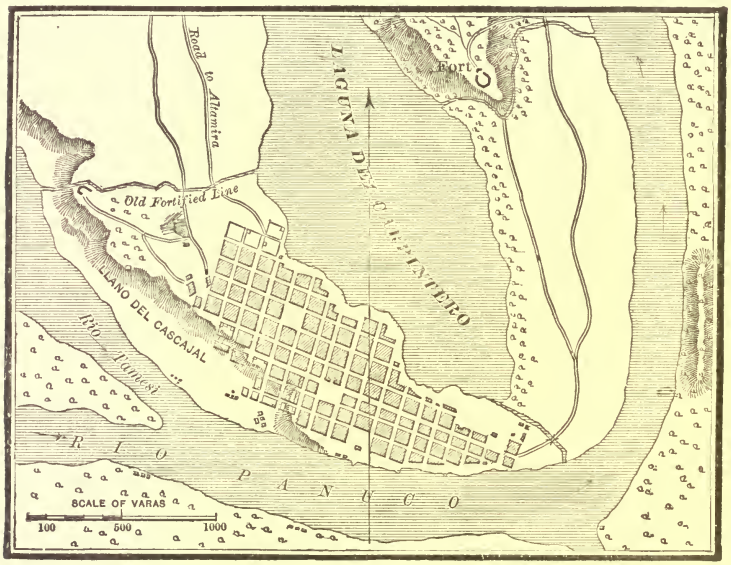
men, including 300 Austrians, in charge of nearly 200 wagons. On the 16th of June, when near Camargo, he was surrounded by the troops of Escobedo, over 4,000 strong, and after a bloody battle, in which half of the Austrians perished, the convoy was captured, together with nearly 1,000 prisoners. Olvera regained Matamoros with 150 cavalry, and Tucé, who had advanced from Monterey with about 2,000 men to meet him, was obliged to return with his caravans, less a large number of deserters, who took advantage of the proximity to the Texan frontier.[46]

Mejía was now left with only 500 men, many of them disaffected, to defend Matamoros; yet he prepared to do so, withdrawing to this effect the garrison at Bagdad. Foreseeing only a useless loss of life and property, American merchants and other influential persons hastened to prevail on Governor Carbajal and General Garza, then besieging the town, to grant a favorable capitulation, under which Mejía on June 23d retired by sea for Vera Cruz with all his men, arms, and baggage, sacrificing only the artillery. Juarez refused to confirm the arrangement, and the inhabitants were held in suspense for a time.[47]

[46] About 80 of the foreign legion left him. He had advanced by three routes, and finding communications cut, he left his encumbrance at Cerralvo under charge of the Belgians, and hurried to Mier, there to learn of the disaster. He managed to reënter Monterey June 28th. There were said to be 1,200 or 1,500 Americans in Escobedo's army. *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 577. Escobedo reported Olvera's force at 2,000 men, and his own at 1,150 infantry and two columns of cavalry, the latter under Treviño. The fight was decided in one hour, with a loss killed of 155 republicans and 396 imperialists, including 145 Austrians, besides 250 wounded and 1,000 prisoners, of whom 137 were Austrians. *La Estrella de Occid.*, Sept. 28, Oct. 12, 1866. Another report mentions only 100 wagons as captured. *Id.*, Aug. 20th. Le Saint gives Olvera's force at 1,600, and his loss in prisoners at 800. *Guerre Mex.*, 165; *Pap. y Corr. Famil. Imp.*, 191. Elton as usual casts a slur on the Mexicans, by saying that they deserted, leaving the Austrians to be slaughtered. *With the French*, 99. The merchants of Matamoros had paid heavily to have the convoy sent. The fullest account of the affair is to be found in *Arias, Reseña*, 60–70, 160–1, etc., with plan of the field. See also *Voz Méj.*, Oct. 4–6, 1866; *Pájaro Verde*, Oct. 3, etc., *Mexicano*, etc., and Salm-Salm, *My Diary*, 78, who states that Escobedo kept a sum for himself out of the millions captured, 8,000,000 francs according to Le Saint.

[47] Carbajal and Garza were besides held to answer for their conduct. See despatch in *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, iii. 75–6. They merited reprimand; for Escobedo was then hurrying to the spot, and to him as commander-in-chief should have been referred the capitulation. Not that he would have

Before the victory over Olvera, Escobedo had in March descended from his retreat between Linares and Galeana, with 2,000 men, as far as Catorce, attempting also a futile attack on Matehuala, and thence swooping upon Tula, from which the approach of a strong force drove him back. Jeanningros and Douay pursued and inflicted contributions on the towns supporting him;[48] but he escaped, and the whole line,



PLAN OF TAMPICO.

from the Huasteca, through Victoria and Linares to Rio Grande, remained in republican hands. The val-

obtained much better terms, for American interests were largely concerned, and the American flag was actually hoisted to protect the embarkation of Mejía. *Voz Méj.*, July 7, Oct. 9, 1866; *Estrella Occid.*, Aug. 20, Oct. 12, 26, 1866; *Elton*, 99; *Le Saint, Guerre Mex.*, 166; *Arias, Reseña*, 161, etc.; *Rivera, Hist. Jal.*, v. 675. Over forty cannon were left. Maximilian issued a puerile decree closing the port to trade; but the Washington government declared it void, although Maximilian could not have enforced his 'disposiciones... ilusorias,' as Arrangoiz, *Méj.*, iv. 109, very properly terms them.

[48] They advanced by different routes from Monterey and Saltillo, while Dupin, who had resumed command of the contre-guerrillas, guarded the Soledad side. Warned by the friendly inhabitants, Escobedo was able to avoid conflict with the better trained French troops. Elton, *With the French*, 117 et seq., gives interesting details; also *Legac. Mex., Circul.*, 176–7.

iant Mendez, who had hitherto made the communication between San Luis Potosí and the gulf so difficult, fell during a successful raid on the magazines of Tantoyuquita, near Tampico.[49] A Mexican garrison having replaced the French at Tula, Aureliano Rivera managed to capture it early in May; and in conjunction with Armenta and other leaders, several entries were made into the Rio Verde and Jalpan districts, which encouraged Huasteca to cast off the yoke once more.[50] These movements tended to isolate Tampico; and after a close siege of two months, during which desertion and fever greatly reduced the garrison, the French surrendered the port to General Pavon, by honorable capitulation.[51] This was followed a month later by the surrender of Tuxpan;[52] so that Vera Cruz remained the only gulf port in imperial, or rather French, hands.[53]

The resolution to leave Matamoros to its fate rendered the occupation of Monterey of little value; but the emperor regarded it as the key to the north-eastern provinces, and in order to please him, the French deferred their departure till another garrison could be found. Discontented with their lot, and aware of the growing odds against them, Belgians as well as Mexicans refused to stay;[54] and on the 25th of July the

[49] They were burned, with a loss of $200,000. Gen. Garza took his place, although he had lately submitted to the empire. This occurred during the two opening months of the year.

[50] Huejutla was taken by the insurgents in the latter part of May, and although retaken by the Austrians in June, revolts in the rear compelled the latter to retire soon after.

[51] The garrison consisted of nearly 200 contre-guerrillas and 500 Mexicans, under Captain Langlois. The town and one fort were captured Aug. 1st, by Pavon, who commanded over 2,000 men. The Mexicans now dwindled by desertion to barely 100. Food and ammunition fell short, but the arrival of French vessels, while not sufficient to change materially the position of affairs, enabled Langlois to obtain a capitulation, with guarantee of arms and baggage. He reached Vera Cruz Aug. 10th. *Le Saint, Guerre Mex.*, 176. The prefect de la Torre was assassinated, a deed ascribed by Arrangoiz, *Méj.*, iv. 113, to republican excesses.

[52] Whose garrison was taken by sea to Vera Cruz, Sept. 20th.

[53] Maximilian demanded reoccupation, but in view of the speedy departure of the French, and the land blockade, it was not thought advisable. *Niox, Expéd.*, 611–14.

[54] Efforts to cut communication with the south grew more threatening every day. The Belgians also objected to a mixed occupation which gave any

city was evacuated, after destruction of the fort, Saltillo being abandoned on August 4th.[55]

The republicans took immediate possession, amidst more or less sincere rejoicings. Although many imperialists had here as elsewhere found it prudent to depart, others ventured to stay, in the hope that the penalty might be reduced to a mere contribution. Escobedo was prevailed upon to restore to the Americans at least a part of the intercepted convoys, and now trade promised to revive again. Unfortunately Matamoros declared itself at this time under Canales for Ortega, the rival of Juarez, the port being again besieged till the close of November, when, with the somewhat suspicious intervention of United States troops, Escobedo regained it under capitulation.[56]

This diversion among the republicans relieved the French somewhat in their retreat, although several skirmishes took place en route.[57] Bazaine had himself come northward to direct the movement, impelled by anxiety over the recent disasters, and a desire to survey the field. Hearing of a large mustering against Matehuala, which since August formed his most northern post, he gave orders for a sweep of the vicinity within a distance of three days' march, so as to strike a blow and then retire to Querétaro. This was

superiority to the Mexicans. Mutiny broke out on these questions, and finally they were sent to Querétaro.

[55] Elton followed Douay from Saltillo to protect the evacuation of Monterey, and thence back through Saltillo southward, and describes in somewhat bantering tone the incidents en route. See *With the French*, 103–13, etc.; *Pâjaro Verde* and *Mexicano; Voz Méj.*, Oct. 20, 1866; *Diario Imp.*, Aug. 15th, etc., and above all *Arias*, *Reseña*, passim, for all this north-east campaign.

[56] Carbajal had as governor taken possession when Mejía left the place; but Juarez disapproved his conduct and appointed a new governor in the person of Gen. Tapia. Canales took advantage of this news to revolt, to pronounce against Carbajal, and have himself proclaimed governor. Juarez ignoring this movement, *Méx.*, *Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, iii. 97–100, he declared for Ortega. The entry of U. S. troops during the subsequent siege was satisfactorily explained to Escobedo. It was caused partly by the appeal of U. S. traders for protection, partly to favor Juarez, as Gen. Sedgwick declared. Canales and his troops were incorporated in the army, but proved rebellious again. *Arias*, *Reseña Hist.*, 79–99, etc.; *Voz Méj.*, Sept. 27, 1866, and dates and journals.

[57] In one, at La Noria de Custodio, the French claimed to have killed 125 adversaries.

effected in the latter part of October, but without much effect, for the republicans retired, and on the 28th Douay evacuated the place.[58] A force was, nevertheless, left at San Luis Potosí to sustain Mejía, who proposed here to make a stand for the empire; but the troops sent to him proved insufficient; lack of funds dampened what little ardor remained, and a few days after the departure of the last French column, on Christmas eve, he retired to San Felipe, in Guanajuato.[59] Castagny reached this state about the same time with the French force from Durango and the north-west provinces, Zacatecas having been evacuated a month before, and subsequently Aguascalientes, the Mexican imperial troops following close upon his heels, unwilling and unable to face the triumphant Juarists.[60]

Jalisco had been less subject to revolutionary movements than might have been expected from its position between the ever-disturbed Sinaloa and Michoacan, owing to the imposing forces stationed in the Tepic region under Lozada, and at Guadalajara and in Guanajuato under the French commanders. Nevertheless, inroads from the Sinaloa and Zacatecas lines had become more threatening, as well as those from the south;[61] and with the approaching departure of the French troops, the liberated republican armies from the north prepared to overwhelm the province. Joined at Tepic by the garrisons withdrawn from Guaymas and Mazatlan, Castagny retired into Gua-

[58] After destroying the fortifications. During the preceding month several sorties had been made against Martinez, Flores, and others. See *Elton's With the French*, 120–63, passim, for details; *Estrella de Occid.*, Oct. 3, 1866, et seq.; *Arias, Reseña*, 120, 514, etc.

[59] In a manifesto of Dec. 31st, Juan Bustamante as governor proclaimed the state free from imperialists. *Estrella de Occid.*, Feb. 8, 1867.

[60] Cadena had risen in Jan. and occupied the valleys of Jerez and Juchipila, despite the effort to oust him, and the guerrillas of La Laguna had helped to hold the north-eastern part of Zacatecas since spring. *Niox, Expéd.*, 568. See also *Diario Imp.*, March 2, 1866, et seq.; *Voz Méj.*, id.; *Pájaro Verde*, id.; *Mexicano*, id.; *Vigil* and *Hijar, Ensayo*, 220, etc. Martinez came down from Sonora by sea to assist in driving the imperialists out of Jalisco. *Vega, Doc.*, iii. 423–4, etc.; *Gonzalez, Hist. Aguascal.*, 358–74.

[61] Near Colima, where Capt. Berthelin, commanding the imperial gendarmes was surprised and killed in Nov.

najuato, abandoning Guadalajara on the 12th of December to the imperial force under Gutierrez. The lack of funds hampered the latter greatly, leading to a serious falling-off among his men, and with the appearance of the advance guard of Corona's army his position became precarious. The disastrous failure of an advance movement by his Franco-Mexican companies,[62] involving the loss of 450 soldiers,[63] brought matters to a crisis; and on the following day, December 19th, the imperialists evacuated the city,[64] hastening to take refuge in Guanajuato. Lozada had by this time proclaimed the neutrality of the department of Nayarit, wherein he had long ruled like a sovereign.[65] Thus Jalisco, the key to the north-west, was lost to the empire.

The last days of the year saw the French leaving the mining state of Guanajuato, joining at Querétaro the columns from San Luis Potosí, and thence retiring during January toward Vera Cruz. In Guanajuato, however, the imperialists could safely make a stand by themselves; and sustained by the number here accumulating under Mejía and other leaders who had retreated from the provinces north and west, they were able to check the local movement inaugurated since spring by Antillon and his patriot companions;[66] but the victorious armies from the north-west and north-east were approaching.

[62] Now about to be dissolved, owing to orders from France to withdraw even the foreign legion.

[63] And the death of Sayn, the leader. Col Parra of Corona's army, assisted by Guadarrama and Mendoza, achieved this victory Dec. 18th, at the hill of Coronella, and claimed to have killed 150 imperialists, including 135 French, and to have captured 312 men, of whom 101 French, while his own losses reached only 39 killed. *Estrella del Norte*, Jan. 25, 1866; *Vigil* and *Hijar, Ensayo*, 424, etc.; *Diario Imp.*, Mar. 27, 1866, etc.; *Voz de Méj.*, id.; *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iv. 224. Corona now swept down toward Colima, and Marquez de Leon advanced by way of La Barca to clear the state of imperialists. *Marquez, Mem. Post*, MS., 287.

[64] Parra behaved considerately on taking possession the day after.

[65] To sustain this neutrality till the nation had established a government, 1,000 men were to be kept under arms; yet armies might pass through the department after making due arrangements. The administration was to be vested in persons chosen by a representative council. Full text in *Estrella de Occid.*, Jan. 18, 1867, issued at San Luis de Lozada, Dec. 1, 1866.

[66] More than one defeat at the hands of the preceding French garrisons

In Michoacan the irrepressible Régules, chief of the centre army, had sustained the campaign, despite a series of reverses at the hands of French and Mexican troops, which in April caused a dissolution of his forces.[67] A month later he was again in the field, and extended his operations into the Toluca region, finding ever a refuge among the ranges of his province, and warm and generous adherents in the rich valleys, especially round Zitácuaro,[68] as well as stout allies in the neighboring province of Guerrero, which had been little trodden by imperialists. Acapulco alone remained in their hands, defended by Montenegro, but fever and desertion were making sad havoc among them, and paving the way for the entry of the patient Juarists.[69]

In this state Porfirio Diaz also had found refuge after his escape from the prison at Puebla, and means to form anew the dispersed army of the south. Supported by the French fleet, the imperialists had obtained a foothold along the Oajacan coast, Prefect

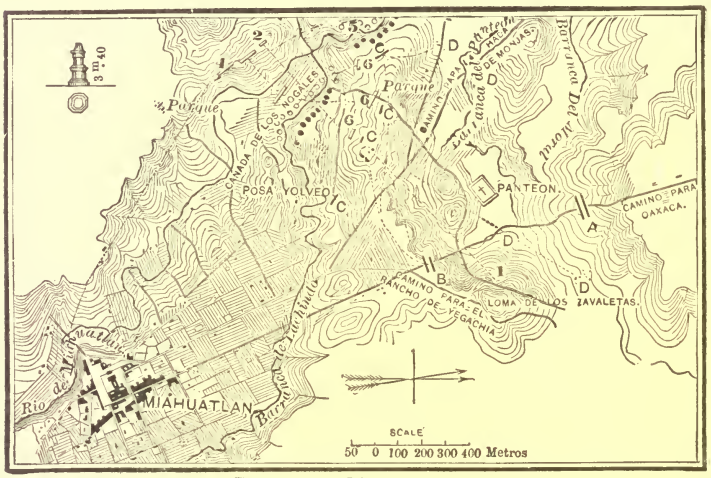
had tended to limit their extension, as Iglesias, *Revistas*, iii. 676, confesses. See *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, ép. 2ª, iv. 748; *Niox, Expéd.*, 615, 622.

[67] Gen. Mendez overtook him near Tangancécuaro Jan. 28th, and utterly routed his forces, estimated at from 2,500 to 3,000, against 700 of his own, taking 600 prisoners and most of the arms and baggage. On Feb. 20th he met Riva Palacio and Canto near Uruapan, and received in his turn a decided check. Iglesias speaks of 2,500 imperialists against 1,700 republicans. The former attacked and were routed with a loss 'de mas de las dos terceras partes de su fuerza.' *Revistas*, iii. 675. Imperialist accounts reverse the forces to 1,500 against 3,000, with a loss to themselves of 150 killed, while the republicans lost 200 killed and 300 prisoners. The latter retired in good order, after leaving a garrison at Uruapan. Régules was surprised a month later near Zamora by Aymard, who dissipated his forces, capturing 900 horses, and thereupon took Uruapan. Mendez followed up the advantage, aided by French columns, and reaching Huetamo at the end of April, he obliged Régules to disband the remnant left him. Yet the latter wrote hopefully as ever of his prospects. *Vega, Doc.*, iii. 194–5.

[68] Which remained loyal amidst all the horrors of wars. It was burned over and over again. The inhabitants mostly abandoned it on the approach of the imperialists. The more fortunate Riva Palacio had been chosen by his comrades chief of the centre army, but the appointment of Régules came before this was known. *Iglesias*, iii. 675–6. For details concerning the preceding and later movements, see *Diario Imp.*, Feb. 3, 1866, et seq.; *Voz de Méj.*, *Pájaro Verde, Mexicano*, and others.

[69] Iglesias assumed, in Oct., a loss by fever of nearly 600 out of 800; others place the deaths at a little over ⅓ out of 750 men, ¼ deserting. On Aug. 27th the supreme government declared the province in a state of siege, confirming Diego Alvarado as governor. *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, iii. 82–3.

Prieto holding Tehuantepec since the middle of 1865, and making it a base for operations in this vicinity till the autumn of the following year.[70] Westward, among the Miztecs, the Austrians helped to hold several points, especially along the valley of the Atoyac, and round Tlajiaco. Diaz obtained in the spring several advantages, notably at Jamiltepec and Putla,[71] and he thereupon turned his attention more



BATTLE OF MIAHUATLAN.

Explanation of plan:

Light rectangles with numbers designate the republicans, and black lines with letters the imperialists.

1. First position of General Diaz.
2. Second position of General Diaz.
3. First position of republicans.
4. Second position of republicans.
5, 6. Advance of republicans.
A. First position of imperialists.
B. Second position of imperialists.
C. Final position of imperialists.
D. Dispersion of imperialists.

The column in the upper left corner represents the commemorative monument raised on the adjoining hill.

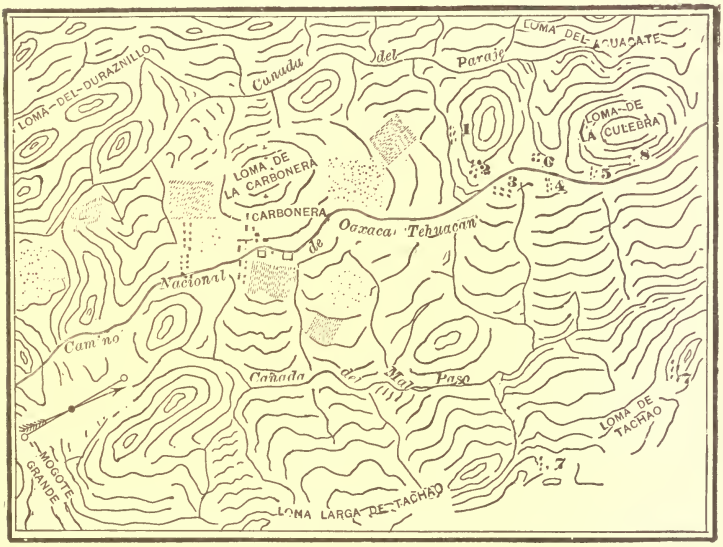
directly to cutting off communication between Oajaca and Puebla, a task already undertaken with some effect by General Figueroa,[72] who in June had occu-

[70] When he died from fever, after a severe defeat near Juchitan in Sept., from which only 50 escaped to Tehuantepec, says Iglesias. See also *Le Saint, Guerre*, 155–6.

[71] Miahuatlan, Ejutla, and other places had risen for the republican cause early in the year.

[72] After seizing Villa Alta in Dec. 1865, this indefatigable aid of Diaz had

pied Tehuacan for a time, and was now with Félix Diaz menacing the Puebla lines, assisted by the broken nature of the country. Porfirio Diaz took Teotitlan in August, but failed at Huajuapan, and had to retire into the sierras before the advancing Austro-Mexican troops. Early in October, however, he surprised Oronoz, commanding in Oajaca, who had descended the valley with the greater part of his forces. Nearly all were killed and captured,[73] and



BATTLE OF LA CARBONERA.

Explanation of plan:

The black dots and strokes on the right hand represent the republican forces.

1. Battalion Libres, under Colonel Diaz.
2. Battalion Sierra Juarez, under Colonel Diaz.
3. Battalion Soyaltepec, under General Figueroa.
4. Cavalry Soyaltepec, under General Ramos.
5. Reserve, under Colonel Oros.
6. General Diaz.
7. Brigade, under Colonel Gonzalez.
8. Battery.

The light squares and rectangles on the left, near Loma de la Carbonera, denote the imperialist columns.

Oronoz narrowly escaped with a remnant to Oajaca city, followed by the victor, who now laid siege. This severely pressed Prieto at Tehuantepec, and later, in April, successfully resisted Austrian attacks in the Ixcatlan region.

[73] Most of the French soldiers fell, including Testard, their leader. The total force numbered 1,200 men, according to French accounts, while Diaz had 2,000. This occurred near Miahuatlan Oct. 3d. *Diaz, Biog.*, MS., 247–58; *Diario Ofic.*, Oct. 2, 1882.

he suspended for a few days to march against an Austro-Mexican relief column of about 1,000 men.[74] After routing it and taking nearly half of them prisoners,[75] he again appeared before the city, which capitulated on the 1st of November. A few additional movements toward the coast completed the recovery of Oajaca,[76] and he thereupon advanced into Puebla, giving fresh impulse to the rising along the lines from the lakes to the gulf, yet without the useless risk of measuring his main forces against the retreating French. Tabasco and the country south had been restored to order for some time already, and the troops there were assisting the still struggling republicans in Yucatan.[77]

The republican movements in southern Vera Cruz had been steadily approaching the main French lines along the Orizaba road, harassed by guerrillas from the mountain fastnesses. A decided struggle took place in March for the possession of the Papaloapan River; but by August Tlacotalpan and Alvarado had to be surrendered by the Mexican garrisons then left by the French; and now the neighborhood of Vera Cruz harbor itself became subject to invasion.[78] North of

[74] Niox has 800; Rivera, *Hist. Jal.*, v. 685, gives 600 Austrians and 400 Mexicans, and in *Pap. y Corr. Fam. Imp.*, 209, 800, and 400, respectively. *Diaz, Datos Biog.*, 86–92; *Diaz, Miscel.*, pt 43, p. 3; *Perez, Dicc.*, iii. 217–18.

[75] Gen. Diaz was regarded as the most humane of the Juarist leaders, treating foreigners with consideration, and showing most severity toward those whom he regarded as native traitors. See his own letter on forbearance, in *Vega, Doc.*, iii. 421. See also Elton's testimony, *With the French*, 186–91, and *Niox*, 678. Diaz admits shooting the Mexican officers. He claims in this last battle, on Oct. 18th, to have obtained 700 rifles. *Biog.*, MS., 263. This work gives the fullest details of this campaign.

[76] And active steps were thereupon taken to restore order in the administration, Lic. Juan M. Maldonado being appointed governor and Félix Diaz comandante militar. *Id.*, 277.

[77] Jonuta, the only place held by imperialists in Tabasco, in the early part of 1866, fell in the middle of April; retaken, it finally yielded in Aug. *Period. Ofic.* (Chih.), July 27, 1866; *Vega, Doc.*, iii. 248. Full details of operations are given in *Mendez, Reseña*, 62 et seq.; *Pap. Var.*, civ. pt v. Yucatan movements. *Voz de Mej.*, Feb. 13, Nov. 6, 1866; *Diario Imp.*, Aug. 27, 1866; *Pap. Var.*, civ. pt v. 66 et seq.

[78] The leading spirit in these operations had been Gen. Benavides and Alejandro Garcia, the latter now made a general for his achievements, and soon after governor of the province, Benavides being set aside. *Diaz, Biog.*, MS., 266–7, 270. Alvarado was captured by Lozano at the end of July, and Tlacotalpan a month later. *Iglesias, Revistas*, iii. 670.

this the Austro-Mexicans had, in the early part of 1866, smothered the revolt led by Alatorre in the districts of Papantla and Misantla;[79] but with republican successes in Tamaulipas and Huasteca, Alatorre and others rose again, retaking their former stamping-ground and advancing against Jalapa, which surrendered in November.[80] Perote fell in January,[81] leaving to the French only a narrow strip by which to reach Vera Cruz. This was also the case in Puebla, where Figueroa hovered along the southern line of march, and other leaders along the northern, as far down as Huamantla.[82] In September Bazaine had the garrisons strengthened on either side from Tehuacan through Chalchicomula to Tlascala and Tulancingo, yet his opponents carried Pachuca in November.[83]

In the province of Mexico the republican spirit had been sustained, especially along the west borders. The hills encircling the valley—hitherto nestling-places for petty bands, which had ever made the route to Puebla unsafe[84]—now became the headquarters for the ever-growing guerrilla forces.[85] Cuautitlan was

[79] Mainly by the capitulation of Jan. 15th, with Major Schonowsky. Iglesias gives Alatorre 477 men against 1,500 of the imperialists. Liberal terms were granted, like those to the Huastecans. *Le Saint, Guerre Mex.*, 156.

[80] Calderon was allowed to withdraw the small Austro-Mexican garrison to Puebla, Nov. 11th. *Rivera, Hist. Jal.*, v. 686; *Pap. y Corr. Fam. Imp.*, 83–100, 199–200; *Cinco Mayo*, Sept. 27, 1866.

[81] Aymard on Jan. 8th taking away the Austrian garrison, which had been closely pressed since its relief in Nov.

[82] Notably Col Rodriguez, who established himself at Los Llanos in Sept.

[83] Rodriguez' attack on Tlascala was repulsed Nov. 2d, with assistance from San Martin, but Apam yielded. Tehuacan had to be reënforced against Figueroa, and Aymard, then commanding in Puebla, took up a position at Palmar with a strong force so as to render aid to either side. Col Dupin, whose contre-guerrillas guarded the coast, assumed the command in Vera Cruz. In Dec. Douay reached Puebla with his troops and assumed the command there. For his retreat thus far, see *Elton's With the French*, 169–72, 184; *Niox, Expéd.*, 674–80, *Diario Imp.*, Oct. 13, 1866, etc., and other journals.

[84] Among other victims were the Belgian envoy, Gen. Foury and his aid, Capt. D'Huart, bringing news of the coronation of Leopold II. They were attacked at Rio Frio on March 4, 1866. Their death created no little sensation. *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iv. 84. The Mexican escort was accused of cowardice. *Pap. y Corr. Fam. Imp.*, 179–81. Toluca was nearly captured by Régules in Aug.

[85] The Belgians were severely repulsed when at the close of Sept. they

raided in October; and two months later Chalco and Tlalpan, within sight of Mexico, were equally exposed, while the route from Querétaro, with its wagon trains bearing the effects of returning Frenchmen and fugitive Mexicans, attracted hordes of eager despoilers. Ortiz de la Peña had retired in disorder to Cuernavaca after a severe defeat at Ixtla, and Régules and Riva Palacio had followed up their victories in Michoacan by occupying the Lerma Valley. Toluca alone stood between them and the capital.[86]

sought to retake Ixmiquilpan from Martinez. Iglesias gives their leader, Col Van der Smissen, 350 men. *Revistas*, iii. 673. He had to retire to Tula.

[86] Twice, early in Dec. and in Jan., had French troops gone to the relief of Toluca.

CHAPTER XII.

DEPARTURE OF THE FRENCH.

1867.

FURTHER DISAFFECTION BETWEEN BAZAINE AND THE COURT—RECALL OF EUROPEAN SOLDIERS—BAZAINE'S CONDUCT AND CHARACTER—EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS—DEPARTURE OF TROOPS—BAZAINE IN DISGRACE IN FRANCE—COST OF EXPEDITION—A NEW COUNCIL UPHOLDS THE EMPIRE—MOVEMENTS OF MIRAMON—MAXIMILIAN AT THE HEAD OF THE ARMY—HIS MARCH TO QUERÉTARO—INVESTED BY THE REPUBLICAN FORCES.

THE ministry expected Bazaine to make a few more efforts in their behalf against the Juarists, but a telegram from Paris, of the 10th of January, 1867, instructed him to hasten the departure of the troops. His measures in accordance therewith increased the bitterness of feeling between the marshal and the court till intercourse was completely broken off.[1] Among the strongest reasons for this rupture was the strictness with which the commander-in-chief carried out the order for returning to their homes all Euro-

[1] In a letter to Bazaine of Jan. 25th, Lares alluded to the promise made to protect the districts occupied by French soldiers, and pointing out that this had not been fulfilled with respect to Tezcuco and other near-lying towns, he sneeringly inquired what course would be pursued if the capital were attacked while still held by the French. He also demanded when the French would depart, and the surrender of the citadel and war stores take place, as well as satisfaction be given for the suppression of *La Patria* journal, which had abused the marshal because he interfered in behalf of a suspected Juarist named Garay. Bazaine curtly replied that he would hold no further intercourse with the ministry. He wrote to Maximilian complaining of their insinuating language and evil policy, explaining that arrangements were made with Marquez for the surrender of the fortifications, etc., and that he would depart during the first half of Feb. Maximilian returned the letter, and declared that no further intercourse would take place until satisfaction was given for the reflections cast on his ministers. Détroyat adds to Kératry's extracts the comments of Murphy on the rupture. *L'Intervention*, 304–8.

pean soldiers who so desired, even those who had enlisted under Maximilian, in accordance with the convention of Miramare; thus encouraging them to break their oath and to unfairly retain the bounty given them.[2] Further, as many of the army effects could not profitably be taken to France, horses, saddles, and other cumbrous material were sold by auction at the different camps, going at insignificant prices often direct into the hands of the republicans, while a large quantity of projectiles and powder was destroyed, instead of being allowed to swell the resources of the imperial government.[3] Bazaine has been widely abused for these and other acts in which he undoubt-

[2] Going even so far as to place those who refused in the category of deserters. The object was partly disgust with Maximilian, partly a measure to promote his abdication, although the same telegram forbade any further urging in this respect; but also a desire to save further sacrifices of French blood. This 'emporta sur toute autre considération, says D'Héricault, *Max.*, 85; by leaving them, he adds, the life of Maximilian could readily have been saved, for a few thousand foreign soldiers could penetrate anywhere in Mexico. Maximilian at first refused to let them go, but yielded by telegram of Jan. 14th. *Id.*, 94. Their bounty had been $25, besides other expenditure for the pressed treasury. Salm-Salm intimates that 'not less than six thousand men' deserted nevertheless to join Maximilian. *My Diary*, i. 18–19; but this is an exaggeration. A result of the measure was that Escobedo caused to be shot more than 100 Frenchmen captured early in Feb. at the defeat of Miramon, on the ground that they could no longer claim the protection of the tricolor. Several French officers appeared with a bitter protest in *Le Courrier*, at Mexico, reflecting on the steps which had led to such slaughter of their comrades, now termed bandits by the Juarists. Basch is naturally severe upon Bazaine. *Erinnerungen*, i. 143–8.

[3] Because it could not pay the trifle demanded for the stores. It must be admitted, however, that the projectiles were as a rule useless for the Mexican artillery, and that the empire had plenty of ammunition, as intimated in a letter by Maximilian to Gen. D'Hurbal, who organized this artillery. *Domenech, Hist. Mex.*, iii. 415–16. Kératry publishes a report from the artillery department showing that the Mexicans had received from France 3,228,226 cartridges and 21,437 kilogrammes of powder, and that the capital possessed at this time 34,741 shot of different caliber with the needful powder, at the rate of 300 charges per piece; also a reserve of 500,000 cartridges, besides the supply held by the Austro-Belgians. *Max.*, 315. Nevertheless the destruction of available ammunition—estimated by one authority at 14 million cartridges—*L'Interven, Mex.*, 313—was wanton; and the sale of horses, etc., for the benefit of the republicans may be termed even worse. After abandoning the empire to its fate, this material should at least have been surrendered, as promised in the joint note of Nov. 9th, from the French representatives. Maximilian expresses himself bitterly on the point. *Basch*, ii. 75; Niox finds it 'difficile d'expliquer.' *Expéd.*, 695; and Détroyat, 309–16, blames the French government, which had left orders for remitting such armament to the 'head to be legally recognized.' None such appearing to Bazaine, he could not act otherwise than he did. A Juarist decree stamped all effects sold by the French army as just booty. *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, x. 2.

edly followed only instructions, although impelled occasionally perhaps to a certain excess by the hostility and misconstruction applied on every side; yet it must be admitted that sordid avarice was among the defects of character which tended to justify suspicion against him.[4] A letter from General Diaz was not without its effect, accusing him of offering to surrender all the towns in French possession with armament, and even the persons of Maximilian and his leading supporters; but this rests on the misinterpreted utterances of the agent sent to confer with him about assuming the leadership of the new government sought by France. Negotiation with Ortega had been frustrated by the United States, as we have seen, and Diaz was too loyal to entertain the offer;[5] yet he as well as several other leaders showed every consideration for Frenchmen, and readily exchanged the prisoners of this nationality.[6]

[4] He sold, for instance, for private benefit, the furniture of his residence, placed merely at his service by the government; and also a carriage belonging to Santa Anna, as Maximilian himself puts it. *Basch*, i. 173, ii. 75. A writer in *Pap. y Corr. Fam. Imp.*, 74–80, adds that Col Boyer was his agent in all manner of speculation, including dealings in army pay-warrants. See also *Mex., El Imp.*, 18–20; *Allenet, Bazaine Acusado*, 1–4. Aspirations are also hinted at toward a position as supreme ruler over Mexico; but these Détroyat, 314, will not entertain. He considered that the favors received from Maximilian could not have been forgotten by him. Kératry also defends him, and states that this refusal to take extreme steps against the empire without positive instructions brought upon him the anger of Napoleon, who objected to commit himself in writing. *Max.*, 280. This anger was increased by the effort of Bazaine to justify himself before his officers, to whom he revealed a portion of these instructions. Arrangoiz echoes Kératry, by pointing out that with all the accusation against Bazaine his conduct was not investigated. *Méj.*, iv. 248. Later we find him in a responsible command, during the war with Prussia. Salm-Salm insists, nevertheless, that his conduct was more brutal than it should have been. *My Diary*, i. 16; and so does Basch, who assumes that his failure to carry out his (Napoleon's) plans roused anger and 'liess nun der Marschall die Maske...fallen. Loc. cit.

[5] Which involved the recognition of French claims 'la cual deseché por no recerme honrosa,' says Diaz. *Lefèvre, Docs*, ii. 376. The offer implied the previous abdication of Maximilian. The sale of arms to Diaz was to take effect only after his acceptance of the presidency had been settled. So Kératry very reasonably explains it. *Max.*, 248–51. The agent was the U. S. consul Otterburg, who had pecuniary reasons for favoring a new government with French aid, and also a Frenchman named Thiele, employed by Diaz. Salm-Salm asserts himself somewhat too positively on mere hearsay.

[6] Diaz refused, however, to surrender the Austrians. Kératry publishes several of the letters exchanged on this subject. Not having enough military prisoners, says Arrangoiz, *Méj.*, iv. 245, political offenders were included in Bazaine's delivery.

The arrangements of Bazaine being made, he marched out from Mexico on the 5th of February, the inhabitants being comparatively silent; for if one party regarded the departure as an humiliating necessity, another looked upon it as a desertion of their cause, and trembled for the consequences.[7] At Puebla the feeling was even less friendly, influenced to a great extent by the proximity of the republicans, who followed closely though quietly upon the heels of the French, occupying the evacuated towns along the route.[8] The national imperial army did not attempt to hold a single place between Puebla and Vera Cruz. Hearing of a disaster to the imperial arms, Bazaine considerately sent a message to Maximilian, offering to wait for him in case he should decide to join him. This was naturally declined; yet the marshal took pains to add to the strength of Vera Cruz, now left in charge of General Perez Gomez, so that it might serve as a refuge for the unfortunate prince.[9] The

[7] Burying their gold and 'les boutiques se fermèrent comme des tombes.' *D'Héricault*, 83. 'No friendly word, no farewell, greeted the hated oppressors,' writes Salm-Salm in prejudiced as well as contradictory manner. *My Diary*, i. 17. Even the *Ere Nouvelle* of Feb. 5th, while alluding to sympathy, admits that no demonstration took place. It may be well to remember the kind and sociable intercourse between them and the people, the good behavior of the soldiers as a rule, and the many friendships formed, to understand that the silence must be attributed mainly to momentary political motives. Frenchmen are the most favored foreigners in Mexico. Bazaine camped for the night not far from the city, leaving there a force till the morrow. He had removed the cannon from the ramparts into the citadel, under pretext, says Niox, of preventing the enemy from suddenly carrying them off. *Expéd.*, 695. Détroyat, 318, believes rather that Bazaine feared a hostile movement. In his proclamation of Feb. 3d, bidding them farewell, the marshal assured the people that the object of France had never been to impose on them any government opposed to their wishes. This expression, as well as the absence of any reference to Maximilian, could not be regarded as complimentary to the latter. In the address to the army he spoke flatteringly of their five years of victorious campaigns. A distribution of medals, nominations for the legion of honor, and promotions took place before embarking. On assuming military command of the city, Marquez also issued a proclamation, wherein occur the words 'ya me conoceis y no tengo que decir mas'—you know me already, and I need say no more—a phrase which became proverbial. *Le Saint, Guerre Mex.*, 202–4.

[8] Notice had been given that republicans must not approach too near. A troupe did so, however, near Chalco, and was severely punished—a lesson not lost to the rest. Arrangoiz, *Méj.*, iv. 249, alludes to insults heaped on the retreating soldiers, and sneeringly intimates that an agreement seemed to exist with the republicans for occupying the abandoned towns.

[9] A certain amount of arms and other effects were left there; and the

embarkation of troops, 28,690 in all, had been going on regularly since February 14th, more than thirty vessels, including transports, mail-steamers, and ships of the squadron, having gathered in the harbor for the purpose.[10] The last of the Belgians had left in January, and most of the Austrians followed, only a regiment of hussars and a battalion of infantry of the latter remaining with their prince.[11]

Bazaine embarked the last of all, on March 12th, for Toulon, there to bear the brunt of popular ill-will, which had been slowly growing under the accumulating news of sterile victories and wasted millions, till capped by the humiliating reasons for the retreat, and the inglorious circumstances attending it. The government sought prudently to divert attention as much as possible from itself by fostering the feeling against the marshal. No salutes of honor were accorded to him, and he retired for a while under a cloud, silent as beseemed a subject to his sovereign; yet it escaped not attention that he was never called to answer for the missteps imputed to him.[12]

Castelnau returned at the same time and obtained promotion. Dano remained after having in February

admiral was induced to cede 30 quintals of powder, against a check for 150,000 fcs, 'qui n'a jamais été payée.' *L Interv. Franç.*, 318. Bazaine sought even to promote the sale of a not very desirable gun-boat, but failed. See his letter to the admiral of March 7th, *Kératry, Max.*, 316–18.

[10] Castagny reached Orizaba with the last troops on the 21st of February. They were spread out from Paso del Macho to Soledad, so as not to crowd the port. From the latter place they were brought in daily by railway, up to a certain hour, and after camping during the night, sent on board before 9 A.M., thus exposing them as little as possible to risk from fever. Including three vessels which in the middle of Dec. and Jan. took about 3,000 men, there were 41 in all assisting at the embarkation; 3 of the squadron received none for conveyance; three transports took mainly war stores, one was sent to New Orleans, two received merely a score of men, but the rest took from 200 to 1,250 each; seven were mail steamers and thirty may be called transports. The total force embarked numbered 28,693, including about 2,900 Austro-Belgians and 169 superior officers. See table in *Niox, Expéd.*, 761.

[11] Both the Belgian and Austrian ministers having opposed their stay, as I have shown. See also *Pap. Var.*, cxxx., pt ii. p. 38; *Basch*, i. 143–4. Salm Salm sought in vain to enroll Austrians; but Count Kherenhüller succeeded in forming the hussars, and Baron Hammerstein the infantry, both of which rendered good service. *My Diary*, i. 15–16 Niox places them at 400 and 200 men respectively. *Expéd.*, 703–4.

[12] Napoleon had certain reasons for dissatisfaction with him; yet he was aware that the blame lay almost wholly with himself.

arranged that the custom-house at Vera Cruz should be restored to the Mexicans for a monthly payment of $50,000,[13] a proposed pittance on behalf of the scattered Gallic treasures, whereof more than three hundred million francs had disappeared in expenses paid by the government of France, and other hundreds of millions had been paid by deluded subscribers to Mexican bonds, not to mention the millions of unrecognized claims and of losses to trade.[14]

On reaching the capital in January 1867, Maximilian held another council to determine whether the empire should be sustained. Nearly twoscore persons attended, including ministers, councillors, ecclesiastics, and army men. Bazaine, strange to say, had thought it best to respond in person, representing the futility of continuing with insufficient men and means the struggle against the republicans, whose armies occupied the greater part of the country, and whose cause was sustained by most of the people. But his objections were overruled. The minister of war spoke alluringly of 26,000 men at his command, and after a glib enumeration of provinces still declared to be under imperial control, he of the finance department gave the assurance that a revenue of eleven millions could be counted upon, a sum which might be doubled twice or three times by the recovery of a few other provinces. This glowing picture failed to produce any great

[13] The 1st payment was made on April 2d, and deposited on board *Le Phlégeton*, which remained at this station. *Le Saint, Guerre Mex.*, 201.

[14] The figures of expenses are as follows: In 1861, 3,200,000 fcs; 1862, 63,400,000; 1863, 97,619,000; 1864, 69,074,000; 1865, 41,405,000; 1866, 65,147,000; 1867, 23,310,000. Total, 363,155,000 fcs, of which 231,990,000 pertained to the war department, 116,873,000 to the navy, 14,302,000 to the treasury, besides 13,000,000 extras, 2,250,000 loss of war stores, and 20,000,000 for return charges. Against these sums and the loans France received only 61,975,000. Add to this the thousands of lives sacrificed in battles and hospitals, the latter being placed at over 5,600. Payno mentions among the sums paid by Mexico $1,013,358 for quartering French troops and other expenditures. *Cuentas*, 379–408, 599–674, 733–40. Figures vary somewhat as given in *Niox*, 763–4; *An. Econ. Polit.*, 1868; *Diar. Ofic.*, Aug. 17, 1866; *Constitucional*, Jan. 28–9, Feb. 8, Mar. 2, 1868, with allusion to a pressure on France for Jecker's claim.

enthusiasm, however. On taking the vote the empire was upheld, but by a not very decided expression of confidence.[15]

Maximilian accepted. If deceived, as his sympathizers hastened to avow, he must have been blind indeed. The truth is, that pride and fancied honor bade him stay. He could less afford to recede now than after the conference at Orizaba. A proof of his miserable condition came at once in the desperate effort required to collect a forced loan of a million. Only a part of the sum was obtained, and a contribution of one per cent had to be imposed.[16] On the other hand, came news that Miramon had triumphantly penetrated to the capital of Zacatecas, and had nearly succeeded in capturing Juarez.[17]

Exultation was speedily checked, however. Miramon did not propose to advance farther in this direction with his present force. Satisfied with a forced

[15] Among the members present were the archbishop and the prelate of San Luis Potosí. There were 36 in all, of whom a bare majority sustained the empire, yet not without some wavering; the rest either abstained from voting or declared for abdication. Remembering that the council was composed almost wholly of friends of the ministry, whose interest it was to uphold the empire at any price, the value of the vote is obvious. Marquez said there were enough men and means to continue the fight; the present aspect was but a phase of civil war. Cortés y Esparza asked pertinently where the eleven millions could be found, and whether the 26,000 men were soldiers or only armed men. Aguirre declared that men could be levied and money extorted. Marin maintained that the country really desired imperial rule. Bazaine intimated that he had found it different, and impossible to gain the end in view with the superior forces at his command. The two prelates would not express an opinion on a point involving civil war. Both Rivera, *Hist. Jal.*, v. 703, and Domenech, *Hist. Mex.*, iii. 411, intimate a vote in the affirmative of two thirds. The *Ère Nouvelle*, Jan. 18, 1867, etc., after a full account of the proceedings, places the affirmative, against any change, at 25. *La Sociedad* gives the opposing vote at only 4 or 5; *Cronista* avoids figures. Kératry, 289, assumes that 4 only opposed the empire. See also *Lefèvre, Doc.*, ii. 362–3. *Pájaro Verde*, Jan. 17th, quotes briefly other journals. Arrangoiz, iv. 232–8, is non-committal, and wastes his pages on a vapid speech of Arango. 'Mismo dictámen,' is Maximilian's comments on the result. *Basch*, i. 165.

[16] The foreign representatives protested in vain, and alluded to the struggle as vain. See comments in *Constitucional*, Dec. 20, 1867. The finance measures proposed at Orizaba, as enumerated by *Basch*, i. 136–7, remained in abeyance.

[17] On Jan. 27, 1867. Gov. Auza was not sufficiently strong to resist the 2,500 men of Miramon, including 350 Frenchmen, and beat a retreat, covering the escape of Juarez. Republicans claim an orderly retreat with artillery. *Estrella de Occid.*, March 1, 1867. Not so imperialists. Salm-Salm, *Diary*, i. 35–6, speaks of French excesses. A large contribution was exacted. Aguascalientes had yielded without resistance. *Gonzalez, Hist. Aguas.*, 375.

contribution and the supposed diversion created among the republicans, he retired to join Castillo, who had made a movement toward San Luis Potosí.[18] Unfortunately for him, Escobedo, commanding the republican army of the north, divined his intentions and intercepted him at San Jacinto on the 1st of February, attacking with a skill and determination that led to a complete rout. Escobedo stained his achievement with the wanton execution of a vast number of prisoners, notably a hundred French soldiers.[19] Miramon arranged to join Castillo with a few followers and took refuge in Querétaro. Guanajuato had already fallen.[20] Morelia followed in the crash,[21] and now from Michoacan northward to the borders of San Luis Potosí the imperialists fell back to Querétaro, where the fortunes of the empire were to be decided.

In order to counteract the discouraging effect of Miramon's defeat and other disasters, Maximilian was persuaded to place himself at the head of the army, a

[18] Yet it has been generally assumed that the news of approaching troops led Miramon to retire. He would have been cut off had he remained.

[19] The blame for this was widely laid on Bazaine because of his recall of French soldiers who had enlisted under Maximilian, depriving of French protection those who remained. Escobedo excuses himself partly by pointing to excesses by these men at Zacatecas. *Arias, Reseña*, 114-18, 352. In this work is given a plan of the battle. Salm-Salm gives an elaborate account of needless cruelties attending the execution. *Diary*, i. 37-8. Miramon's brother Joaquin was shot, though half dead with wounds. The general had not counted on the improved discipline of the republicans. His own men were partly impressed, and many showed signs of defection; 700 of them were incorporated with the victorious army. *Diar. Imp.*, Feb. 6, 13, 1866, etc.; *Estrella, Voz*, etc. '(8e régiment de cavalerie) qui trahit,' bought by Escobedo. *D'Héricault, Max.*, 105-6; *Arellano, Ult. Horas*, 24-8.

[20] Captured Jan. 26th by Antillon and Rincon, Liceaga escaping with a remnant of his 600 or 800 men to Querétaro. The prisoners are variously given at from 150 to 400. *Estrella de Occid.*, Mar. 1, 1867, etc. Gen. Guzman was the new Juarist governor. *Arias, Reseña*, 103-7, 112. Herrera attacked Castillo on the way at La Quemada, and was defeated—an imprudence by which Escobedo failed to intercept the latter, and then capture Querétaro ere succor came. *Id.*, 122.

[21] Corona had compelled Chacon to evacuate Colima by honorable capitulation Feb. 1st. The 300 men chosen to accompany Chacon to the nearest imperial army deserted. In Michoacan Régules had in Jan. made Pátzcuaro his headquarters and begun to encircle Morelia after taking Zamora, whereupon Mendez thought it better to mass his troops with these collecting at Querétaro, influenced by the defeat of Miramon. He left Feb. 13th with nearly 4,000 men. *Hans, Queret.*, 9 et seq.; *Estrella de Occid.*, Mar. 15, 22, 29, 1867; *Diar. Imp.*, Feb. 20, etc.

step proper enough under the circumstances, although prompted by the ministry partly with a view of removing him to a distance, and drawing his attention from them and their assumed task of providing resources.[22] The emperor accordingly set out on the 13th of February with 1,600 men and twelve cannon, the Austrians being left behind for political reasons,[23] and to assist in holding the capital, which was deemed of vital importance.[24] Minister Aguirre, Marquez, and the traitor Lopez were among the party. The campaign fund scraped together for the occasion with great trouble amounted to $50,000—a munificent sum, truly, with which to sustain the impatient army waiting at Querétaro! And yet the ministers continued to hold up the golden prospects displayed at the late conference.

Lares remained, with his somewhat reconstructed cabinet,[25] in charge of affairs, the defense of the city being intrusted to General Tavera, late minister of war, aided by O'Horan as prefect. To this end the troops in Cuernavaca, Toluca, and other outlying

[22] Basch relieves Fischer and Baron Magnus from the charge of having influenced the step, but casts the blame especially on the 'plotting' Marquez. So do Arellano, *Ult. Horas*, 27, Peza, *Max.*, 18–19, and others; yet Marquez disclaims any hand therein. *Refut.*, 28–9. One of his motives is said to have been a desire for Miramon's loss of independent command. Lacunza, president of the council, and many leading people objected. *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iv. 249–50.

[23] To show that he now relied wholly on national arms. Basch, who is somewhat unreasonable on these points, accuses the ministry of seeking the Austrians for their own protection. The best among the troops were the municipal guards, containing a slight sprinkling of Austrians; half were unreliable recruits. *Peza y Pradillo, Max.*, 20, gives a list of Maximilian's force.

[24] Foreign representatives, said the ministry, would not recognize the government unless it held the capital. *Marquez, Refut.*, 33. Basch, *Erinn.*, i. 54–5, and others blame Marquez severely for letting the emperor depart so poorly provided.

[25] At the opening of the year it stood as follows: Lares, minister of justice and president; Marin, gobernacion; Mier y Teran, fomento; Pereda, in charge of foreign affairs; Aguirre, public instruction and worship; Campos in charge of finances, and T. Murphy of war. After the decision of Jan. 14th, several councillors resigned, and now Murphy received the foreign portfolio, Sanchez Navarro, the rich land-owner, became minister of the household, and Gen. Portilla figures after this as war minister. Fischer, who had replaced Pierron in the private cabinet, stayed at Mexico, while Ramirez, Escudero, Robles, and others hastened to leave the country, in view of the impending crash. See *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iv. 209–28, 239, 284; *Domenech, Hist. Mex.*, iii. 412.

points were withdrawn, giving them a garrison of 5,000 men, which could be swelled by further impressment. Puebla had half that number, under the aged Noriega, and another force stood locked up at Vera Cruz and in Yucatan.

Maximilian reached Querétaro on the 19th, and was received with the enthusiasm to be expected from one of the stanchest of imperial cities, and withal of

PLAN OF QUERÉTARO.

strong clerical proclivities.[26] The vicissitudes of war had restricted him to this spot as the most northerly rendezvous and headquarters, although a better one

[26] His party had two skirmishes on the way, one with Tragoso, near Cuautitlan, the other near Calpulalpan, in both of which Maximilian freely exposed himself to danger. Miramon and other generals came forth to meet him at Querétaro, and the city appeared in gala attire. During the reception ceremonies Gen. Escobar closed his speech with the declaration that posterity would undoubtedly bestow upon the emperor the glorious title of Maximilian the Great. *Basch*, ii. 2. Salm-Salm observes that Maximilian's horse stumbled on entering the place—omen enough to settle his fate.

might have been found. The place was picturesque, lying within a narrow valley, on the southern banks of the Rio Blanco, forming a quadrangle of houses about 8,000 feet in length by 4,000 in breadth, freely interspersed with conspicuous churches, chapels, convents, and a number of other fine edifices with gardens. It was not only the capital of the state bearing the same name, but one of the leading manufacturing places in the country, owing partly to its water power; and it sustained a population of nearly 40,000 souls. For strategic purposes, however, the situation was bad; for hills commanded it in every direction, and the river was fordable at more than one place.[27]

A few days after their arrival a review of the troops was held, showing 9,000 men with 39 cannon, including about 600 Frenchmen.[28] Miramon was placed at the head of the infantry, of which Castillo and Casanova received each a division, Mendez assuming command of the reserve brigade, in which Lopez served as colonel. Mejía became chief of the cavalry, Reyes of engineers, and Arellano of the artillery. To Marquez, chief of the general staff, was accorded the foremost place, greatly to the anger of Miramon.[29] Although a large portion of the troops consisted of raw and not very devoted recruits, forcibly enrolled, yet

[27] A striking feature was the massive aqueduct entering the eastern border. On the nothern bank lay the suburb San Luis, its gardens rising on the slopes of the range. For plan with military positions, see *Arias, Reseña*, 192. It once bore the term 'Ciudad levitica,' for its church tendencies.

[28] D'Héricault doubts if the number much exceeded 500. *Max.*, 112. Salm-Salm absurdly intimates that 'not less than 6,000' deserted from Bazaine's ranks before he reached Vera Cruz. *Diary*, i. 19, 42. The best Mexican infantry is said by him to have been the veterans of Mendez, and of the cavalry, the men who served under Vidaurri when he opposed the other parties. Peza, *Max.*, 29, declares the Empress and 5th the best. For details of Mendez' forces, see *Hans, Querét.*, 14 et seq.

[29] It was even announced in the council of Feb. 22d that Marquez should be the general-in-chief. Miramon made several remonstrances against being subordinate to Marquez, as he had been president of the republic, and superior to Marquez also in the army; yet he had served under the latter before. Trouble was avoided by Maximilian continuing to act as chief of the army. *Arellano, Ultimas Horas*, 33–7; *Marquez, Refut.*, 38–45; *Peza y Pradillo, Max.*, 25 et seq., give a roster, showing officers commanding battalions and regiments, and contradict Salm-Salm's version. They rate Marquez as quartermaster-general. Casanova was soon removed for inefficiency.

as a whole they presented a fair average enough, even among the officers, though too numerous, and of whose ability Salm-Salm and other foreigners speak slightingly

The brave and dashing Miramon, handsome in face, with mustache and imperial, and with a career almost unequalled for brilliancy at so early an age, for he was only in the middle of the thirties, made a good impression; but his military science was indifferent. So they said was that of Marquez, a keen-eyed little fellow, with sinister, swarthy face and full beard, and known for his cruelty as the Alva of Mexico. The loyal Mejía was a tawny, unprepossessing Indian, with high cheek-bones and an enormous mouth, surmounted by scanty bristles. He was a god among the natives of the adjoining Sierra Gorda, who called him by the endearing name of Don Tomasito. Mendez was also classed as an Indian. He was plump and rather handsome, devoted to the emperor and beloved by his soldiers, yet not free from cruelty. Unimposing in stature but daring in character, these men formed with Maximilian the so-called five magic M's of the empire.[30] The only soldier of acknowledged education was Severo Castillo, a thin, delicate man, almost deaf, cool in battle, and the best strategist among the Mexican generals. Good in his line was also the artillerist Arellano, a dark young man, agreeable and well educated. The most distinguished-looking of them all was Minister Aguirre, stanch and well-meaning, with a bent for religion. Their devotion to the emperor was not doubted, save in the case of Miramon, who stood suspected of ambitious plans.[31]

[30] *Basch*, i. 176. Maximilian had nicknames for all, partly to avoid uttering names. Miramon was known as the young general; Mejía, as the little dark one; Mendez, as the little stout one, etc. *Salm-Salm*, i. 124. Arias speaks highly of Mejía's military talent, of Mendez as a rude, severe soldier, and of Marquez as ferocious and persevering. *Reseña*, 107–8. See also *Lefèvre, Doc.*, i. 398–403. Peza, 13, objects to Salm's statement that Marquez figured best as an organizer of troops.

[31] Maximilian is also said to have remarked at this time that Miramon needed watching. *D'Héricault, Max.*, 114.

It was decided to demand from Mexico all the foreign troops, together with war material, ambulances, and money; but no response was made to the appeal. The ministry appeared intent on keeping everything for its own ends and safety.[32] Maximilian found it necessary to rely on himself, and appointed as minister of finance and war the experienced Vidaurri, a lank man of Yankee-looking exterior, about sixty years of age, who had acquired fame as the liberal ruler of New Leon, which he for a time maintained almost independent. Forced loans were levied with comparatively little trouble, and the troops kept in good humor.

This feeling was greatly promoted by the conduct of Maximilian, who gave his personal attention to almost every detail, mingling freely with the soldiers and citizens, in plain uniform or national garb, often joining the crowd, accepting a light for his cigar, and living like a poor officer in two simple rooms. He enjoyed walking unattended in the alameda, and could be seen in the evenings at a game of skittles. His coolness under fire excited general admiration. His commanding stature, and the never-absent field-glass, rendered him apparent to the foe, and in making his tour of inspection he became a target for their shots.[33]

In the first council held on the 22d of February, it had been apparently agreed to set forth and fight the approaching republicans in detail, before they should by combining prove too strong. This admirable resolution, which might have given victory to imperial arms, and achieved the conciliation project of Maximilian, was not acted upon, evidently by advice of the

[32] The only remittance made was a paltry $19,000. Maximilian reserved for the civil list only $10,000 a month. *Salm-Salm*, ii. 49. An offer was made to send cannon, etc., but on condition that troops from Querétaro advance half-way to receive them.

[33] 'Ich finde in der Kriegsführung einen grossen Reiz,' writes he to a friend. *Basch*, ii. 72, 24–5, 95–6. He attended the hospitals to soothe the sick, and personally inquired into the comforts of the soldiers.

all-influential Marquez. His reasons are not given. In case of defeat, Querétaro would still have served as a refuge.[34] And so the precious moments were allowed to glide by, the imperialists passively waiting till the Juarist forces had come up and invested the place with lines and batteries, shutting them up in their mouse-trap, as the emperor not inaptly began to term it. Now, when the dispiriting effect of a siege began to be felt, Marquez recommended that they should evacuate the city, beat a retreat to Mexico, and there with all available forces deliver battle to the united republican armies and settle the question at one cast This advice was not acted upon, partly owing to the demoralizing influence of a retreat and the danger of assault from the growing masses of pursuers, who already numbered 25,000 before Querétaro alone, including nearly a third of cavalry, not to mention the large forces which Diaz and other leaders could bring against the rear.[35]

On March 5th the republican forces appeared before Querétaro, and began to occupy positions, at first along the south and west line, extending later east and north, as additional troops arrived, and protected by the batteries established on the surrounding hills. They embraced the army of the north under Treviño,

[34] Hans, Basch, Salm-Salm, and others, all combine in blaming Marquez for this neglect. The quarrel then rising between him and Miramon is supposed by some to have contributed to it; yet the latter in subsequent council openly charges Marquez with the sole responsibility, and no satisfactory excuse was tendered. *Arellano*, 41–3; *Basch*, ii. 56. A letter signed somewhat later by the leading generals confirm Miramon's charge, and this Arias, *Reseña*, 215, also publishes.

[35] Marquez, who claims this as a brilliant plan, expected to have 17,000 to 20,000 men on reaching Mexico. He assumes that Mejía and Arellano alone opposed it, the latter secretly. Mejía urged that in case of a retreat, artillery and cumbrous baggage should be abandoned, and a mountain route taken. Vidaurri believed that Monterey would offer better advantages than Mexico for obtaining men and means. *Refut.*, 55–8. Maximilian preferred to gather confidence and try the foe by a series of sorties. *Arellano*, *Ultimas Horas*, 49. Marquez this time objected in vain, says Hans, *Quer.*, 68. Vidaurri's proposal for a campaign in the north had found utterance already on the way to Querétaro, in a proclamation by Maximilian to his army, wherein he also alluded to the inspiring sense of being freed from foreign pressure, and of being able to lift high their banner, *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iv. 250—reflections by no means pleasing to the French.

to whom Escobedo had relinquished the immediate command, the army of the west under Corona, and the army of the centre under Régules and Riva Palacio,[36] the latter being among later arrivals.

With the usual mixture of veterans and hastily drilled and impressed recruits, and a sprinkling of foreigners, notably Americans, these forces presented as fair an average as those of the imperialists, whom they exceeded in number by nearly two to one, already at the outset.[37] The northern army was the best in organization, and the troops from Sinaloa excelled in good arms, while those from Michoacan appeared the most neglected of all, although infused with the indomitable spirit of their energetic leader, Régules.[38]

[36] Treviño had two infantry divisions under Rocha y Arce, and a large body of cavalry under Aguirre. A third division under Aranda was placed with Corona, who also controlled the Sinaloa division under Vega, that of Jalisco under Manuel Marquez, and Régules' Michoacan forces. *Arias, Reseña*, 151–6.

[37] The estimates vary from 15,000 to 18,000. Although this number was more than doubled in the course of the siege, yet desertion and withdrawal reduced it to about 32,000 by the close, with 100 cannon. *Hans, Quer.*, 83.

[38] Hans intimates that the cavalry was imposing chiefly in number; but this expression may be due to the general feeling of contempt which one side sought to infuse against the other. Salm-Salm, *Diary*, i. 108, 265–6, speaks of maltreatment and neglect among the republicans, as reported by the men. They received only now and then a half of the promised pay of one real a day; their food was the invariable tortillas and frijoles, with thin coffee and cheap sugar; meat came rarely. Before battle a real and a glass of liquor served to cheer them. Those who complained were flogged, and close watch was kept to prevent desertion. While superior officers paraded in glittering uniforms, with heavy gold chains, subalterns stooped to importune prisoners and citizens for gifts, glad to accept even small coins.

Emil Graf Kératry, Kaiser Maximilian's Erhebung und Fall. Originalcorrespondenzen und Documente in geschichtlichem Zusammenhange dargestellt. Leipsic, 1867, 8°, pp. vi., 328. The greater part of this work was first published in Paris in the *Revue Contemporaine*. Several documents, not allowed to appear in that periodical, were inserted in the Leipsic editions—for it was also published in French at that city in the same year in 12° form. The volume contains a history of the intervention from the first causes down to the evacuation, and is a clear exposé of the unfortunate expedition. It is replete with valuable documents, and in his preface the author assures his readers that the greatest reliance can be placed on such as are in strange contradiction to public opinion, and at variance with political utterances. This assertion, he says, is guaranteed by the high reputation of the *Revue Contemporaine* for conscientious investigation and impartiality in regard to foreign matters under the management of Vicomte de Colonne. These documents bear on the relations that existed between Maximilian and Bazaine, and include correspondence with the U. S. government relating to the withdrawal of the French troops. Count Kératry, who was an aide-de-camp of Bazaine, speaks in complimentary terms of the army, which, he says, had little chance of displaying brilliancy of action in so vast a field. His language with respect

to Napoleon and the French government is different, and he exposes the double-faced policy of the former. Attention is also called to Maximilian's unlucky choice of advisers.

Kératry published in Paris the same year *L'Élévation et la chute de l'empereur Maximilien. Intervention française au Mexique 1861–1867.* Paris, 1867, 8°, pp. xx., 372. In 1868 there was published in London *The Rise and Fall of the Emperor Maximilian. A Narrative of the Mexican Empire 1861–67. From Authentic Documents. With the Imperial Correspondence.* By Count Émile de Kératry. Translated...by G. H. Venables. London, 1868, 12°, pp. viii., 312, plate. Other works by Kératry are, *La Créance Jecker, les indemnités françaises, et les imprunts Mexicains*, Paris, 1868, 8°, pp. 2, 158; and *La Contre-guérilla française au Mexique.* Seconde édition. Paris, 1869, 16°, pp. 4, 313.

Revista Filosófica de la Historia Política, Monterey, 1866, 8°, 96 pp. A philosophical review, or rather, a very sketchy account, of Mexican history from the Spanish conquest to the end of the French intervention, said to have been issued in New York by an American citizen. The present copy is a Spanish translation of the English original by I. G.

El Imperio y la Intervencion, n. p. n. d., 8°, pp. 83, contains particulars and documents relating to the intervention and the establishment of the empire. The last page bears the date Feb. 2, 1867, and is signed *Un Mexicano.* The writer was evidently a strong conservative, and defends Maximilian's policy, explains the reasons why monarchy ought to be preferred to a republican form of government in Mexico, and deprecates the withdrawal of the French troops, which, he says, was a dishonor to the court of Paris and a harm to Mexico. Fear of aggression on the part of the U. S. is the prominent feature in this production, and the author sums up the result of the French expedition by remarking that it had left the U. S. more arrogant, the Mexicans more divided, French interests more insecure, the influence of France nullified in the new world, her debt increased, and her arms less respected. pp. 81–2.

Charles D'Héricault—Maximilien et Mexique—Histoire des Derniers Mois de l' Empire Mexicain, Paris, 1869, 12°, pp. 419. The author, an uncompromising supporter of the intervention, regards it and all events connected with it from a thoroughly French point of view. He denounces the execution of Maximilian, which, he says, was instigated by savage feelings of hatred, and not by patriotic desire to save Mexico. He compares the Mexicans with the Apaches in ferocity and rapacity, but admits that among them there are great characters of pure and elevated sentiments. After the fall of Maximilian he could see no future for the country. Liberty and independence, he says, can no longer be spoken of in reference to Mexico. By liberty was meant the right to overthrow a government that was not ready to make promotions to any desired extent; by republicanism was meant the right to impose a forced loan on a town the morning after losses at monte; and by independence the right to impress and arm hordes of Indians whenever the spirit of warfare or pillage instigated. D'Héricault predicts that Mexico will be gradually absorbed by the U. S., which he speaks of with much bitterness. He reviews the consequences of the intervention to France, and sketches a vivid picture of the humiliating failure, in every respect, of the expedition. Then he discusses the causes of the failure, attributing them to the blindness and want of prevision of the French government, which did not recognize the difficulties attending the conquest of an extensive country like Mexico, with its great diversity of physical features, and its inhabitants of a warlike character but wanting in compactness, thereby precluding their subjugation by one great victory. As a climax to these difficulties was the jealous attitude of the U. S. and the pressure applied by that nation. The French government, D'Héricault remarks, instead of having espoused the Confederate cause when the North was weak, insidiously bit its talons when it had become strong. His work includes the period from the autumn of 1866 to the departure from Mexico of

the last French soldiers in Feb. 1867. The 22d chapter is devoted to reflections on the expeditions of which the above is an outline.

J. Passama Domenech—L' Empire Mexicain, La Paix et les Intérêts du Monde. Mexico, Setiembre 1866, 8°, 98 pp. The author enters into an explanation of the advantages of establishing a monarchy in Mexico and thereby securing its independence, which he considers to be a necessity for the peace and interests of the world. He discusses the Monroe doctrine, which he pronounces to be a law of despotism on the part of the U. S. over the rest of America, and an attack on the rights of European nations. The attitude of the U. S. towards Mexico, and their gradual absorption of her territory, next occupy his attention. Domenech declares the empire to be the only counterbalance to their aggressive intentions and a solution of the Mexican question, and maintains that France ought to sustain it, and not evacuate the country. He argues that there would be nothing to fear from a war with the northern republic.

CHAPTER XIII.

IMPERIALISM CAGED.

1867.

Mariano Escobedo—His Physique and Character—Imperial Lines—Skirmishing—Convento de la Cruz—Marquez Sent to Mexico—New Ministry—Miramon—Besiegers Reënforced—Assaults and Repulses—Maximilian Decorated for Bravery—Starvation—Marquez Suspected of Treachery—Salm-Salm Prepares to Go in Search of Him—Plans to Break through the Lines Defeated.

Mariano Escobedo, who held the chief command of the besieging forces at Querétaro, was a lean man of fair stature, forty years of age, with a dark complexion, full black beard, and enormous ears, which had procured for him the nickname of Orejon. He had served with credit since his first enlistment during the United States invasion of 1847–8, and displayed considerable administrative ability; he had also earned a reputation for severity, united with a decided aversion for foreigners, and a temper that easily exploded under provocation. His blemishes were offset by strong patriotic instincts and rare unostentatiousness.[1] Second to him stood the equally severe Corona, a fine-looking man, somewhat bronzed in visage, whose

[1] Although belonging to a wealthy family, says Arias, his mind had not been directed to learning. He possessed a good imagination, with much practical sagacity; his habits were temperate. *Reseña*, 145–6, etc. He was born at Galeana, Nuevo Leon, Jan. 12, 1827, and had been devoted to trade from an early age—muleteering, say others, followed by a superficial reading of law. During the reform war he was captured, and narrowly escaped execution. He shared as brigadier in the defence of Puebla, 1862. Foreign writers return his antipathy by alluding to his ferocity, as in *Salm-Salm*, wherein he is declared to be little of a soldier, and careful of his person. *Diary*, i. 202; ii. 113. D'Héricault commends his 'art d'achetér les généraux ennemis.' *Max.*, 70. Hans says he resembled a Jew trader. *Quer.*, 75.

vivacious energy had raised him foremost among north-western soldiers.[2]

Régules was a Basque who had served under Don Cárlos as sergeant. Riva Palacio stood distinguished for ability both with sword and pen, and the humane sentiments conveyed in his poetry he practised as a soldier. Treviño, tall and of fair complexion, also possessed a heart and an admirable integrity. Antillon of Guanajuato, Echeagaray, so prominent ten years before, Paz, the artillerist, Velez and Rocha, old companions of Miramon, Guadarrama, Juan Mendez, Joaquin Martinez, Aureliano Rivera, Jimenez, and the flighty Carbajal figured among the ablest leaders, under whom ranged the usual disproportionate mass of inferior officers, who, in guerrilla or militia service, or by intrigue, had acquired titles, from general down, which they flaunted with no small bravado. The imperial officers could safely be rated a grade higher as military men, on an average, and the record of their four leading generals with the initial M could hardly be equalled so far by the leaders of the siege.

The imperialists, who at first extended their batteries to the slopes of San Gregorio, soon confined their north line along the southern bank of the river, from Cerro de la Campana, an oblong hill some seventy feet high, which formed the western apex of the defences, to the eastern line skirting the slight elevation on which rose the Convento de la Cruz. Thence the line of fortifications ran parallel to the

[2] Born at Tuscueca, Jalisco, and employed in a hacienda shop near Acaponeta about the time that the reform struggle began. Inspired by some guerrillas, he abandoned trade for fighting, and with intelligence and bravery rose rapidly. He affected great simplicity, and for a long time dressed in a red cotton shirt, with a red band round his hat. *Diaz, Biog.*, MS., 500–2. Vigil and Híjar speak of him as 'administrador de una negociacion de minas,' when in 1858, at the age of 21, he was induced to join a small party which seized Acaponeta from the then triumphant conservatives, and began a reaction for the liberal cause. Corona rose rapidly from a petty officer. *Ensayo*, 1–5 et seq. Marquez de Leon, *Mem. Post.*, MS., 139, is severe upon his father's character. He applied himself to study in leisure moments, and passed among many as educated in Paris.

river, along the southern edge of the town, turning from its south-west corner toward the Cerro de la Campana. Only a part of the walls and earthworks had been constructed before the siege began, and the remainder had to be done often under a galling fire. The southern and western lines were more regular; but elsewhere house-walls and barricades formed a considerable part of them, and wholly so for interior lines. The elevations of La Cruz figured as the key to the place, the points next in importance being the bridge of Miraflores street, crossing the centre of the town, the Campana hill and the Pueblito gate at the south-east corner, where rose the strongest batteries.[3]

The hills surrounding these lines, and commanding the entire town, had, with the exception of San Gregorio, been passively left to the Juarists for their batteries, with which they soon began to rake the place.[4]

Skirmishing begins a few days after the arrival of the besiegers, a score or two of horsemen approaching from either side and commencing at long range with volleys of epithets, one seeking to excel the other in this species of savagism, varying it at times with a shrill vibrating cry. Soon the bravest gallop forward a distance, discharge their rifles, and turn rapidly back. Others imitate them, until they tire or till the loose firing inflicts some harm. The party first to retreat is generally pursued by the other, and the latter as readily takes to flight in case of a rally by the pursued. The republicans having extended their lines eastward, the emperor passed on the 13th of March from Cerro de la Campana, and his headquarters became henceforth the Convento de la Cruz, the centre point for attacks, and exposed especially to the battery on Cuesta

[3] Several other lines of guns appeared at different points. See *Salm-Salm*, i. 49, 77, etc. In *D'Héricault, Max.*, 151–6, is given a detailed account of the line of defences, and several other books bring in descriptions when referring to siege operations, as *Peza* and *Pradillo, Max.*, 31, etc.

[4] The abandonment of San Pablo, on the north side, was especially regretted, and an abortive attempt made to seize it on the 10th of March. A skirmish on the following day procured for Salm-Salm the colonelcy of the cazadores regiment.

China.[5] The convent had once been occupied as a a Franciscan propaganda fide college, famed throughout the north, and dating from the days of Cortés.[6] It was a stone edifice of great strength, standing at the lower end of the convent-grounds, which were enclosed by heavy stone walls, and had at its higher eastern extreme a somewhat smaller but equally strong building known as the pantheon, the burial-place of the convent.

The following day the republicans made a general attack on the town, in three divisions, against the bridge of Miraflores, the convent, and the line west of the Alameda, a fourth movement against the Campana hill being a feint. The assaults were executed almost simultaneously under cover of batteries; the cavalry being directed against the south side, there Mejía received them with similar forces, driving them back in disorder. A second attack resulted still worse, and in the pursuit the reserve was overthrown with great slaughter. Castillo defended the bridge line with equal spirit, the cazadores distinguishing themselves, and earning the title of zouaves of Mexico; but the summit of San Gregorio was nevertheless occupied by the opponents, under the direction of Treviño. The main struggle took place at the convent, however. The pantheon having most unaccountably been left unprotected,[7] it was carried at the first advance, and turned to advantage by the republicans. The importance of this commanding structure now became evident to the negligent imperialists, and Marquez led in the struggle to recover it. In this he succeeded, although at no small sacrifice. By five o'clock the repulse was concluded at all points; and it is not unlikely that with a more sustained effort to follow up

[5] Arellano inveighs against what he called this useless and criminal exposure of the imperial person.

[6] The name came from a miraculous cross erected here in commemoration of the conquest. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 543–4, this series.

[7] Another evidence of Marquez' hellish design to sacrifice Maximilian and the empire, says the rabid Arellano. *Ultimas Horas*, 60–1.

advantages the besieged might have obtained better results. As it was, the day cost them about 600 lives, while the more exposed republicans counted their losses above a thousand, including several hundred prisoners.[8]

Then followed days of inaction,[9] during which the besiegers hemmed in the town closer than ever, afterward directing their batteries against the houses. At first the inhabitants kept in retirement as much as possible, but gradually they became so used to the whizzing messengers that the women and children returned to their accustomed haunts, notwithstanding the casualties, and the cafés were thronged with newsmongers, especially after a day's struggle.

Marquez again brought to bear upon Maximilian his project for a retreat to Mexico, sustained to some extent by Mendez and Mejía, who felt discouraged at the prospect of a long siege;[10] but Miramon and others stoutly opposed him in a council held on the

[8] Arias admits 264 killed, 272 wounded, and 419 captured and missing. The report in *Bol. Noticias*, April 12th, says 750 captives. For details, see *Arellano, Ult. Horas*, 56–65; *Peza* and *Pradillo, Max.*, 33–8; *Hans, Quer.*, 89–98; *Salm-Salm, Diary*, i. 56–72, with special attention to the bridge fight; *Marquez, Refut.*, 69–4. Medals and promotions now came freely, and Salm-Salm claims to have obtained the command of a brigade for his share, but this Peza denies. The general of division, Casanova, and the brigadiers Herrera and Calvo, were removed for inefficiency, or rather because they were Miramon's friends, says Arellano, the enemy of Marquez. Arias avoids disagreeable details, and in *Vigil* the account is too partial.

[9] A proposal to act upon the demoralization among the besiegers before they received further reënforcements was opposed by Marquez, yet Miramon carried his point for a movement to recover the hill of San Gregorio, although it was deferred for the 17th. When the time arrived for the sally, a false alarm came that the convent was threatened, and confusion during the march of the reserves arose to prevent the manœuvre, greatly to the disgust of Miramon, who felt sure of a triumph. *Hans, Quer.*, 108–9. Maximilian was equally angry, and caused Mendez to be transferred from the reserves and placed under Miramon direct, in command of Casanova's late division. The traitor Lopez was promoted to the reserve. Arellano, *Ult. Horas*, 74, claims that both the failure of the movement and the change of commanders were part of Marquez' plot. The latter ridicules the whole charge, and declares that he objected to Lopez. Basch, *Erinn.*, ii. 52, writes that Miramon was allowed to oversleep himself, and thus he failed to coöperate, adds Arrangoiz. *Méj.*, iv. 275.

[10] Arellano maintains that Maximilian had been persuaded to prepare for evacuation, but that Miramon, and above all himself, managed to overrule the 'suicidal' plan. 'Behold their wisdom!' observes Marquez, in alluding to the fall of Querétaro and its results.

20th of March, in which it was finally resolved to continue the defence, taking advantage of every favorable opportunity for attack, and seek reënforcements from Mexico.[11]

The latter task was intrusted to Marquez, with full power to act as he thought best; and to this end he was appointed lugarteniente, *locum tenens*, of the emperor.[12] The ministry which had shown so little desire to carry out its promises was to be reconstructed. The loyal and able Vidaurri should formally assume the finance portfolio, together with the presidency, assisted by Iribarren, who was to take charge of the interior and fomento departments. Of the existing ministers, Portilla, Murphy, and Aguirre were confirmed, the latter assuming charge also of Lares' portfolio of justice.[13] At the same time Maximilian

[11] In a copy of the original proceedings published by Salm-Salm, it is shown that five projects were submitted: to retreat with artillery and train; to retreat with army alone, spiking the guns and leaving the war material; to continue the defence with the whole army; to send half the force to Mexico for reënforcements wherewith to compel an abandonment of the siege; and last, to let one general as commander-in-chief attack the enemy with all the army, save a small reserve for guarding the emperor. The latter was Arellano's view, although he also advocated the final plan. There was plenty of ammunition for a considerable time. Mendez refused to express any opinion. Castillo and Mejía favored a defensive attitude for some time, but after an attack by the foe, their repulse should be availed of for gaining an advantage. Vidaurri added that attention should be given to destroy the besieging lines to the west so as to secure the way for a later retreat. These last views were approved by Miramon and Marquez, the latter alluding, like Mejía, also to the need of reënforcements. The emperor now rejoined the council and sided with the latter, whereupon it was resolved to disembarrass the left wing of the Cerro de la Campana, to direct the mounted guerrillas against the rear of the enemy, to consider the question of reënforcements and funds. *Diary*, i. 80–7. Arellano, 80–97, who acted also as secretary to the council, gives the report less fully. He states that Marquez prevailed upon Maximilian to let him go to Mexico. Marquez claims that his proposed retreat was a strategic movement to draw the foe from an advantageous position to a field where the imperialists with increased force might have crushed them. *Refut.*, 81. Maximilian speculated afterward that, victory achieved with the aid of reënforcements from Mexico, he would establish the government in the centre of the country, evidently Guanajuato, and there summon the projected congress. 'Nach Nueva Leon...eine Stadt,' writes Basch, ii. 73, somewhat confusingly —meaning no doubt Leon, not the capital of Nuevo Leon, though he repeats the latter form.

[12] Marquez gives a copy of the commission, 'investido de plenos poderes segun las órdenes verbales que ha recibido.' *Refut.*, 200.

[13] Navarro also remained as head of the household, but only for a while, Salm-Salm obtaining this office. See p. 226 for composition of ministry hitherto. Basch, *Erinnerungen*, ii. 53–4. Arrangoiz, *Méj.*, iv. 278, 284, defends the dismissed members, and asks if Vidaurri achieved anything more

provided for a case of captivity by an abdication, and for a possible death by appointing as regents Vidaurri, Lacunza, and Marquez, who should be governed by the organic statute of the empire, and convoke the congress, by which the form of government must be determined.[14] Marquez should strain every nerve to obtain funds, war material, and men, and he might abandon Mexico if thought best; but Querétaro must be reënforced—this was a matter of the very first importance.[15]

tnan Lares. Arellano, who again hints at Marquez' machinations in this change, is not well informed about the appointments.

[14]As soon as the congress could be installed the regency expired. Marquez should act as chief of the army till the regency met. As substitute regents were named Lares, Mejía, and Councillor Linares. This document is dated March 20th. Several copies have been published. Those in *Arrangoiz*, iv. 324, and *Masseras*, 425–9, differ somewhat in form. In *Hall's Life Max.*, 183, is given only the earlier draught of the document of March 11th, naming Lares instead of Vidaurri. Masseras has wrong dates, and many copies give May instead of March. Lacunza failed to publish the abdication in due time, instigated by the false reports of Arellano, says Marquez, 197. Many confound this with the regency document, and others, like Masseras, conclude that it never existed, but a solemn assurance was made before the later court-martial that it did. *Max.*, *Causa*, and *Lefèvre*, *Docs*, ii. 442. See also Palacio's statement in *Max.*, *Mem.*, 9–11. The date given by Marquez to his appointment as lugarteniente is March 19th, which, if correct, would indicate that he had prevailed on Maximilian to take the present step before the council met.

[15]Marquez denies that his instructions, wholly verbal, required him to return with reënforcements, as generally declared. He was to hold Mexico as the capital, and as a centre in case Querétaro fell, sending to Maximilan funds and war material, and reports, so that he could receive further orders. His sole statement, however, is opposed by overwhelming testimony on the other side. See his *Refut.*, 93–7, and *Manifiesto*. Maximilian's instructions at this time to Navarro indicate that Mexico might be left less protected, and that his archives and other valuable effects should in such a case be placed with Marquez and the army, except such as could impede the movement of the troops, Schaffer, the officer in charge of the palace, having to bring the effects most needed for a long campaign. A letter to this Schaffer, written by dictation to Basch, indicate still more strongly that Mexico might be left wholly without troops, in which case Schaffer and others would accompany Marquez and his army, 'bringing to this place' (Querétaro) certain needful effects. This 'bringing' is repeatedly mentioned. These remarks do not exactly define what option Marquez had, but they prove that his own declaration is false. See full text of letters in *Basch*, ii. 60–4; *Arrangoiz*, iv. 280–3. Basch adds, he knows for a certainty that Marquez was instructed 'in any case to return with aid to Querétaro,' 'was in 14 Tagen geschehen musste;' his only option being to take all or a part of the troops at Mexico. ii. 54–67. Marquez states that it was understood he should go to Puebla from Mexico, but the absurd manner in which he seeks to prove this side issue tends only to confirm his unworthiness of belief. Salm-Salm declares that he was forbidden to undertake any other expedition than to bring troops from Mexico, and before all the generals assembled, Marquez 'gave his word of honor to return to Querétaro within a fortnight, coûte que coûte.'

In order to distract the attention of the besiegers, Miramon, on the 22d of March, led an expedition down the valley, which captured a quantity of provisions.[16] This enabled Marquez to depart unobserved during the night, across the hills to the south, with 1,200 horsemen,[17] and attended by the new prime minister, Vidaurri. The well-instructed Castillo took Marquez' place at Querétaro,[18] and Miramon, now acknowledged as the leading general, rapidly gained favor and influence with the emperor.

With the additional inroads of desertion and bullets,

Diary, i. 91. But this open promise is doubtful. Salm-Salm was not at the council. Peza and Pradillo assert, however, that at parting Maximilian in presence of several witnesses said: '¡ General; no olvide vd. que el Imperio se encuentra hoy en Querétaro !'—' Descuide V. M.; antes de quince dias estaré de vuelta,' was the answer. *Max.*, 110. The united declaration of the leading generals at a later council twice alludes to a relieving army from Mexico, which might be abandoned, Marquez' chief mission being to return to Querétaro with all the troops possible, Maximilian having confided to Marquez the glorious mission 'de venir á auxiliar,' for which sufficed '15 ó 20 dias para llegar.' *Arias*, 217, 220. This seems most conclusive testimony, confirmed also by Lago, to whom among others Maximilian related his instructions to Marquez. *Domenech, Hist. Mex.*, iii. 437. Arellano, the bitter enemy of the general, weakens it, however, by intimating that the plans of Marquez were to be kept a secret even from the other generals, and that no combination was arranged for operating against the besiegers. *Ultimas Horas*, 97. Marquez naturally takes advantage of this to state that as none knew his instructions, he cannot be accused. It might also be supposed that Maximilian's revelations to Basch and others were intended for effect to inspire confidence. Nevertheless there can be no doubt that whatever Marquez had to do, he certainly had to send or bring reënforcements of men as well as funds and material. This becomes evident from the subsequent attempt to send after Marquez and arrest him, and from the very fact that the already meagre garrison was despoiled of its best troops to aid Marquez in the plan for relief—a plan which could not have meant operations in the southern districts where Diaz was. Maximilian's projects for a congress, in the center of the country, and his orders for bringing archives and valuables from Mexico to Querétaro, show that the latter was now regarded as the key-point. Marquez' evident fabrications should therefore have been made to prove that he was unable to bring or send the required troops, etc. As for his motives, the desire for bitter vengeance—for what is not explained—attributed by Arellano, resolves itself rather into strategic efforts, with blunders and overweening ambition to retain the autocratic position of *locum tenens*, etc.

[16] According to Basch, 22 wagons of provisions and war material, 60 oxen, and 200 sheep and goats; but Peza, *Max.*, 46, reduces them to 6 wagons and some goats. The large train reported by spies had been mostly distributed by this time. Salm-Salm claims great credit for his share in the sally. *Diary*, i. 87–90; which Peza disputes.

[17] Including Quiroga's regiment, from Nuevo Leon, and No. 5, 1,100 men, says Salm-Salm. The bronze medal for military merit was fastened on his breast as he left. *Arellano, Ult. Horas*, 99.

[18] Valdez succeeding to his division.

the garrison was soon reduced to less than 7,000 men,[19] while the besieging forces were at this time increased by the arrival of Riva Palacio, Martinez, and others with nearly 10,000 men.[20] Thus strengthened, they made another determined assault on the 24th, this time only against the south line, between the Alameda and the Pueblito corner gate, defended so far by the cavalry, for the fortifications were not completed. The newly arrived troops were mainly employed under the direction of Corona, second in command. After a simulated charge, and amidst the play of batteries from every direction, Martinez' column fell upon the line immediately west of the Alameda; but Miramon was here, assisted by Mendez, and erelong it was driven back in disorder, with the loss of numerous prisoners.[21] Meanwhile Riva Palacio had with still larger force moved against the Casa Blanca, the main point of attack. Mejía directed the reduced cavalry with great spirit, notwithstanding a severe wound in the face, and succeeded in repelling the first charge. The republican officers bravely rallied them, however, and onward they rushed, carrying all before them. It was a critical moment; but Arellano saw the danger, and hastened in person to direct the guns upon the densest masses. The effect was overwhelming. Once more the attacking column wavered, giving time for reënforcements to come up from the now liberated Alameda; and then the cavalry led the return charge by the imperialists with resistless impulse, with the inspiring cry of 'Viva el emperador!' It was an acknowledged and costly defeat for the

[19] Salm-Salm fixes it as low as 6,500.

[20] They arrived March 23d, the other generals being Juan Mendez and Martinez. Arrangoiz, 285, names the subordinate Jimenez and Velez, and Salm-Salm gives Carbajal instead of Mendez. He now estimates the liberal force at 'above 40,000,' with 70 to 80 guns. *Diary*, i. 92. Basch, 68, who confirms this number from deserters' statements, places the forces brought by Palacio and Martinez at 2,800 and 5,000 respectively; Arias, while avoiding numbers for Martinez, allows Mendez 2,500 men. *Ensayo*, 163–5. Arellano, 110–11, places the imperialists at a little below 7,000 and the republicans at over 30,000.

[21] Taken mainly by Col Gonzalez with his Emperatriz regiment.

republicans, who admitted a loss of 2,000 in killed and wounded, besides several hundred prisoners.[22]

Arellano, whose prompt and spirited action had probably saved the day, was made a general, and the rare bronze medal for valor was bestowed upon the leading officers, gold and silver medals being distributed among the lower ranks. At the conclusion of this ceremony, Miramon took a bronze medal and asked permission of the emperor to decorate him in the name of the army, as worthy above all to receive the token, for his fearless conduct, noble endurance, and self-denying and sympathizing participation in the dangers and hardships of his soldiers. Deeply affected, Maximilian accepted it, and wore the medal ever after as the most valued of his decorations.[23]

After this the republicans decided to waste no more blood in regular assaults, but to await the fall of the securely invested city by starvation, while submitting it to a continual bombardment. The latter proved not an unalloyed torment, however, for the missiles were welcomed by the besieged as additions to their scanty war material, rewards being paid to those who brought them in.[24] The energetic Arellano, chief of artillery, had established factories for powder and projectiles, assisted by the stock of raw material in the warehouses, and by that obtained from church-bells,

[22] Arias places the latter at 'mas de 200.' *Ensayo*, 170. The repulse of Palacio, not acknowledged as a defeat, was attributed as a consequence of Martinez' rout. Basch, ii. 71, puts the captives at 400, and Salm-Salm the dead at 1,500, the imperial losses being comparatively small, owing to the position of the republican lines, which prevented a free play of their fire-arms, and to their reliance on the bayonet. *Diary*, i. 98–9. He speaks highly of Malburg's charge with a body of cavalry. Riva Palacio alone is assumed to have brought 10,000 men against the Casa Blanca line.

[23] So far he had worn the knight cross of the Guadalupe and Eagle orders. The medal was accompanied by an appropriate letter signed by the commanding generals. *Basch, Erin.*, ii. 78–9, 92–3. On the 24th an attack had also been made on the convent, which the emperor repulsed, not without danger, for a grenade exploded close to him. On such occasions he bore himself with a coolness that surprised the bravest. Arellano speaks very modestly of his own deed, *Ultimas Horas*, 109; but Hans, *Quer.*, 120, among others, accords due credit.

[24] At the rate of two reales for cannon-balls, says Basch. Salm-Salm, i. 75, allows a dollar for shells and half a dollar for a shot.

roof covering, and other sources.[25] Work at the fortifications was carried forward with increased activity; and to this end were impressed the prisoners, and also citizens,[26] who had often to expose themselves to heavy fire, especially from American sharpshooters.[27]

The troublesome proximity of the besiegers on the north side[28] induced Miramon to make an attack upon them before dawn on the 1st of April; but while the cazadores pushed their way to the very summit of San Gregorio, and gained a decided advantage, capturing two guns, they were not properly supported by the other forces, and the movement proved futile.[29] An equally vain and costly attack was undertaken against the Garita de Mexico, east of the Convento de la Cruz,[30] the day after celebrating the anniversary of Maximilian's acceptance of the throne.[31]

Notwithstanding the boastful tone of the speeches on this occasion, it may be imagined that their spirit was rather forced, and mainly owing to the absence of news from Marquez. Everybody had felt confident that the expected reënforcements would arrive within a fortnight, but three weeks had passed without a sign. The numerous enemies of the general began

[25] Caps were made from stiff paper, *Arellano*, 109–10, and the cannon were promptly repaired. For funds granted him, etc., see *Quer.*, *Caida*, 173–8.

[26] Between the ages of 16 and 60, says Lefèvre, *Docs*, ii. 384, who exaggerates the severity used. Hans, 124–6, states that Maximilian interfered to spare the prisoners from exposure.

[27] Such as Green's legion of honor.

[28] Two slight attacks had been made on the Miraflores bridge on the 25th and 26th, under the direction of Antillon, subordinate to Mendez, who commanded the north line, Treviño having now taken charge of the west line. *Arias*, *Reseña*, 171–3.

[29] Arias admits a defeat for Antillon, and a heavy loss, but the final result was that the republicans advanced their lines. *Ensayo*, 172–4. Salm-Salm, i. 110–18, 124, who led the cazadores, intimates that he was left in the lurch by Miramon; and the frequency with which the latter exposed him and his men roused a suspicion that the foreigners were to be sacrificed. Peza and Pradillo, 52–5, attribute the failure to Salm-Salm's disobedience of orders.

[30] The line was held by Riva Palacio. Jimenez repulsed the attack. *Arias*, 177. Salm-Salm had remonstrated. Peza and Pradillo agree. The object was to favor the departure of couriers. *Hans*, *Quer.*, 130.

[31] In the speeches on this occasion the empire was still declared to be the choice of the people; Mexico had not been deceived in Maximilian. The latter assured his adherents that a Hapsburg would never desert his post in danger—a somewhat difficult thing to do at this juncture. *Basch*, ii. 85–8. Perhaps the subsequent sally was part of the celebration, snarls Arias.

openly to hint at treachery, and to rouse suspicion even among his adherents, Maximilian not excepted.[32] More than one messenger had been sent to communicate with him, but the corpses left conspicuously dangling by the besiegers created a fear that none had penetrated their lines.

Days passed in ever-increasing suspense; eyes and ears strained in vain for the sound of battle in the rear, which should prove the welcome signal. At last it was decided to send a leading officer in search of him, attended by a picked band of horsemen. The task was dangerous; for, aware of all movements, Escobedo kept close guard, and had not only warned republican leaders in all directions to watch especially the route to Mexico, but he had detached considerable forces to check the advance of any relief expedition.[33] Mejía being too ill to move, the mission was intrusted to Prince Salm-Salm and General Moret, with instructions to return at once with reënforcements and funds, the former being secretly charged to arrest Marquez and evacuate Mexico if desirable.[34] They

[32] Several times he was caught with a half-checked utterance of doubt. Basch, ii. 54–5, 65; and Salm-Salm, i. 31–2, etc., now remembered more than one instance when Marquez had been found by them with sinister, conscience-stricken countenance, doubtless laying the devilish plots of which Arellano is foremost to accuse him.

[33] Olvera was even then holding forth in the mountains north-westward, with fully 1,000 men, but checked by a republican column; Diaz and other generals round Mexico were observing Marquez, and Guadarrama had advanced with 4,000 cavalry to meet him. *Arias, Reseña*, 171–2.

[34] Miramon and Arellano urged Maximilian to start with 1,000 cavalry, but honor and duty bade him stay. Moret was proposed by Miramon as a personal friend, much against Maximilian's wishes. Miramon had to be courted, and so it was decided to send both, with equal command, but the former received merely instructions to find Marquez and return with him and his troops, while Salm-Salm carried additional secret instructions, with orders to Marquez to place at the disposal of the prince all cavalry in and round Mexico, or on the way to Querétaro. With this he was to return within 24 hours, unless Marquez promised to come to their relief. At least $200,000 must be brought, including the emperor's private money. He might arrest Moret if he thought best, and also Marquez, should the reports of his treason prove reliable. The European troops at Mexico must obey him alone, and Olvera, then in the Sierra Gorda, should give him his cavalry. The diplomatic corps should be invited to send some of their members to Querétaro to induce the Juarists to act humanely, and to announce that the emperor would not yield unless he could surrender his commission to a legal congress. The public should be cheered with good news, and Vidaurri and Marquez alone informed of the true state of affairs. It was to be stated that all the generals

made the attempt early one morning to break through the lines in the direction of Sierra Gorda, but seemingly informed of the project, the republicans mustered in such force as to defeat it.[35]

This failure increased the discouragement, and several officers manifested it so far as to write to Mejía, urging negotiations for surrender. The prompt arrest of the leaders served to check a desire which seems to have been wide-spread.[36] Shortly after, as if in accord with the other, came a proposal from Escobedo for capitulation, offering to let Maximilian depart; but it was rejected,[37] with the assurance that there was no lack of resources, of which proof was tendered in a lively reply to the bombardment.[38] This was intended also to distract the attention of the

had desired the emperor to leave Querétaro with all the cavalry. Mexico should be abandoned if all the troops there were needed for the relief. Salm-Salm might negotiate with the republican leaders. Decorations and a mass of private effects were to be brought. *Salm-Salm, Diary*, i. 135–40. Basch, who wrote out the instructions, gives them less fully, *Erin.*, ii. 97, 102, but he adds at length a letter to the U. S. consul Otterburg, presenting certain cruel deeds of the republicans, and urging more humane treatment, like that accorded to the 600 prisoners at Querétaro. The letters are dated April 16th and 17th. See also *Arrangoiz*, iv. 291–7; *Globo*, July 28, 1867; and *Arellano*, 114–24. The latter adds that the proposal for Maximilian to leave, made on April 11th, was intended to save him. If no aid could reach the remaining troops, they would then break through. The illness of Mejía delayed the project for eight days. On the 19th the council finally determined as above, the town having to be held till news came from Mexico, or till all resources were exhausted. Marquez accuses Miramon and Arellano of a desire to get rid of Maximilian at any cost, exposing him to rout and death in the effort to break through the lines. *Refutacion*, 121–8.

[35] Salm-Salm suspects that the traitor Lopez had already begun his machinations, but he blames especially Moret, who led the van, for his indecision at a moment when the break might have been effected, and he hints at more than carelessness in Miramon for selecting him. A daring guerrilla named Zuazua did penetrate with about 50 men, and Peza and Pradillo point to this as proof that the prince failed in energy and duty on the occasion. *Max.*, 59–60. There seems to be some truth in what they say. Salm-Salm indicates that the attempt was made after midnight on the 18th, but Basch says the 22d; others are divided.

[36] Mejía and Mendez are said to have been in favor of capitulating. *Arellano*, 128. The object of the letter to Mejía, sent by 15 officers, says Salm-Salm, may have been to sound the prospects. Those arrested were Gen. Ramirez, Col Rubio, and Maj. Adame. At this time Maximilian was startled by the report that Miramon intended to arrest him; but even Salm-Salm doubts it.

[37] Made on April 1st. *Basch*, ii. 102–3.

[38] Especially on April 24th, from the new fortifications at the convent, attended by a sally. Ammunition was plentiful enough so far, thanks to Arellano's energy.

soldiers and citizens, to whom crumbs of comfort were distributed in the form of fabricated news, amidst ringing of bells, of important victories by Marquez.

As if in derision of the effort came seemingly reliable news of the annihilation of Marquez' forces and the fall of Puebla. This was naturally kept a secret among the most trusted officers[39] of Maximilian, who now began to entertain the project of fighting his way out with the army. Preparatory for this, Miramon planned an attack on the Cimatario hill, commanding the south line of the town, and early on the 27th of April he advanced against it with about 2,000 men, another less strong column being led by Castillo against the Garita de Mexico, to divide the opponents. So unexpected and determined was the charge, that the republicans fell into disorder, and within an hour their entire line was in full flight, guns, ammunition, and provision trains being abandoned to the victors, who made an immense havoc, and captured more than 500 prisoners, raiding to the headquarters of Corona. Thousands of the fleeing dispersed, never to return. The joy of the soldiers at this unprecedented capture was intense, and joined by the famished towns-people, they began to carry in the booty. Even Miramon seemed dazed by his success, and joined by Maximilian, he strutted about the battle-field speculating on the effect and on the next best movement. In this manner more than two precious hours were lost; and when at last he collected his troops and resolved to pursue this advantage, sweeping the summit of the hill and thence falling in the rear of the adjoining lines, the more active Escobedo had managed to bring forward his choicest reserves,[40] and gain the best position. So severe was the repulse now met, that the late victors turned in flight, heedless of the daring

[39] Embracing on this occasion only Miramon, Castillo, and Salm-Salm, now chief adjutant.

[40] Bearing the name of Supremos Poderes, assisted by cazadores from the northern states. Maximilian is said to have directed this second charge up the hill. *Peza* and *Pradillo, Max.*, 67.

example of the emperor and their generals, who rushed into the thickest bullet showers to cheer them. Several hundred were slain and captured, including marauding citizens, and a large part of the store trains was retaken.[41]

This turning of victory into defeat was undoubtedly due to a lack of promptness on the part of Miramon, to a neglect to follow up his advantage. The besieged appear to have been animated by a report that the attack was in coöperation with Marquez' arrival in the rear. Now came the double disappointment, and dejection settled upon all, as manifested also among the soldiers during the subsequent unproductive attacks against Garita de Mexico and San Gregorio.[42]

The misery was becoming too apparent in every direction to be covered any longer with false hope. Desertion and bullets had reduced the garrison to

[41] Escobedo's report announced 300 killed and over 100 captured. *Estrella de Occid.*, May 31, 1867. Salm-Salm says that 250 were killed on the way to Casa Blanca alone. He gives the result of the first success at 547 prisoners, 7 colors, and 15 guns, together with 6 guns brought in by Castillo, who had taken a first intrenchment in his direction, but failed at the following. The ammunition proved acceptable, and the provisions, including cattle, lasted for a few days. Arias admits a loss of over 20 guns. The report ran that the republicans lost 10,000 by desertion, and that some of their generals favored raising the siege. Basch, *Erin.*, ii. 109–13, writes as if the movement had been intended merely to call attention from the north side of the town, where it was proposed to break through, and he alludes to a planned attack against the San Gregorio hill for the preceding day, which failed to be carried out, through some misunderstanding. Salm-Salm also declares that everything stood packed and prepared for departure, but by what direction is not stated, although he says that after the victory at El Cimatario 'nothing prevented us from leaving the city.' But the success changed all plans, Miramon evidently persuading Maximilian to remain and 'annihilate the rest of the enemy's forces;' yet he confesses that the exact plans for that day were unknown, save to Miramon, and perhaps Castillo. He calls Miramon the bad spirit of Maximilian, though willing to believe him blinded by illusions rather than guilty of deception. *Diary*, i. 154–68. Maguña says in *Quer.*, *Caida*, 86–7, that false messages purporting to be from Marquez caused the loss of time. Peza and Pradillo, *Max.*, 64, 78, doubt the project of breaking through, while misinterpreting it as intended to save only a part of the army. Arellano, *Ultimas Horas*, 123, assumes that it was intended to beat the besiegers in detail. The packing-up, which at first created unpleasant suspicions in Hans, *Quer.*, 136–50, and others, is indicated by later accounts, by Salm-Salm and others, to have been merely a precaution in case of a disaster during these preliminary operations.

[42] On May 1st and 3d; the republicans retaliating on the 5th, the anniversary of their victory at Puebla in 1862, with a sharper cannonade and an attack on the Miraflores bridge. The death of the popular Col Rodriguez during the first of these attacks increased the gloom.

5,000 men, whose remuneration had long been but half-pay for the men only, with slim prospects for its continuance.[43] The cavalry was for the greater part unmounted, their horses having died of starvation,[44] or been consigned to the butcher. Other meat was almost unknown, save when brought in by some raiding party; and flour and maize were rapidly disappearing, provisions of every description commanding enormous prices. Frijoles, the staple dish, still remained to ward off actual famine, yet hungry-looking faces were visible at every turn, and mothers wandered in eager search for a tortilla and a pinch of salt. In order to equalize the condition somewhat, strict orders had been issued for the surrender of all stocks of produce, and seizures were besides made of moneys as well as food in exchange for worthless drafts. Every conceivable means was brought to bear for procuring funds, from poll, window, and balcony taxes, to weekly payments from all classes who wished to buy exemption from the hard and dangerous work on the fortifications.[45]

It cannot be said, however, that discontent was very marked. Mexicans are a long-suffering race, and the Queretanos submitted with fair grace to the inevitable. The emperor assisted not a little to maintain a good feeling by sharing freely in every hardship and danger, visiting the crowded hospitals[46] to cheer the wounded, exposing himself recklessly in the

[43] The officers received hardly anything. The number of men was insufficient for the length of the lines, that between the Pueblito gate and Campana hill being very poorly defended. *Salm-Salm, Diary*, i. 170–1.

[44] Chopped brushwood and leaves formed the main fodder.

[45] Varying from 25 cents to several dollars weekly, according to the standing and revenue of the citizen. In *Arias, Ensayo*, 198–212, 218–21, and *Lefèvre, Docs*, ii. 384–9, are instances of these exactions and the outrages suffered by many leading people. From 41 persons alone $253,000 was obtained. See also *Hans, Quer.*, 160, etc.; *Quer., Caida*, 171–2; Basch, and others. Salm-Salm, i. 177–8, relates that about this time the republicans sent a lean ox to the lines of the imperialists, urging them to maintain the sparks of life till the town fell. The latter replied by sending a starved horse wherewith the besiegers might overtake them when they cut their way through.

[46] Basch, ii. 82–3, 95, was appointed inspector-general of the hospitals, and strove to improve the arrangements. There were about 800 wounded in the hospitals. *Quer., Caida*, 101.

trenches to encourage the soldiers, and seeking to alleviate as much as possible the suffering of the poor, among whom dysentery was making havoc. Whatever bitterness existed was directed against Marquez, now classed as a traitor by Maximilian himself.[47]

Mendez and other generals had long objected to the sorties of Miramon as achievements worse than useless, since they served only to sacrifice valuable lives, weakening the army, and disheartening the soldiers, as shown by increasing desertion. The project of breaking through the siege lines must evidently be energetically taken in hand while means yet remained, and before the demoralization became dangerous. It was accordingly decided[48] to seek the ranges of Sierra Gorda, which, passing about seven leagues north-westward, stretched over a vast expanse of country filled with strong passes and impregnable strongholds, and occupied by a sturdy race of mountaineers who were enthusiastically devoted to General Mejía. A march direct to Mexico would place them with wavering troops between two overwhelming forces, but in these mountains they could plan future movements at their ease, strengthened by Olvera's battalions and other recruits, and even reach the coast.[49]

In justification of this step, the leading generals signed a manifesto, reviewing the siege operations, and pointing out the neglect of Marquez in not attacking the republicans before they had united, and in failing to lay in a greater stock of provisions. Capitulation with the foe before them not being deemed reliable, it was suggested to attack them, and, if defeated, to cut their way through, after spiking the

[47] He might let Lopez go, he remarked later, but 'ich liess...Marquez hängen.' *Basch, Erinn.*, ii. 183. He still sent messages to him early in May. See letter in *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iv. 300.

[48] On the 12th, by decision of the 10th. *Arellano*, 127, 120. Basch observes, ii. 129, that the foreign officers had long ago recommended the break.

[49] Summoning the Austrian corvette *Elizabeth* and other means of transport. *Basch, Erinn.*, ii. 127.

guns.[50] Mejía promised to use his influence among the townsfolk for enrolling sufficient men to protect the rear for a few hours. He did not succeed so well as expected, partly owing to lack of arms,[51] and the departure, already fixed for the 12th of May, was deferred till the night of the 14th. At the last moment came another postponement for the 15th, at the suggestion of Mendez,[52] which found ready acceptance with the too sanguine Miramon and the vacillating Maximilian.

All stood prepared for departure. The last scanty distribution had been made of beans, with some maize, horse-meat, and red wine, other effects being reduced to the smallest compass so as not to impede the march. Only light field-pieces were to be carried away on mules, and nineteen portable bridges. Picked men formed the escort of the emperor. Although the departure had been deferred, all were ready on the night of the 14th to fall in line, the horses remaining saddled.[53]

[50] This document, reproduced in *Arellano*, *Arias*, *Arrangoiz*, etc., is dated the 14th of May, although adopted several days earlier. Mejía signed it also, although he is said to have favored capitulation. The phrase 'if defeated' appears to have been added for saving appearances.

[51] Arellano states that he pretended to have obtained only 160 men, intent as he was to force a capitulation; but this is open to doubt. Hans, *Quer.*, 172, also writes that only a small number volunteered, but other witnesses declare that 1,000 or more were enrolled, the lack of arms and organization proving the main obstacle. *Peza* and *Pradillo*, *Max.*, 80; *Quer.*, *Caida*, 88, 108, 117; *Basch*, *Erinn.*, ii. 132.

[52] So Basch, Peza, and Arellano declare the professed object being to rise from his sick-bed and animate his brave battalion, so as to promote the success of the break. Salm-Salm attributes the delay still to Mejía, who had not finished the organization of his recruits. Castillo supported the proposal, whatever it may have been, and it was adopted, unfortunately for Maximilian. Miramon was ready enough to delay, filled as he appeared with illusive beliefs in sorties and in the resources of the place; and Maximilian still had his scruples of honor and duty about abandoning the inhabitants and yielding a valuable place, for Marquez might yet come. See *Basch*, ii. 128–9; *Salm-Salm*, i. 168, etc. He expressed a preference for the 15th as being the name-day of his mother, and therefore of good import for him.

[53] Basch, 127–8, gives the composition of the escort. Mogaña adds important details. *Quer.*, *Caida*, 88; and Hall, *Life Max.*, 85, speaks of magazines to be flooded, etc.

CHAPTER XIV.

DEATH OF EMPIRE AND EMPEROR.

1867.

MIGUEL LOPEZ THE TRAITOR—HIS PLOT TO BETRAY MAXIMILIAN—SEIZURE OF THE CITY—ARREST OF MAXIMILIAN AND HIS GENERALS—IMPRISONMENT—ABDICATION—TERMS PROPOSED—COURT-MARTIAL ORDERED—TRIAL AND CONVICTION—PETITIONS AND INTERCESSIONS—EXECUTION OF MAXIMILIAN, MIRAMON, AND MEJÍA—EFFECT OF EXECUTION IN AMERICA AND EUROPE—REFLECTIONS ON THE CHARACTER AND CAREER OF MAXIMILIAN.

AMONG the most favored of Maximilian's officers was Colonel Miguel Lopez, a tall, portly man, of fine presence, strikingly attired in the rich uniform of the Empress dragoons. With blond complexion, bluish eyes, fair mustaches, and short imperial, he looked anything but a Mexican, although possessing all their attributes, including fine manners and flowing speech.[1] The good graces of the emperor had roused against him a pronounced jealousy, especially among Mexicans, with whom his foreign appearance did not attract sympathy; but they had also good reason to dislike him, for two acts of treason stood recorded against him; and lately, when the monarch wished to add to his favors by making Lopez a general, the leading officers protested and exposed him.[2] The confidence of

[1] He had formed one of the escorts of Maximilian when he first arrived in the country, and managed especially by his manner to become his favorite. Appointed col of the Emperatriz regiment of cavalry, he remained in intimate contact with the imperial pair, and figured now practically as adjutant of the emperor, intrusted by him with frequent secret missions. The latter had stood godfather to his child. Hans observes that he had big Anglo-American feet. *Quer.*, 72. Salm-Salm speaks of his fascinating manner.

[2] By producing a government decree dismissing him from the army for infamous conduct at Tehuacan, during the U. S. invasion in 1847. He was then

Maximilian was not greatly shaken, however, for he appointed him to command the chosen escort, and decorated him, on the eve of the projected departure, with the bronze medal, although little or no claim existed for the distinction, or for the cross of the French legion of honor already hanging on his breast.

Lopez did not forgive those who had stood between him and promotion. He was not wholly devoid of gratitude, but gratitude was not his ruling passion. He could love a little; he could hate a great deal. Moreover, this empire was doomed; and for himself in this company he was a branded man.[3] What other motives may have influenced him is difficult to say. At any rate, on this night of the 14th of May, 1867, this man Lopez stole away to the headquarters of Escobedo, and in a private interview disclosed the condition and plans of the besieged, and arranged to betray them to the enemy.[4] To accomplish his object

an ensign. He acted as spy for the Franco-Mexican armies, and in May 1863 led Bazaine by little known paths to San Lorenzo. Documents in *Quer.*, *Caida*, 125–7, 185; *Hall's Life Max.*, 193.

[3] The commission as general had been prepared on the late anniversary of the emperor's acceptance of the throne. Lopez claims that it was to be conferred after a successful departure from Querétero. Basch, ii. 125, relates that the favorite setter dog of Maximilian showed an intense aversion for the man.

[4] For the sum of 2,000 ounces of gold, according to Baron Lago, of which he received only some $7,000, it is said. *Domenech, Hist. Mex.*, iii. 438. Eleven reales a head, was the bitter observation of Maximilian on hearing of it. Other estimates vary. Salm-Salm, i. 239, ii. 32, has 3,000 ounces. The money obtained was probably gambled away before he left Querétaro. He preferred gold and life to death, says Hans, *Quer.*, 174. Maximilian alluded to his act as due to cowardice. Yet he had given proofs enough of courage. The removal from command of certain friends, like Casanova, had offended him. *Peza* and *Pradillo*, *Max.*, 75–6. In the brazen-faced defence issued by Lopez in *La Toma de Querétaro*, Mexico, 1867, and other forms, he declares that the demoralization among the troops, the growing desertion, officers being retained only by honor, the lack of food, of good ammunition, and the faithlessness of Marquez and others, had thoroughly discouraged the emperor. He vaguely accuses Arellano of speculating with the ammunition and artillery funds. Thus disheartened, Maximilian had, on the night of the 14th, sent him to Escobedo, asking permission to leave Querétaro with a few friends, escorted by the Emperatriz regiment. He was formally received by the republican commander-in-chief, who told him that he had no power to grant the request. Maximilian and his army must surrender at discretion. A plea for the emperor's person met with no better result. Arias, the biographer of Escobedo, repeats this story, *Ensayo*, 224–6; yet he admits that Lopez revealed the forlorn condition of the besieged—proof enough of treason. So does Rivera, *Gob. Méx.*, ii. 673. A number of writers take pains to refute

was not very difficult, for he commanded the reserve brigade, which occupied the Convento de la Cruz and adjoining fortifications, and held, therefore, the key to the town.[5] He had already removed certain troops, replacing them with men under control of a fellow-conspirator, and with incorporated prisoners of war; and on returning from Escobedo's camp he made further changes, ordering the horses to be unsaddled, cannon to be removed, and so forth. He thereupon introduced the republican soldiers under General Velez,[6] and favored by darkness, led them from one post to another, explaining that they were relief troops, whenever he deemed any explanation necessary. His presence as commander and recognized favorite of the emperor, and the mixture of uniforms among the imperialists preventing suspicion, many assumed at once that the movements were part of the evacuation plan.[7]

the story, by showing that Maximilian was busy till midnight that day, giving orders for the proposed breaking through the lines; that he had recently rejected a favorable offer of capitulation, and imprisoned certain officers who advocated it, etc.; but the knowledge we already possess of his brave spirit, high-minded conduct, and Hapsburg pride, serves to defend him at least against the intimation of private and selfish negotiations. Conclusive proofs of Lopez' treason and lies, besides self-contradictions and instances in later notes, appear in the fact that this man was the only superior imperial officer not arraigned by the victors; he was allowed to leave Querétaro, and move freely about. Further, the republican authorities have never alluded to any such advances on the part of Maximilian; and they would not have failed to expose so detested a personage had they been able. Lopez may have opened his negotiations with the story, so that Arias and others may have had some ground for the assertion. Among other excuses, Lopez ridicules the idea of bargaining for a comparatively small sum, when he had plenty of means. He stakes an estate against the proof of such bargain, and so forth. *Toma Quer.*, 1–26, etc. He lived despised by all men, even by his wife, who abandoned him. *Edwards' Shelby's Exped.*, 131.

[5] He succeeded Mendez, as we have seen. He claims that only 1,100 covered these lines, extending over 1,400 yards, and gives a list of the main posts. *Toma Quer.*, 18–19.

[6] Formerly serving under Miramon. The troops brought were mainly the reserve known as Supremos Poderes. They entered partly through a widened embrasure.

[7] Lopez' story is that Escobedo must have surmised enough from the message sent by Maximilian to attempt a surprise, for on returning to his men, after speaking to the emperor, he was pounced upon and arrested by the republicans. Then, intent only on saving the emperor, he led them away to the pantheon and other posts, while sending the conspirator Jablonski to warn him, and affording time for escape. He undoubtedly wished to save him, if none else. This admission that he found an early opportunity to send the

As soon as the main posts were secured Lopez hastened to send warning to the emperor, for whom he seems to have entertained a certain consideration. Similarly advised, Salm-Salm, Castillo, and some others rushed in soon after and found Maximilian dressed and calm. He bade them summon the hussars and body-guard, and ordered all to hurry to Cerro de la Campana, there to decide on further action. Not a guard or detachment of imperial troops could be seen round the convent; but as they issued from it to cross the square a republican body appeared, guided by Lopez. Escape was impossible, but a whisper from the traitor to the officer in command of the troops caused the latter to turn aside his men, saying, 'Let them pass, they are civilians!' Yet they wore nearly all their full glittering uniforms. It was evidently agreed that the emperor should be allowed to escape.[8]

warning convicts him; for by the same opportunity he could have roused his ready comrades and army. His professed reason for surrendering the posts was to save bloodshed. Tender-hearted consideration in a soldier, truly! *Toma Quer.*, 14 et seq. Arias, adopting this, intimates that Escobedo assumed Maximilian to be disinclined for further resistance, and ordered the assault in accordance. There was a pretended arrest of the traitor, of course. *Ensayo*, 227–8. Lopez points out that more than a dozen commanders of posts had to be seduced for a case of treason. Seduce them he did not. Why, then, did none of them give the alarm? These very men came out in a joint protest, revealing step by step his treason as it became clear to them afterward, and showing that but for his directing the enemy and issuing orders the alarm must have been given. *Quer., Caida*, 43 et seq. Hans, who was stationed among the foreposts, gives a minute account of Lopez' removal and changes of troops, abstraction of their arms, displacing of cannon, etc. *Quer.*, 175 et seq. Salm-Salm enumerates a long list of points condemning him, *Diary*, ii. 259–63, adding that he removed even the guard at the emperor's quarters; that he moved freely about after leading round the republican commanders, who were in citizens' dress, and afterward rifled Maximilian's room. Several liberal officers pointed him out to the besieged as the traitor. See also *Arellano*, 141–2; *Peza* and *Pradillo, Max.*, 98 et seq. A report from more than one republican officer appeared in *Restauracion*, no. 23, 1867, admitting that the place was surrendered by the chief in command at the convent. A report in *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, 210, places the capture at 3 A. M. *Lopez, Refut.*, 1–24; *Mex. Legac.*, i. 82–5, etc.; *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 1832–75, pt vii. 3–19; *Pap. Var.*, cxxxv. pt ii.; *Sociedad*, Sept. 9, 11, 15, 1867, etc.; *Bol. Rep.*, June 26, 1867, and other journals.

[8] The officer in command was Col Rincon Gallardo, on whose family the empress had conferred many favors. Maximilian attributed his conduct to gratitude, for the recognition was mutual. Indeed, the monarch was too striking a person not to be readily known. His companions were Salm-Salm, Gen. Castillo, Lt-Col Pradillo, and Sec. Blasio. Basch states that he had

On the way to the Cerro Lopez overtook them, this time alone and still unsuspected. He entreated Maximilian to hide himself in a certain house, where his safety would be assured. "I do not hide," was his answer. He even refused to mount the horse which Lopez sent up soon after, saying that as his companions had to walk, so would he. During this slow progress they again came face to face with republican troops, which turned aside as they saw him, allowing the party to reach the Cerro.[9]

Owing to the energy of Lopez, republican troops had been placed in the centre of the town; and now with daybreak the yet remaining unmelted bells joined in the triumph signals of the camps around. Yet the surrender passed not everywhere so smoothly as at the convent. Several bodies managed to fall in line for skirmishing, and the report of fire-arms could be heard in different parts. But taken in flank and rear, the isolated companies had to yield one after another to overwhelming numbers. Many thought the arrival of reënforcements from Marquez was the cause of the tumult and demonstration.

And now the besiegers concentrated round the Cerro de la Campana, upon which the batteries opened fire. "Oh for a friendly bullet!" exclaimed Maximilian as he beheld the darkening prospect. The absence of Miramon increased the anxiety; nor did it abate when news came that the latter had been overcome in an encounter and wounded.[10] To hold the Cerro much longer was impossible. Turning to Mejía the emperor

been restless during the night from anxiety and dysentery. When first roused, he imagined a plot against his person. Lopez was now assumed to be a prisoner, from being in company of Gallardo. At the consultation just before midnight he had been instructed by Maximilian to shoot him rather than let him fall alive into the enemy's hands during the proposed break. 'Durch eine Kugel mein Leben enden.' *Erin.*, ii. 134.

[9] Lopez admits even that he had power to detain and control the movements of the enemy. *Toma Quer.*, 17.

[10] Shot in the face, he was carried to the house of Dr Licea, who betrayed him the same day through fear. *Salm-Salm*, i. 196. Both he and Mendez had fought fiercely until wounded, when they sought safety in hiding. *Edwards' Shelby's Exped.*, 129.

spoke about cutting their way through. "It is useless, sire," replied the latter in a disheartening tone, as he surveyed the dense lines of besiegers; "yet if your Majesty commands, it can be tried."[11] A moment later the white flag was hoisted by the imperialists, and Pradillo sent to negotiate with Escobedo for the good treatment of the army, Maximilian offering himself if a victim must be had.[12]

The firing having ceased, the republicans bethought themselves only of making matters sure by advancing close upon the Cerro, heedless of the white flag and the messenger to Escobedo, and General Echegaray stepping forward declared the emperor his prisoner.[13] Soon the commander-in-chief came up. Maximilian surrendered his sword, and repeating the message sent, he announced that his abdication had already been sent to Mexico. He stood otherwise prepared to leave the country. Escobedo answered that the republican government could alone decide in the matter.[14]

In charge of Riva Palacio, he was now conducted back to his old quarters at the convent, together with his favorite officers, the cazadores and citizens, especially the women, mutely greeting him with bent

[11] Miramon would probably have attempted it, but Mejía had long been discouraged and was still suffering from sickness. A tradition has it that a French officer did offer to save the emperor. He declined, and the officer cut his way through at the head of a small force. *D'Héricault, Max.*, 264.

[12] See *Peza* and *Pradillo*, 97–8, wherein it is also stated that Maximilian found only 150 infantry on reaching the Cerro. Mejía brought a small mounted escort. Salm-Salm declares that under pressure of sharp firing white flags had already been hoisted at two points on the Cerro before Maximilian consented to yield. The enemy continued to fire for at least ten minutes after the hoisting.

[13] 'In a polite manner and bareheaded, addressing the emperor, Vuestra Majestad.' *Salm-Salm, Diary*, i. 200. On descending the hill to meet Corona he was embraced by an excited republican who expressed admiration for his brave defence. Another seemingly drunken officer flourished a pistol in his face. Hans, *Quer.*, 194, calls him Dávalos, formerly serving under Marquez.

[14] Both Corona and Escobedo report that Maximilian declared he had abdicated and was no longer emperor. He desired an escort to the coast, there to embark, promising never to return. Escobedo said he could concede nothing. 'I at least hope to be treated with the considerations due to a prisoner of war,' he resumed. 'Eso es V. mio,' was the affirmative answer. *Arias, Ensayo*, 233, This promise having been denied by many, Salm-Salm solemnly asserts that it was clearly made. *Diary*, i. 203; *Masseras, Essai*, 251–4.

heads and tear-dimmed eyes.[15] The other officers were consigned to the adjoining church, and the rank and file to the camps, there to be incorporated among the liberal forces.[16] Escobedo, in reports and proclamations, attributed the fall of the city to the actions of his army.

The inhabitants were not molested,[17] save those who neglected the stringent order to denounce all officers in hiding. This caused the surrender of Miramon and many other leaders, of whom several fell victims to the blind fury of the uncontrolled soldiers.[18] A few managed to escape, among them General Arellano.[19] Mejía, to whose generosity Escobedo owed his life not long before, was offered means for flight; but the noble Indian would not accept liberty unless in company with Maximilian and Miramon. This was declared impossible. "Then let me die with them," he said.[20] Mendez remained in hiding, and being betrayed, he was led out and shot, in accordance with the recent proclamation, but really in retaliation for his loudly condemned execution of the republican general Arte-

[15] Among the favorites with him were Col Guzman and Minister Aguirre, besides those who followed him to the Cerro. Lopez had rifled his room of effects and documents. Basch relates how the officers pressed their prisoners for every valuable article about them, and even took them by force. *Erin.*, ii. 138–40.

[16] The Emperatriz regiment was left entire under the liberal officers; but on the march to Mexico the latter were assassinated, and the men formed themselves into a guerrilla band. *Salm-Salm*, i. 212. Escobedo reported 8,000 rank and file captured and incorporated, and over 500 officers, including 15 generals; also 55 cannon, 68,500 cartridges, etc. *Estrella de Occid.*, July 12, 1867; *Lefèvre, Docs*, ii. 415.; *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, iii. 211. The 8,000 men must embrace Mejía's lately organized citizens. In the republican ranks they were not treated very liberally, as may be supposed, especially foreigners, who complained of being both starved and beaten. *Salm-Salm, Diary*, i. 225–6, 266, ii. 130. Hans states, however, that his party was well treated in Palacio's division. *Quer.*, 197.

[17] Two marauders were shot as a warning. *Sombra de Zaragoza*, May 21, 1867.

[18] Hans, 195–6, 204–6, and Salm-Salm, 212, give instances. Forty are said to have been put up for targets, but this is doubtful. In one case a tumult created belief in a plot to escape, and led to unfortunate shooting.

[19] The artillery chief, who bribed his captor and reached Marquez at Mexico. *Arellano*, 148–51. Marquez accuses this man of treason, in retaliation for his charges. *Refut.*, 145–9; but there is no evidence against him.

[20] Arrangoiz, *Mej.*, iv. 315, complains that this incident has been left unnoticed by others.

aga and his companions, carried out under Maximilian's unfortunate decree of October 3, 1865. Other leaders were kept on thorns by broad hints that Juarez' similar decree of January 25, 1862, might at at any moment send them as well as Maximilian after Mendez.[21]

The republicans gave little heed to the exalted rank and pretensions of their captive. He was unceremoniously transferred from one abode to another, among them the grave vaults of the pantheon, with the atrocious reminder that his end was at hand.[22] Finally he was lodged in a scantily furnished cell in the Capuchin convent,[23] together with his generals, Miramon and Mejía, Dr Basch and two servants occupying adjoining cells. Although exposed to the intrusive gaze of visitors, and the eyes of numerous guards, he was not altogether miserable, and at times even enjoyed the importance attached to his person.[24]

[21] Escobedo, says Arias, 'tenia en sus manos las vidas de Maximiliano,' etc., and could have done so with impunity. *Ensayo*, 234. Mendez was to be shot in the back as a traitor, but objecting to the insult, he turned partly round as the signal was given. *Salm-Salm*, i. 217–18. Hans, 205–6, alludes with feeling to his last adieu. According to Salm-Salm, an order came later to shoot all the leaders, but this is doubtful. A number of French officers tendered their services to Escobedo, which he contemptuously refused. Their action was condemned by compatriots. Names in *Diary*, i. 222–5.

[22] This outrage was due to Gen. Rufio Gonzalez, an ultra-republican who had protested against the earlier indications of sympathy for Maximilian, and managed to assume a share in the guardianship. After a transfer on May 17th, to Santa Teresa convent, he passed from the 22d to the 24th in the grave vault, and was thereupon removed to the Capuchin convent.

[23] It was situated in the upper story, opening on a passage which embraced three sides of a small central court. The furniture consisted of an iron bedstead, two tables, a rocking-chair, a few ordinary chairs, and a box. The only article *de luxe* was a silver candlestick with wax candles. The size of the brick-floored cell being only about 18 by 20 feet, the passage proved acceptable for giving additional room. A cut is given in *Salm-Salm, Diary*, i. 234–5, ii. 105.

[24] 'Die unten zittern, wenn der Löwe im Käfig sich regt.' *Basch, Erinn.*, ii. 190. Whether intentionally or not, a crown of thorn had been hung against the wall. Rubio, the rich manufacturer of the town, provided the table of the emperor, and from this his poorly supplied companions obtained a share. He continued to suffer from dysentery, and a doctor from Escobedo's army was called in to join Basch so as to allay suspicion. His companions, notably Salm-Salm, were constantly in his room to entertain him, conversing, playing dominos, and so forth. Among the few books at his command was the *History of King Charles I.*, appropriate if not cheering.

In order to sound him, Escobedo expressed his readiness to listen to any proposals; whereupon Maximilian offered to officially abdicate the crown of Mexico, to promise never to meddle in Mexican affairs, and to order his armies to lay down their arms and surrender all strongholds, on condition of being escorted to Vera Cruz, all foreign prisoners also to be sent to this port for embarkation. His Mexican adherents he recommended to the generosity of the government.[25] No answer to these proposals was returned; but on the following day appeared an order from the minister of war to arraign the 'so-called' emperor and his two leading abettors, the 'so-called' generals Miramon and Mejía, before a court-martial, in accordance with the bloody decree issued by Juarez on January 25, 1862, against traitors and invaders.[26] This in itself was equivalent to a death sentence. Time had above all to be gained; and to this end Maximilian addressed Juarez for a postponement to allow the selected lawyers to arrive from Mexico. He also asked for an interview, wherein he hoped to make an impression. The former request was granted, after some hesitation, but the president declined to enter into any direct communications.[27]

From the first, friendly republican officers had expressed the view that their government was obdurate; and the order coming for a court-martial, the project of escape was pressed upon the emperor. At first he objected to so undignified a proceeding, but finally yielded, on condition that Miramon and Mejía should not be left behind. It was argued that as Juarez had refused to admit the conditions under which they

[25] Salm-Salm was given full power to arrange the points with Col Villanueva, acting for Escobedo. The negotiations were made on May 20th. *Diary*, i. 220–3.

[26] They were to be judged especially under its articles 6 to 11; yet it was pointed out that according to art. 28 they might have been executed on the instant. *Max., Causa*, 4–9.

[27] Princess Salm-Salm, who exerted herself zealously with Juarez and others in behalf of the emperor and her husband, claims to have obtained the second prolongation of time for nine days, till the 13th of June. *Diary*, ii. 41–4. The first was for three days. *Legac. Mex.*, i. 186-96, 260–8.

surrendered, as prisoners of war, they were bound by no obligation. Three officers had been won over, and everything was prepared for the flight, to take place during the night of June 2d, in direction of the coast and toward Vera Cruz, which still remained in imperial hands. That afternoon a telegram announced that two of the best lawyers in Mexico and several members of the diplomatic corps were en route for Querétaro. This sufficed to decide the ever-vacillating Maximilian for another of those unfortunate postponements that had ruined so many of his plans.[28]

Maximilian had selected for his lawyers Mariano Riva Palacio, Martinez de la Torre, Eulalio María Ortega, and Jesus María Vazquez, who occupied the foremost rank in their profession. Foreseeing the verdict of a court-martial, the two former resolved to give their attention mainly to pleading with the government for mercy, and urge the policy of lenient treatment. To this end they brought to bear a wide influence with the controlling party, for they were all stanch republicans. This applied especially to Riva Palacio in his additional character as father of the popular general, famed in letters as well as battles, and who had taken a prominent part in the siege.[29] The juridical defence was left to the other lawyers, of whom Ortega excelled for his grasp of mind and rhetoric, and Vazquez for forensic acquirements and acute dialectics. The latter belonged to Querétaro,

[28] 'He is not, however, the only prince who has had to mourn over a too late,' writes Salm-Salm, i. 250. This warm adherent received on this occasion his despatch as general, antedated the 14th of May, and other honors. He relates fully the efforts made to carry out the promising flight. Horses stood ready in certain houses, and promises had been issued to pay additional sums to the abettors in case of death or success. Maximilian consented only to tie up his beard and put on colored spectacles for a disguise. The fugitives were to live henceforth at Miramare, Mejía declaring that his wants were few, for he would 'nichts thun, als fischen.' *Basch, Erinn.*, ii. 189. The display of gold, from the advance paid to the conspirators, led to a disclosure after a few days, and stricter measures and a stronger guard were the result. *Salm-Salm, Diary*, i. 232–58.

[29] It was one of his columns, under Velez, which took possession of La Cruz during the eventful morning of May 15th. He had been specially commended by Maximilian for his humanity, and this won the father's heart.

and had with the assistance of Frederic Hall from California taken active steps in the case before the others arrived.[30]

The trial opened on June 13th in the Iturbide theatre, in which the stage was reserved for the officials, defendants, and counsel, and the auditorium for the public, admission being obtained with tickets.[31] The judges consisted of a lieutenant-colonel and six captains,[32] selected with little or no regard for the weighty questions involved. The fiscal, or attorney for the government, was Manuel Aspiroz.[33] Mejía and Miramon appeared first, and impressed the hushed audience with the dignity of their bearing. Their case was disposed of early in the afternoon.[34] They must die. Then came that of Maximilian, which involved practically the same charges and defence. Here the expectant assembly was doomed to disappointment, for the imperial defendant refused to expose himself to the humiliation of a public appearance, and his plea of sickness was accepted.

The charges, thirteen in number, were elaborated from the points presented in the ministerial order for a court-martial, based on the severe decree of January 25, 1862, and formed a most incongruous and tautologic medley.[35] They may be reduced to the following points: that he had offered himself as an instrument for the French intervention, aiming at the overthrow

[30] Their first joint consultation was held on June 5th. Hall claims to have furnished the main points used for the argument—an assertion which the Mexicans are not likely to admit. As a foreigner, he was debarred from practising in the court. *Life Max.*, 212, etc.

[31] To the number of about 1,500. A full report of the proceedings is given in the local journal, *Sombra de Arteaga*.

[32] The former, named Platon Sanchez, was killed by his men not long after. For other names, see *Max.*, *Causa*, 173. All were young, and some could not read, says Salm-Salm; unfit, adds Hall, *Life Max.*, 284, to decide the points presented.

[33] Originally a lawyer, but now a lieut-col, assisted by J. M. Escoto as asesor, both young men. Salm-Salm describes the latter as 'a young fellow of twenty, who had a very bad and ferocious expression,' and was a tool of Escobedo. *Diary*, i. 262.

[34] They refused to add anything to the arguments of their counsel, P. C. Vega appearing for Mejía and Jáuregui and Moreno for Miramon.

[35] Provoking a smile even from Maximilian when submitted to him at former private examinations.

of the constitutional government for base purposes; he had voluntarily accepted the liabilities of a usurper, in the face of the laws, such as that of January 25, 1862; he had disposed of the lives and interests of the people with armed forces swelled by foreign filibuster enlistments; authorizing to this end atrocities of every description, as instanced in particular by the barbarous decree of October 3, 1865; he had retained the false title of emperor after the departure of the French armies, preparing lately an abdication which should take effect only in case of his capture. The final charges declared that he had protested against the competency of the court-martial to try him; and it was observed that his refusal, at the preliminary private examinations, to answer the charges on the ground that they were of a political character, beyond the jurisdiction of this court, would be taken as an admission of their truth.[36]

The prospective futility of influencing a court-martial installed under the decree of 1862 led the counsel very properly to direct the main arguments against the competency of such a court for the case. To this end it was urged that the conflict between the republic and empire was a civil war, and not a mere uprising by a faction, for the latter had long controlled the greater part of the country, and had been recognized by nearly every foreign power.[37] This being evident, the leaders of the vanquished side could not be subjected to the summary treatment applicable to petty rebels. Maximilian was not a usurper as charged, for he came by invitation of a representative council, confirmed by popular vote.[38] His administrative acts

[36] Hall among others inveighs against this and other features as outrageous; but he does not always bear in mind the nature of the court.

[37] This existence *de facto*, together with the popular as well as representative vote on which it rested, was proof enough of its sovereignty *de jure*. The constitution permitted a change of government, and a majority had declared for the empire. What the real feelings were of the voters had nothing to do with the case; nor was it affected by liberal triumphs, else the liberals might have been counted out of existence on more than one occasion since 1857.

[38] He refused, in fact, to come till such vote had been given. If the vote

and marked liberal policy, with an entire absence of persecution for political creed or attitude, proved that he came not to oppress. The issue of the severe decree of October 3, 1865, was, at the instance of the French commander, supported by the ministry, and in the belief that Juarez had abandoned Mexican territory. Besides, he had as sovereign as much right to issue such protective measures as the republican government to publish its equally severe law of 1862. He revoked his decree, and according to international usages Juarez should have followed his example.[39] If Maximilian remained after the French prepared to depart, it was partly to prevent a new government from being forced upon the people.

This exposition of the rights and conduct of Maximilian and his party sought to demonstrate that the law of January 25, 1862, was inapplicable to the case. Further, the law was shown to be unconstitutional.[40] Federal interests were concerned in the case, and according to the constitution, congress or a civil tribunal must decide upon it.[41] Hence a court-martial was incompetent.[42] No witnesses being called by the

was fraudulent, he as a foreigner, on the other side of the ocean, could not judge. The demonstrations always accorded, on and after arrival, tended to confirm the sincerity of the vote. The term 'filibuster' is inapplicable and absurd under the circumstances. Besides, he brought no troops, but came peaceably, even without escort. Nor did he serve as a French instrument, for he opposed the projected session of Sonora and other Napoleonic schemes.

[39] His decree, instigated by duty, was intended rather to intimidate, and few executions resulted from it.

[40] Ortega devoted some attention to demonstate this from articles in the constitution and in the law itself. The danger to which it applied was past, and the power of the president by art. 29 to suspend certain guarantees did not extend to those securing life. According to the defence prepared by Hall, the president had no authority to legislate, and any law not issued by the legislative power was unconstitutional. It was also unconstitutional to punish political crimes with death. Congress had no right to let the president make laws. These points were not pressed by the Mexican counsel.

[41] The acts of a government risen against the constitution should be tried according to art. 128. The rights of the nation having been violated, the federation was interested, and according to art. 97 federal tribunals must take cognizance; so also by art. 101, when personal guarantees are concerned. The observance of the constitution, interrupted by rebellion, must be restored as soon as the people recovered its liberty. This was no doubt a lost point, for the fight continued round Mexico, in accordance with Maximilian's late regency decree.

[42] Art. 13 of the constitution forbade, besides, any special tribunal. Mili-

fiscal, who supported his charges on the evidence of public notoriety, the proceedings were denounced as illegal, and the charges not proved as required by law.[43] According to the constitution, the penalty of death did not exist for political offences such as the present. It did apply for treason; but Maximilian as a foreigner could not be charged with this crime.[44] Allusion was made to the considerate treatment accorded in the republic of the United States to the far more censurable president of the late confederacy, who had never been recognized by any other nation.[45] Finally, an appeal was made to the honor and sympathy of the republicans not to abuse their victory and stain their laurels with a bloody and useless execution.[46]

It had also been urged that Maximilian should be treated, if not as emperor, as archduke, and be sent back to his country as a prisoner of war, for as such he had been admitted by Escobedo. But the

tary courts were for discipline, etc., and Maximilian not belonging to the army—at least, not to the army controlled by these courts—he could not be subjected to them. The points involved were difficult for experienced judges, much more so for the young military members of court, who knew little or nothing of law. Maximilian had already protested against them as of too low a rank to try him. All this had been previously overruled by Escobedo. A court of generals would undoubtedly have been less subservient to dictation from an interested source, and more careful of their local and foreign reputation, hence, more impartial.

[43] Evidence of public notoriety was inadmissible, unless proved reliable, and so forth. Vazquez entered into a review of this point, altogether too elaborate as compared with others.

[44] Nor did international law sanction the taking of an enemy's life, save in case of actual resistance. It was contested, however, that he was taken in arms. Instances were taken from history to show that bloody vengeance on the defeated, as with Charles I., ever left a stain.

[45] The case of Ortega was also brought up in a previous representation, as being left to a superior tribunal.

[46] The defence, as framed by Ortega and Vazquez, is lacking in symmetry and sequence, partly because each took a special section; but even with greater study and intonation of points it would not have availed against a court biassed by political feelings, and acting under pressure, if, indeed, they were not pledged beforehand. It forms an appendix, pp. 17–55, to Palacio's and Torre's *Mem.* In previous representations a public investigation of Maximilian's administrative acts was urged as needful to so important a case, for the honor of the defendant and the country; but the republicans were not willing to enter on grounds so dangerous to their aim. That he had abdicated was also made a point. The Miramare treaty might have been produced to weigh in his favor, as freed from criminal intentions with regard to French acts.

government ignored this admission and availed itself of certain appearances and technicalities to declare that he had been taken in arms. The empire was assumed to be a mere form to cover the treasonable acts of a rebellion. This remaining as yet unquelled, and the constitution therefore in abeyance, it was resolved to abide by the decree of January 1862, which, furthermore, should be sustained for the justification of previous steps. Maximilian had come with full knowledge of this law. With the departure of the French he saw how unstable was his position, yet he persisted in braving the consequences by continuing a useless and bloody war—now changed from one of invasion to rebellion—and even delegating it to a regency. Nay, more: a scion of European royalty, a worshipper at the shrine of the Roman church, had stepped far out of his way to cross the Atlantic and attempt to force upon republican America, with her liberty-of-conscience-loving people, the old and detested monarchical ideas of Europe, and the dogmatism of Rome. This man, and any man attempting to do this thing, should surely die.

The fiscal did not enter into all these points, but contented himself mainly with denying the validity of the arguments against incompetency and unconstitutionality, and intimating that objections to form were hardly pertinent where the victors might have shot the defendants on capturing them. The war still raging, the constitution was in abeyance, and the decree of 1862 in force. The withdrawal of the French deprived the imperialists of all claims as belligerents, and stamped their struggle as rebellion. Maximilian had added to its iniquity by delegating it to a regency, and made himself doubly responsible for the outrages and bloody inflictions perpetrated under the cloak of an empire.

The public session of the court ended on the 14th of June. It thereupon considered the case in private, and late that same night the unanimous verdict

of guilty was brought forth, with the sentence of death.[47]

Whatever censure may be applied to the Juarez government for ignoring the nature of the struggle as a civil war, for refusing the peaceful overtures for a congress, and for not recognizing the claim as prisoner of war, it must be considered that Maximilian had loosely seized a pretence for ignoring the republican government, stamping the leaders of its cause as bandits, and executing them as such. The decision was applied to himself, and his executioners cannot be said to have overstepped international law in a greater measure than he did. Even if impelled by resentment, Juarez did what he considered his duty for the safety of the republic, by obviating later possible claims by the infliction of death, and impressing a warning against invasion projects. The retaliation can hardly be termed unjust; yet it was severe, and Mexico has been widely condemned, on grounds of humanity at least, yet by some not only excused, but applauded. A stronger government might have been

[47] Maximilian was found guilty of the crimes specified in parts 1, 3, 4, 5, of art. 1, in part 5 of art. 2, and part 10 of art. 3, in law of Jan. 25, 1862; that is, of promoting invasion and usurping the supreme power. Miramon and Mejía fell under parts 1, 3, 4, 5, of art. 1. The death penalty was in accordance with art. 28, for persons caught in flagrante delicto. The asesor approved the documents in the case, which embraced also preliminary interrogatories. These began May 24th, with inquiries for name, birthplace, etc., of the accused, why he had come to Mexico, waged war, etc. The questioning continued on the 25th and 26th, Maximilian demanding on the latter date to be judged by a congress and given time for defence. On the 29th he made a declaration reviewing the reasons for coming to Mexico and his acts, and protesting against a court-martial, under the decree of 1862. A more elaborate protest was made June 6th, supported by Riva Palacio and Torre on the 10th, and by their supplementary appeal on the 12th, in addition to petitions for mercy. For full and partial reports of proceedings, with documents, see *Causa de Maximiliano*, Mexico, 1868, 473 pp., reprinted with *Arias, Reseña*, 283–725, which forms the official report; *Memorandum sobre el Proceso del Archiduque Fernando Maximiliano*, Mexico, 1867, i.–iv. 3–109, embracing the account by Riva Palacio and Torre of their zealous efforts in Maximilian's behalf. *Defensa del Archiduque*, 1–55, records the pleading of Vazquez and Ortega. In *Hall's Life of Maximilian*, i. 213–84, are found also points prepared by this American lawyer for use of counsel. See also documents in *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, iii. 210–45; *Pap. Var.*, cxxv. pt 2, cxxxv. pt 1; *Lefèvre, Doc.*, ii. 413–50; *Boletin Rep.*, July 2, 1867, and later dates; *Estrella de Occid., Constitucional, Diario Ofic., Sociedad*, and other journals; *Vega, Docs*, iii. 319, etc., *Correspond. Legacion*, i. 1–345, contains correspondence with legation at Washington on the trial and execution.

able to show more magnanimity; nevertheless, let all sprigs of European royalty take warning and remain at home.

On the 16th of June, Escobedo confirmed the sentence, and ordered the execution to take place that day at three o'clock in the afternoon. Foreseeing the result, Prince Salm-Salm and his wife had once more bestirred themselves to save Maximilian by flight, to take place on the night of the 14th. Two colonels had signified their readiness to yield to the tempting offer of a hundred thousand pesos each; but finding that only drafts on Austria could be tendered in payment, or after merely acting as decoys, they withdrew, turned honest, and disclosed the plan. The result was increased precautions, and the expulsion from the city of the foreign diplomatic agents for having favored the attempt.[48]

The position of the chivalrous though weak-minded and misguided Maximilian could not fail to rouse wide-spread sympathy, even in Mexico; and petitions for mercy came pouring in from all quarters, including several from army men. Riva Palacio and Torre, who had made it their special aim to plead as supplicants with the government, pointed to the need for considering the honor of the country. Foreign governments had also instructed their representatives to assist the efforts of the Austrian embassador, Baron Lago, and Curtopassi, Hoorickx, Forest, and Baron Magnus, acting for Italy, Belgium, France, and Prussia, respectively, hastened up from Mexico for that purpose, Magnus taking the lead as the least obnoxious to the

[48] Of the colonels, Villanueva and Palacios, the latter broke his word of honor in revealing the plan. They had demanded the signature of foreign ministers on the bills besides Maximilian's. Baron Lago of Austria gave his, but the other ministers refusing to sign, he withdrew. Salm-Salm was placed under closer arrest and his wife sent away. For details and fac-simile of Maximilian's order, see *Salm-Salm, Diary*, i. 269, 281–90, ii. 65, 80, etc.; *Basch*, ii. 200–5. It has been assumed that the colonels intended merely to implicate the ministers, and Masseras believes that the prudence of the latter saved them from great danger. *Essai*, 321. Juarez is said by some to have personally desired an escape of the prisoner; but this is not probable.

government, and exerting himself with admirable zeal.[49] The most effective interference would undoubtedly have been from the United States government; but this was exerted with so little zeal as to wholly fail.[50]

As it was, the Juarist authorities remained firm in their decision that the cause of justice and the future peace of Mexico demanded the death of the prisoners. Magnus offered to procure guarantees from the leading European sovereigns that they should never again tread the soil or disturb the country. But all in vain.[51] Nor did the earnest pleading of deputations of prominent women avail anything, or the frantic appeal of others like Princess Salm-Salm, speaking for her husband as well as for the archduke. Especially heart-rending was the scene with Miramon's wife, who with her two little children fell weeping at the

[49] Lago excused his apparent inaction by the plea that a direct appeal from the Austrian representative would injure rather than serve Maximilian. Forest was merely a consul, sent by Dano. Détroyat blames the latter for not acting in person. *L'Intervention*, 367. He was afraid for himself and doubted his influence. Middleton, the English chargé d'affaires, also remained at Mexico. Salm-Salm accuses the Austrian and Belgian members of the corps of talking very loosely about Maximilian, and stamps the former as a rank coward; yet Maximilian wrote him a letter of thanks, in 'good-natured weakness.' *Diary*, ii. 59–60, 63, 74, 98. Arrangoiz makes more ado about their refusal at Mexico to implicate themselves by taking charge of effects from the imperial palace. *Méj.*, iv. 326–9. Among the army men who spoke for clemency were generals Treviño and Vega. Querétaro offered Maximilian's weight in gold. *Basch, Erinn.*, ii. 237, 242–4.

[50] Austria among others had prompted the cabinet at Washington, and their minister Campbell was instructed to recommend a humane policy; but he remained passively at New Orleans, and only sent despatches which served rather to annoy by their tone of authority and of censure for previous cruelties. Again prompted, Seward spoke to the Juarist minister Romero, but delayed further action till too late. *U. S. Foreign Aff., Lefèvre, Docs*, ii. 401–10. Domenech assumes that proper remonstrances from Seward would have been commands to Juarez, and concludes that the neglect to send them entails 'une terrible responsabilité relativement à la mort de ce malheureux prince.' *Hist. Mex.*, iii. 432. He hints at selfish political motives. Otterburg was appointed to replace Campbell and interpose his ministerial influence, but too late. He lays the blame on Campbell. D'Héricault, *Max.*, 326, and Arrangoiz, iv. 347, accuse the United States of a desire to retaliate on France. See also *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7, iii. 194, etc.; *Vega, Docs*, iii. 319 et seq.; *Méx., Legac.*, i. 3–345, passim; *Masseras, Essai*, 430–2; *Max., Mem.*, 79–83, etc. Victor Hugo and Garibaldi were among the pleaders.

[51] This was in reply to Minister Lerdo's observation that no guarantees existed against a fresh invasion. Austria supported the promise with an offer to reinstate the archduke in his rights as such, after he had renounced his projects in Mexico. This offer came too late.

feet of the president, and fainted as Juarez in deeply moved voice repeated his refusal.

The ostensible reason for the refusal was not alone that Maximilian, once in safety, would renew his pretensions, amid a group of discontented fugitives, to form his court, but that in case of subsequent internal or foreign trouble, his cause might serve as a dangerous pretence. Among the real reasons were a national jealousy of foreign interference and dictation, and the desire to show that Mexico could act independently. Leniency would be attributed to fear, although another invasion was improbable after Napoleon's failure. Hence the very pleading for mercy proved irritating, and tended to rouse the consciousness of comparative weakness to assume a mask of implacable sternness. The strongest pressure for punishment, however, came from the army, here composed of men from northern provinces, whose aversion to foreigners, unsoftened by lack of intercourse, had been increased by the irritation arising from the proximity of a powerful and suspected neighbor. They cried for revenge on the author of the decree under which their beloved leaders, like Arteaga, had met a cruel end.[52] It also flattered the national vanity of many to aim a blow at divine rights through republican sovereignty, by killing a monarch for lèse-majesté populaire—and a ruler so widely connected among European rulers.

On the 16th of June Maximilian and his compan-

[52] This is generally admitted, and Escobedo stands widely accused for having promoted the feeling. Many insist that he could have saved Maximilian. His selection of men for the court-martial was a proof of ill-will. He declared 'to the president that if Maximilian was not shot, that he, Escobedo, could not hold his army together.' *Hall's Life Max.*, 207, 212. Salm-Salm is doubtful about vindictiveness and cruelty as motives, but believes in a desire for revenge by army and ultra-republicans. *Diary*, i. 273; *Lefèvre, Docs*, ii. 410. Basch assumes that Juarez did not forget that Maximilian had refused to recognize him, giving the preference to Ortega. *Erin.*, ii. 103. His letter to Miramon, ordering Juarez and officers to be judged by court-martial, if caught—at Zacatecas—is also brought forward as irritating. The Indian nature is certainly tenacious. Maximilian would no doubt have given guarantees to abstain from all claims, but promises have never had much value in Mexico. Pardoned chiefs used to rise again as soon as released.

ions made their preparations, partaking of the communion, and stood waiting for the death escort, the former calm and in light converse with his attendants, the others engaged with their confessors. The dreaded hour of three came, and still no signs of a guard appeared. More than an hour later an officer came to announce a postponement of the execution to the 19th —the only concession granted by the government— in order to give them time to settle their affairs.[53] "It is a pity," exclaimed Maximilian, "for I was prepared to finish with life." Whatever may have been his feelings, the order roused false hopes in his friends, and led to another vain appeal for mercy, on the ground that death had already been suffered in anticipation.

Maximilian availed himself of the delay to write additional letters and instructions. The counsel received each a letter of thanks,[54] as did likewise his captive officers,[55] while to Juarez he addressed an appeal to stop further bloodshed, and let his death serve to promote tranquillity. With noble impulse he had begged that his two companions might be spared; and this being refused,[56] he commended Miramon's wife and children to his relatives,[57] Mejía having, with touching confidence, charged his debtor and victor, Escobedo, to care for his son. A large number of persons were remembered in his will; a few trinkets

[53] Escobedo had certainly not acted with military strictness in letting the hour fixed pass by. The telegram of reprieve from San Luis Potosí came fully an hour late.

[54] The emperor of Austria rewarded them with rich presents, for they refused a fee. *Diar. Ofic.*, July 13, 15, 29, 1868.

[55] The proclamation attributed to him, wherein he rails against Napoleon, is not authentic. It appeared in *Sombra de Zaragoza*, May 21, 1867, suppl. Hall gives a translation in *Mex. under Max.*, 194–5. A proposed denunciation of Marquez was not written. A letter to the pope asked for an indulgent opinion and prayers. *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iv. 340.

[56] In Mejía's case no doubt for the sake of showing that partiality had not been manifested for a native.

[57] The empress, or her Belgian relatives. *Arrangoiz*, iv. 327–30. Domenech speaks of a legacy of $50,000, and an appeal to his brother. *Hist. Mex.*, iii. 446. But the letter to Lago says that she was recommended to his mother, *Hall*, 290–1, receiving a pension of 4,000 florins. *Constit.*, Jan. 17, June 7, 1868. *Mem. Hac.*, 1868, ap. 46, doc. 7, pp. 23–8; *Estrella de Occid.*, June 5, 1868, refer to some landed property of Miramon.

were distributed;[58] Dr Basch was given his marriage-ring, with the charge to report at home on the siege and his last days, "and tell my mother that I have done my duty as a soldier and die a good Christian."[59] During these last days came a false report that Charlotte had died. It affected him deeply, but soon grief gave way to resignation. "It is one bond less holding me to life," he said.

Shortly after six o'clock on the morning of June 19th, after mass,[60] the three prisoners were driven, each with his confessor, in a common-looking carriage, to the Cerro de la Campana, where the surrender had taken place. A strong escort kept at a distance the grief-stricken citizens, and a force of 4,000 men enclosed the field.[61] Maximilian stepped lightly from his carriage and walked with dignity to the spot assigned, stroking his beard. He was dressed in black, with high-buttoned frock-coat and broad-brimmed felt hat. "Ah, what a splendid day!" he said; "I always wished to die on such a day."

They took their position at the foot of the hill in front of a shattered wall, which, like the adjacent

[58] Hoorickx vainly objected to the number of legatees. Queen Victoria, the count of Flanders, and the empress of Brazil received tokens. He had directed Salm-Salm to write down a distribution of orders, *Diary*, i. 268, but this was overruled, as a resumption of sovereign power. Miramon commended his sons also to Gen. Arellano. *Arrangoiz*, iv. 337-9. Mejía's wife spurned the aid of her husband's murderer, as she termed Escobedo.

[59] *Erin.*, ii. 209. After some discussion about the persons to be charged with writing the history of his reign, Father Fischer and Prince de Joinville being considered, he determined, in an unsigned codicil to his will, upon the ex-minister Ramirez and Prince Salm-Salm. See preface to the *Diary* of the latter for obstacles. Masseras assumes wrongly that 'la question ne fut pas tranchée.' *Essai*, 315.

[60] Maximilian had retired at eight o'clock, and fallen asleep after reading a while in *Imitation of Christ*. Toward midnight Escobedo intruded to say farewell. He thereupon rested peacefully till half-past three. Mass was held at five. Soon after he took breakfast of coffee, chicken, half a bottle of red wine, and bread. Dr Basch received his last injunction to take to his mother the scapulary in his vest pocket. *Erin.*, ii. 218.

[61] Salm-Salm states that the hour was anticipated to prevent a demonstration; yet from the roofs some epithets and missiles were launched upon the soldiers. *Diary*, i. 306. Hans, *Quer.*, 219, speaks of deserted streets, and Domenech copies him. Arias denies that insults were offered to Maximilian; others speak of loud sympathy.

fields and slopes, bore evidence of devastating batteries and cruel conflict. Turning to Miramon, who stood to the right, Maximilian remarked, "A brave soldier is respected by his sovereign; permit me to yield to you the place of honor;" whereupon he moved him to the centre and embraced him. He also pressed Mejía to his breast, saying, "General, what has not been rewarded on earth will be in heaven." After distributing some gold pieces among the soldiers detailed for the execution, and bidding them fire straight at his heart,[62] upon which he placed his hand, he spoke with firm voice, "May my blood be the last shed in sacrifice for the country, and if more is required, let it be for the good of the nation, never in treason."[63]

With equal composure Miramon read a brief piece, protesting against the imputation of treason. Mejía, at first unnerved by the effect of sickness and the sight of his wife frantic with grief, had now recovered himself and exclaimed firmly, "Viva México, viva el emperador!" The signal to fire was then given, and the three fell simultaneously. Miramon died instantly, Mejía had to receive a final shot, and also Maximilian, who received a bullet in the heart as he faintly whispered, "Hombre."[64] It was the hour of seven.

[62] He gave each of the seven men in his squad a Maximiliano de oro, about $20. The captain in charge had with tears in his eyes begged his pardon. 'You are a soldier, and must do your duty,' was the answer in a kind tone. The men belonged to the first battalion of Nuevo Leon. Maximilian noticed with regret the absence of a friend to whom he might give a last message, but Basch had remained behind wholly overcome with grief, and Baron Magnus stood behind the line of guard. He accordingly gave his hat and handkerchief, after wiping his brow, to the valet Tüdös, requesting him to give them to his mother. Simon Montemayor, who commanded at the execution, died Jan. 1881. *Diario Ofic.*, Jan. 21,1881.

[63] This is the version given in Basch, ii. 220, by Dr Reyes, who attended the execution. Others vary. The most commonly accepted is: 'I die for a just cause, the independence and liberty of Mexico. May my blood seal the misfortunes of my new country. Viva Mexico!' This is given in the official *Causa Max.*, 451. Yet a longer speech circulated among the public: 'Mexicans, persons of my class and origin are appointed by God either for the happiness of peoples or to become martyrs.' He had come to promote their weal, he continued, and thanked those who had sought to aid him. He hoped that his blood might 'regenerate this unhappy country.' *Max., Mem.*, 88. Hans, *Quer.*, 222, differs somewhat from the former version. Some republicans claim that he begged pardon for the blood he had spilled. See also *D'Héricault, Max.*, 362–5.

[64] 'Man.' Others say that it was, 'Poor Charlotte.' Arias, the official

In accordance with Maximilian's wishes, his body was embalmed[65] and sent to Mexico, to the chapel San Andrés, to be held till a formal requisition arrived from Austria.[66] Armed with this, Vice-admiral Tegetthoff received it in November, and carried it home on the *Novara*, the same vessel which three years before had conveyed the unfortunate man to his adopted country and his doom.[67]

account, Hall, and Salm-Salm declare that he received a coup-de-grace, and uttered the word 'hombre.' Some will even have two final shots. Others assume that he died without a struggle, on the authority of Basch, who writes that he had been penetrated by six bullets, fired at a short distance, three striking the breast with deadly effect, one the heart. The face remained untouched. Basch, *Erin.*, ii. 219-20. But it has not been clearly shown that one of these bullets was not the final one. Salm-Salm claims five bullets for the first fire, and that notwithstanding all the Mexican doctors indicated a bullet near the spine, probably the last. *Diary*, ii. 128. 'Era una alma grande!' exclaimed the colonel in command, on returning to Basch. The mourning in Querétaro was very general, especially among women, says Salm-Salm, and relics were eagerly sought, and so says Hall, *Life Max.*, 295, 297, 301. A monument was raised on the hill in latter years. *Diario Ofic.*, Mar. 23, 1881.

[65] By Rivadeneyra and Licea, the former inspector-general of the army medical corps, the latter the betrayer of Miramon. The operation was difficult, owing to lack of proper means, as reported June 27th, when concluded. *Arias, Reseña*, 709-10. Salm-Salm speaks of indecent treatment of the body by Licea and ultra-liberal officers. *Diary*, i. 312-13. The embalmment is claimed to have been good. *Diar. Ofic.*, Nov. 10, 1867. The doubt expressed in *Hall's Life Max.*, 306, is set aside by Basch, *Erinn.*, ii. 224; *Manero, Rel.*, 2.

[66] Maximilian had ordered its surrender to Baron Magnus and Dr Basch, *Erin.*, 203, 216, but the government desired to be relieved more formally of the charge. It was sent from Querétaro at the end of August. The beard and hair were reduced by relic-hunters, black glass eyes replaced the natural blue ones, and the body was dressed in blue campaign coat with gilt buttons, military boots, black tie and gloves. The cedar coffin was lined with zinc, and covered with black velvet banded with gold lace. The head, visible through a glass panel, rested on a black velvet cushion with gilt tassels. *Diar. Ofic.*, Nov. 10, 1867. Later a fine granadilla coffin was provided. Vice-admiral Tegetthoff arrived in Aug. and demanded the corpse on behalf of the family; but coming in no official character, he had to wait till a formal application arrived from Chancellor Beust. For correspondence on the subject, see *Max., Causa*, 454-64; *Arias*, 708-16; *Max., Mem.*, 105-13, etc. The bodies of Miramon and Mejía were surrendered to their families.

[67] The admiral was attended to Vera Cruz by a cavalry escort of 100 men. Here a ceremonious reception was accorded at the draped parish church. On Nov. 26th the *Novara* left the harbor by way of Habana, where imposing demonstrations took place. Concerning the funeral in Austria, see *Constit.*, Nov. 13, 1867, Jan. 11, 28, Feb. 15, Mar. 12, 20, 1868; *Diario Ofic.*, Apr. 15, May 7, July 8, 1868, etc. Maximilian had requested that his body should be deposited by the side of Charlotte, but she still lived her living death, and it was placed in the imperial vault. In Nov. 1870 a statue was unveiled to his memory at Hietzing, near Schönbrunn, Austria, Napoleon subscribing to it among others. *Voz Méj.*, Jan. 16, 1872; *Federal*, Jan. 6, 1872; *Monitor*, Jan. 17, 1869. Dr Licea had kept a lot of clothing, hair, and

The effect of the execution in the republic varied greatly in various quarters. The boisterous manifestations attending the capture had reduced the pressure on public feeling, and now a certain sympathy and respect tended to render more subdued the upholding of Juarez' conduct. Nevertheless, we find strong demonstrations in the ultra-liberal provinces, where the memory of cherished leaders fallen in battle received too pronounced a revival. Among the conservatives, on the other hand, protestations of grief were freely made, especially by the women at Querétaro and in the capital, masses being held and emblems distributed. Conservative journals were naturally restrained by fear. In Europe, as may be imagined, monarchist devotion joined with partisan spirit, race feeling, and pretensions to humanity, to condemn the deed, some denouncing it as an assassination, others qualifying it as a useless and deplorable excess. In the United States opinion ranged between the latter view and one of reluctant approval, as a sad necessity.[63]

The empire was undoubtedly a huge mistake. It can hardly be termed illegal, for all international law

other effects of the archduke, awaiting a purchaser, but the courts compelled their surrender. Most of the belongings were scattered, however. His villa became a school house; part of his furniture and table service fell into the hands of Gov. Leyva; his sword passed from Juarez' family to the later president Lerdo; his fine library was hurried away to Europe and sold, the choicest part going to enrich my own collection; his private papers were many of them scattered, Arellano accusing Fischer of selling several. *Ult. Horas*, iii.–iv. See also *Federal*, May 3, 1873; *Voz Méj.*, June 2, 7, 9, 1877; *Constitucional*, Nov. 16, 1867, Jan. 3, Feb. 10, 1868, etc. In *Derecho*, iv. 147–55, is an account of litigation for effects. *Conkling's Guide*, 200. Among the obstacles to the execution of Maximilian's testament was the unfortunate condition of Charlotte.

[68] 'La política de los Estados-Unidos, que han querido dar una leccion severa á Europa.' *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iv. 347. Cluseret maintained that most Americans regarded it as 'un acte de haute pôlitique commandé por la situation.' 'L'acte sévère et tout au moins inutile,' says *Détroyat, L'Interven.*, 369–70; *Moniteur Univ.*, July 5, 1867, takes a severe tone. While Frenchmen are ready to blame the church and conservative party for deception, etc., Germans and others prefer to blame Napoleon. See *Salm-Salm, Diary*, i. 281; *Arrangoiz*, etc. In *Legac. Mex.*, i. 241–345, is reviewed the feeling in the sister republic from a Juarist standpoint. See, further, *Bol. Rep.*, July 21, 1867 et seq.; *Zerecero, Rev. Mex.*, 131; *D'Héricault, Max.*, 1–20. Sympathy for Maximilian spread in Mexico, as shown by *Hans, Quer.*, 224–7; *Tovar, Hist. Parl.*, i. 359.

is based upon the right of might. The assembly which issued the plan and nomination may be challenged, but the country cannot repudiate the immense vote which lent confirmation, whatever the insincerity and reservation underlying that vote. The plea of compulsion affected only a part. It was but natural to suppose that a nation so long torn by revolutions and attendant maleadministration would hail a stable government; and Napoleon and Maximilian hugged the belief only too eagerly, the latter influenced not a little by the glitter of an imperial crown. Unfortunately, their views were framed by European standards, and by the expressions of a comparatively small party in Mexico. The rest of the people they failed to understand or to fully consider. There was little to fear from the passive Indian, but everything from the middle race, the mestizos, that mixture of activity and indolence, of brightness and dreaminess, insincerity and selfishness, in whose ever-growing strength rests the future of the country. Although reckless and improvident by nature, the mestizo had tired for a while of war, and yielded with the substantial classes to the effort for a peaceful rule. But soon his jealousy was roused by the growth of foreign influence, and the preference accorded to assuming officials from beyond the ocean. The gleam of foreign bayonets supporting the throne now flashed wider, and his restive independence of spirit took alarm, fostered by conservative discontent. The very strength of the invader became a source of weakness.

The liberal policy of Maximilian was based on apparently good grounds, seeking as it did to conciliate factions, which formed the worst foe to unity and progress, and making an effort to reach the people itself. If in a sense he turned traitor to the principles of the party to whom he stood bound, and consequently lost a certain support, he did so in search of advancement, and in the hope of greater gains. He meant well. Noble ideas ever filled his mind with

grand and humanitarian schemes; but he lacked strength and energy to carry them out. He might have done well in a settled country like Lombardy, where he gained so much approval; but Mexico needed a creative reformer, and this he was not.

Commissions formed good projects, but they were not acted upon, partly through the militating jealousies of Mexican and French officials. The latter tended to defeat the organization of a national army, the lack of which gave force to the fatal decree of October 3d, and to the fall of the empire. Almost every essential feature of reform suffered from opposition, neglect, or inanition; while petty regulations for office or barrack routine, consular service, orders and theatres, palace arrangements, court etiquette, and the like absorbed undue attention and led to unwarrantable expense. Fond of making laws, Maximilian gave less heed to their value or observance. He was not practical enough. He seemed to play at monarch and to pose royally before Europe, intent also on other plans, as shown by the protest against his renunciation of Austrian rights which opened wide-spread mistrust.

While bearing in mind that the most important measures were dependent on French interests and coöperation—and that their failure must be attributed to this source—yet it is evident that Maximilian was hardly the man for the place. It required one of sterner mould to cope with bitter factions and scheming partisans, and face a situation so critical. Usually kind-hearted to a fault, he on one side judged others too mildly, while occasional rancor and mistrust led to serious errors on the other. Of æsthetic temperament, he objected to the inharmonious, and was readily captivated by fine appearance and manner, and susceptible to insidious praise. All these were deplorable weaknesses under the circumstances, for they tended to misdirect his admirable impulses.[62]

[69] Salm-Salm exalts him as the 'noblest, best, and most amiable' of men. *Diary*, i. 315. The disappointed conservative Arrangoiz finds him 'seco,

Irresolute and lacking confidence in himself, he was readily influenced by others to adopt unsuitable or impractical plans. While inviting able men like Ramirez and Lacunza, he yielded to mere theorists or schemers, to congenial foreigners who either failed to understand their surrounding or subordinated everything to private aims. Ramirez was not hearty enough in his coöperation as imperial minister. His republican inclinations served to lessen the energy and thoroughness of action demanded by circumstances, and led to half-hearted measures and false conclusions. Later, under Lacunza, the turn of events could hardly be changed; and Lares, the evil star of two preceding governments, allowed blind selfishness and illusion to undermine the last imperial foothold.

None of these men, however, exercised any real influence over Maximilian, such as was wielded by Eloin, who, while talented and energetic enough, lacked practical ability, and was in many respects a visionary reformer like his master. Marquez had not the broad mind and elevated character needed to evolve grand schemes, or to long maintain a controlling influence. Mejía and Mendez were but brave and loyal soldiers; and among other later friends and companions Miramon alone exercised any real power. Although a brilliant soldier, who by his sword and magnetism had made his way to the presidential chair at the early age of twenty-six, he was too much imbued with illusions, lacking the stability of character and maturity of mind requisite for either a great leader or a good counsellor.[70]

altivo, y vengativo,' even false and inconstant. *Méj.*, iv. 340. D'Héricault points to his freedom from prejudice in the desire to leave even the hostile attorney Aspiroz a legacy. *Max.*, 323. Arias himself is ready to admit his humane sentiments. *Reseña*, 244. In the suite of these different representative opinions we find most others follow, the generality being ready to praise, especially Stern, Basch, Kollonitz.

[70] The half-uttered imputations against his loyalty have not enough foundation to merit consideration, and he atoned for any such intent with his blood. Salm-Salm states that he accused himself in his last days of having brought Maximilian into captivity. *Diary*, i. 301. But this may refer to his neglect of better campaign plans. Even this writer is ready to believe that he was merely unconsciously the evil genius of the archduke.

France stood compromised, by the spirit at least of the Miramare convention, to found a strong government. She promised more than she performed, and moreover sapped the roots by absorbing the means for growth. The hostile attitude of the northern republic, with her disengaged lines of armies, tended to dispel the illusive hopes infolding the Mexican enterprise. Quicksand stood disclosed, and fear and interest demanded a retreat, even at the cost of humiliation. Maximilian was offered safety at the same price, but he refused.

Now rise the redeeming traits of the prince in the midst of misfortune. It is needless again to examine closely additional motives of ulterior plans and revolted pride, in connection with Austrian prospects and French intrigues for another government. Suffice it to recognize that the honor of his name and the appeal of his imperilled party proved the main impulse which called him to what he deemed duty, to stand by his adherents till terms could be obtained for their security. "Tell my mother that I have done my duty as a soldier!" was a last message that reflected true as well as noble feelings. His sacrifice to honor and party was wholly thrown away. Not that he could have been much deceived by the shallow assurances of his ministers; but his usual irresolution and yielding to certain men led him into fresh mistakes, and to the neglect of opportunity that might have gained at least honorable conditions and safety. The last struggle proved merely a waste of blood, although serving to embalm his memory as a brave and chivalric prince,[71] if not as a great man.

[71] 'Durch mich wird der Ruhm meiner Ahnen gewiss nicht verdunkelt werden,' was a piece of vanity which did not, however, belie its author.

Alberto Hans, Querétaro; Memorias de un Oficial del Emperador Maximiliano, Traducidas del Frances, con Notas y Rectificaciones por Lorenzo Elizaga. 2ª ed., Mexico, 1869, sm. 8°, pp. 250. The author, an ensign of artillery in the imperial army, gives a detailed account of the siege of Querétaro and different military operations. He passes judgment upon the capacity and conduct of various generals serving in that army, strategical faults being pointed out. Hans wrote in French and dedicated his book to Charlotte. It is regarded as an important work, and was translated into Spanish by Lorenzo Elizaga,

who at the end appends some pages of notes and corrections by himself, as well as an article written by Manuel Payno and published in the *Siglo XIX.* Hans was a strong partisan of Maximilian, and while being as impartial as his position and political views would allow in his narration of events, he is occasionally unjust to the republican party. It is to refute such expressions that Elizaga penned his notes and Payno his article.

Félix Salm-Salm, My Diary in Mexico in 1867, including the Last Days of the Emperor Maximilian, with leaves from the Diary of the Princess Salm-Salm. London, 1868, sm. 8°, 2 vol., pp. xiv., 320, and 328. Maximilian in his last will expressed the desire that this author and the ex-minister Fernando Ramirez would undertake to write an historical account of his three years' sojourn in Mexico and of the preparatory period, with the assistance of documents kept in England and at Miramare. Salm-Salm was unable to procure those papers, and in his preface relates the efforts he made to obtain them and carry out one of the last wishes of the emperor. Aware that a publication about the occurrences at Querétaro was expected from him, he resolved to publish such a narrative with the help of his diary. He has to regret the loss of many important papers during the occupation of Querétaro by the liberals and his own imprisonment. He had written while a prisoner an account of these events for the emperor of Austria, and delivered it to Mr Price to forward it by the English courier to Vera Cruz. He states, vol. ii., p. 105, that he did not know whether it ever reached the hands of the emperor. Salm-Salm enters minutely into the occurrences at the siege of Querétaro, describing particularly the imprisonment and execution of Maximilian, as well as his own experiences while under condemnation of death to the time of his release. His wife's diary, which occupies the first 88 pages of the 2d volume, contains an account of her exertions to effect the escape of Maximilian by attempting to bribe the officers under whose guard he was placed. She attributes her failure to the meanness of the foreign representatives in not supplying her with funds. The Austrian and Belgian ministers she regarded as actually unfriendly. In both diaries the personal appearance and manners of prominent men are described. Prince Salm-Salm was general, first aide-de-camp, and chief of the household of Maximilian. He subsequently entered the Prussian service, and was killed before Metz, in August 1870. His wife was an American, and, as she states, 'understood perfectly well the feelings of the Mexicans.' ii. 57. This work has been translated into Spanish by Eduardo Gibbon y Cárdenas, and was published in Mexico in 1869, under the title, *Félix de Salm-Salm. Mis Memorias sobre Querétaro y Maximiliano.* The diary of the princess was also translated from the German and published separately, under the title, *Querétaro; Apuntes del Diario de la Princesa Inés de Salm-Salm.* Mexico, 1869, sm. 4°, pp. 51.

Ignacio de la Peza y Agustin Pradillo, Maximiliano y los Ultimos Sucesos del Imperio en Querétaro y Mexico. Mexico, 1870, sm. 8°, p. 179. The object of the authors of this volume was to refute numerous false statements and misrepresentations asserted to be contained in Salm-Salm's book entitled *My Diary.* Peza was a colonel of artillery in the imperial army, and Pradillo Maximilian's only aide-de-camp in Querétaro, 'Unico Oficial de órdenes del Emperador en Querétaro.' They accuse Salm-Salm of ingratitude to his Mexican friends, of untruthfulness, and of attempting to stain the reputations of those who generously extricated him from difficulties on his arrival in Mexico. In their narrative of events they charge him with being responsible for the disastrous results of various engagements, and speak lightly of his military qualities. The last 28 pages are taken up by an appendix written by Manuel Noriega, whom the authors defend, and who deemed it necessary also to take up his pen in the same cause. Salm-Salm's remarks about the Mexican officers and troops were somewhat supercilious and ill-judged, and these writers show their resentment.

La Caida de Querétaro en 1867; Varios Documentos Relativos á aquel Acontecimiento. Mexico, 1868, sm. 8°, p. 192. Miguel Lopez, a colonel in the imperial army, smarting under the charge of treacherous conduct at Querétaro,

published July 31, 1867, a manifesto, under the title of *La Toma de Querétaro*, in which he attempts to vindicate his action, giving his version of events connected with the fall of that city. He supports his assertions with copies of 14 official documents. Lopez allows himself to be carried away by passion, and makes a number of false statements, which are refuted in a pamphlet issued by imperial officers imprisoned at Morelia, and by publications of Salm-Salm, Felix Becerra, and others. The attack of these imperialists on Lopez is very severe, and proves that he was bribed to surrender the point which in all honor he ought to have defended. This volume is a collection of the above-named pamphlets and documents, and of insertions in periodicals bearing upon the question.

S. Basch, Erinnerungen aus Mexico. Geschichte der letzten Zehn Monate des Kaiserreichs. Leipsic, 1868, 8°, 2 bks in 1 vol., pp. vi., 196, and vi., 261. This book may be considered as a sequel to Kératry's work on the intervention, the author commencing his narrative at a historical point just before the departure of the French, with which event Kératry closes. Basch was physician in ordinary to Maximilian, and was by his side from September 1866 to the time of his death. He enjoyed the emperor's confidence, and was an eye-witness of many circumstances which would have remained unknown had he not published them. His work has an importance almost official, since Maximilian, with the intention of writing a history of the war, intrusted Basch with the care of preparing material, and placed at his disposal his own private manuscripts and documents of the war department, among which were plans of campaigns, orders of the day, and protocols of councils of war. When Basch was made prisoner, many of the papers written in Spanish were lost, but nearly all those in German were saved. From these, and from notes made by himself and others around Maximilian, Basch produced his work by the express order of the fallen emperor, who himself gave to it its title. It contains copies of a number of official documents that had not been previously published. This volume has been translated into several European languages, and in 1870 Dr Manuel Paredo published a translation in Spanish from the Italian edition, under the title, *Samuel Basch, Recuerdos de Mexico, Memorias del Médico ordinario del Emperador Maximiliano.* (1866 á 1867.) Mexico, 1870, 8°, pp. 479, 1. 1. In this volume the translation—which is an excellent one—occupies the first 327 pages, the remaining 152 pages being taken up by a production of Hilarion Frias y Soto, written for the purpose of correcting and refuting Basch, whose depreciation of Mexicans, false views of affairs, and errors could not be passed over in silence.

Frederic Hall, Life of Maximilian I., Late Emperor of Mexico, with a Sketch of the Empress Carlota. New York, 1868, sm. 8°, pp. 317, with portraits and plates. The author was one of the legal advisers of Maximilian. In the first chapter he gives a brief sketch of the leading events connected with the Austrian nation and the house of Hapsburg. He states in his preface that his object was not to give a history of the Mexican empire under Maximilian, but to portray his personal qualities, and concisely state the facts and law pertaining to his trial. Hall is a great admirer of the unfortunate emperor, whom he regards as a victim, and describes as a 'noble chief.' The trial he stigmatizes as a farce, which, with the succeeding tragedy, 'are recorded as a stain on the pages of the history of the Mexican nation which can never be effaced therefrom.' The author supplies a number of documents, the most of which relate to Maximilian's trial. The same work was also published in New York, without date, under the title, *Invasion of Mexico by the French, and the Reign of Maximilian I., with a Sketch of the Empress Carlota.*

Juan de Dios Arias, Reseña Histórica de la Formacion y Operaciones del Cuerpo de Ejército del Norte durante la Intervencion Francesa, Sitio de Queréta ro y Noticias Oficiales sobre la Captura de Maximiliano, su Proceso Integro y su Muerte. Mexico, 1867, 8°, pp. 725, ll. 3, with portraits and plans. This author does not attempt to enter into any explanation of the causes which conduced to the English, Spanish, and French alliance, but attributes the intervention to the machinations of Napoleon, who made Mexico his safety-

valve by employing the restless French army in a foreign war, and thereby diverting it from revolutionary outbreak at home. Arias regards Maximilian's fate as merited, and the disgrace which attended the arms of France as justly deserved. This work, as the title sets forth, contains an account of the operations of the army of the north, the siege of Querétaro, and Maximilian's capture, trial, and execution. The plans of battle-fields are good.

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CHAPTER XV.

REPUBLICAN RECONSTRUCTION.

1867–1868.

MOVEMENTS OF MARQUEZ AND DIAZ—THE LAST IMPERIAL CABINET—PROGRESS OF REPUBLICAN ARMS—MARQUEZ IN MEXICO—DIAZ BESIEGES THE CITY—RESULTS OF INTERVENTION—JUAREZ' ENTRY INTO THE CAPITAL—NEW REPUBLICAN CABINET—TREATMENT OF REBELS AND TRAITORS—PROPOSED REFORMS—PARTIES AND PRINCIPLES—ELECTION LAWS—POPULAR DISCONTENT—DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.

WE will now follow briefly the fortunes of Marquez and Diaz, and the progress of affairs subsequent to the downfall of the empire. In pursuance of preconcerted arrangements, under the emperor's orders, Marquez made on the 22d of March, 1867, a successful sally with 1,200 cavalry. His departure became known soon after, however, at Escobedo's headquarters, and the fact was at once communicated to Porfirio Diaz, who commanded the republican forces operating in the valley of Mexico; a division of cavalry, 4,000 strong, was also despatched to act in concert with the troops of Lalanne, Cuéllar, and others, and prevent the passage of hostile reënforcements that might leave the capital.

Marquez effected a difficult though rapid march through the sierra without meeting with any serious opposition from the enemy,[1] and reached Mexico in the morning of the 27th.[2] He lost no time in carry-

[1] He had a trifling encounter with a republican party at the place called Puerto de los Chivos. *Peza* and *Pradillo, Maxim.*, 110.

[2] The people were greatly surprised on seeing Marquez and Vidaurri unexpectedly enter the city at the head of 1,000 men. *Masseras, Un Essai d'Empire*, 185.

ing out his instructions to reconstitute the cabinet, which he did with the following ministers, namely: Santiago Vidaurri, minister of the treasury and president of the council; Tomás Murphy, of foreign affairs; José María Iribarren, formerly the imperial commissioner in Sinaloa, of government and fomento; Manuel García de Aguirre, of justice and ecclesiastical affairs, and during his absence in Querétaro the portfolio was to be in charge of the under-secretary Pedro Sanchez Castro; General Nicolás de la Portilla, of war; and Cárlos Sanchez Navarro, of the imperial household. Lares and Marin were relieved.[3] Tubera and O'Horan retained their respective offices, the one as general-in-chief of the garrison, and the other as political prefect.

The selection of Marquez, Vidaurri, and Iribarren implied an energetic policy. That of Marquez would hardly call for any comment; it was intended to forward the aims of Maximilian and his supporters, which I have explained elsewhere; that of Vidaurri presaged that there would be no half-way measures in financial affairs, and as for Iribarren, he had shown himself in difficult positions to be a man of indomitable energy, and seemed to be a proper person to coöperate with the others.

Marquez found the condition of affairs not so favorable as he expected on leaving Querétaro. Events soon proved that it was a change of measures as well as men that had recently taken place. Vidaurri summoned to his presence the chief merchants and property owners, and demanded from them a prompt contribution of funds to enable the government to resume military operations. And in order to avoid

[3] They were restored to their former positions; Lares to the presidency of the supreme court, and Marin to that of the superior court of the valley of Mexico. Maximilian wrote each of them a letter of thanks for services in the cabinet, accompanying to the former the cross of grand officer in the order of the Águila Mexicana, and to the latter that of commander in the same order. *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xviii. 1177–8. Lares died in Mexico in Jan. 1870. He was held to be a man of large information and a distinguished jurist. *El Derecho*, iv. 97–8.

superfluous discussion, a list was produced, setting forth the amount each was expected to contribute.[4] By surprise, not entirely unaccompanied with a secret terror, Vidaurri obtained $300,000, which sum was placed at Marquez' disposal for military purposes.[5]

The city of Puebla had been closely invested by the republicans under Diaz since the 9th of March. The garrison consisted of about 2,500 men, mostly rural militia got together by the commandant, General Manuel Noriega, including the 16th battalion of the line. No reënforcements having reached him, notwithstanding his urgent demands, Noriega's situation had become critical, but he was determined to defend the place at all hazards. The besiegers, on the other hand, made repeated assaults, gaining considerable advantages.[6] Noriega again, on the 22d, wrote the minister of war that he was left almost without efficient officers or money, and that his ammunition would last only six days; furthermore, the town "was not the Puebla of 1856, its inhabitants having now become either hostile or indifferent." This letter was laid before the lugarteniente on the day of his arrival in Mexico,[7] who, after a consultation with Vidaurri and the other ministers, concluded that Puebla should be relieved; for if the republicans were

[4] Foreigners obtained a reduction of one half, owing to the interference of Dano, supported by the Spanish and Prussian ministers. *Masseras, Un Essai d'Empire*, 187–8.

[5] It may well be surmised that this device caused much displeasure. Vidaurri called together the editors of newspapers, on the 2d of April, and explained the pressing necessity for the funds. The editor of the *Cronista de Méjico* unhesitatingly said, and his words were supported by the others, that the necessity was well understood, and the government's right to procure funds was not disputed; that the objections lay in forcing people to contribute more than they were able, and in the despotic manner employed in the collection. Vidaurri then said that O'Horan had been, and would be again, told to employ gentler means. He added that the government had been compelled to procure money to remit the emperor for his army, and $100,000 had been sent him on the 1st; and on Marquez' return, after defeating Diaz' army, the imperialist forces would be increased, a sufficient garrison left in the capital, and aid forwarded at once to the relief of Querétaro.

[6] In the assault of March 19th the imperialist generals Calderon and Prieto were seriously wounded.

[7] Minister Portilla's letter embodying Noriega's report is given in *Zamacois' Hist. Méj.*, xviii. 1180–2.

permitted to take the place, Diaz would march on the capital, allowing no time to prepare the resources so much needed at Querétaro Marquez hoped by a timely defeat of this commander to bring on a most favorable change for the empire; he could then return to the capital with Noriega's troops and the war material in Puebla, raise more forces, which might be also augmented by the prisoners taken, and then, with a large train of artillery, money, and plenty of ammunition, march to the aid of Querétaro, and force the republicans to abandon the siege. The republicans looked upon this plan as the only one that could give the imperialists the victory, and were therefore anxious that Diaz should take possession of Puebla before Marquez could succor it.[8]

Marquez started on the 30th of March from Mexico, with 3,480 men[9] and 17 pieces of artillery, taking the route of the Llanos de Apam, as it afforded greater facility for manœuvring with cavalry. At the hacienda of Soltepec he received on the 2d of April the alarming news that Puebla had fallen, and that the imperialists were concentrated upon the fortified hills of Loreto and Guadalupe. On the next day the hussars were despatched to Huamantla to ascertain what had really occurred at Puebla. From that and other

[8] The republican general, Gonzalez, an eye-witness, said in a letter of Sept. 15, 1867, to a newspaper of Mexico, that if Diaz had been repulsed from Puebla, 'Marquez, 15 days later, could have marched on Querétaro with 14,000 men and 60 or 80 pieces of artillery,' and compelled the besieging army to beat a retreat, and break up. Marquez' right to go to Puebla in the face of Maximilian's instructions has been questioned. But even allowing that his orders were positive to return to Querétaro at once with the funds he could gather and the garrison of the capital, it is doubtful, from a military standpoint that he could leave Puebla to its fate. He had only 5,000 men. Had he attempted to go back, without affording relief to that town, it would have surrendered at once, and then Diaz, with the forces of Leyva, Cuéllar, Lalanne, and others, together with Guadarrama's 4,000 men, would have annihilated him, and the fall both of Mexico and Querétaro must follow. *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xviii. 1184–7.

[9] His force has been variously estimated at 4,000 and 5,000, but the number given in the text is believed to be correct, as follows: infantry, 2,001; cavalry, 1,281; artillery, 198. *Peza* and *Pradillo, Maxim.*, 112–4. The news received at the republican headquarters was that Marquez had marched with 1,900 picked men of infantry and 1,600 horse. In a letter from him to Noriega at Puebla, dated March 27th, he promises to go to his aid with 8,000 men of all arms. *Diaz, Porf., Biog.*, 105, 124.

sources no doubt was left in Marquez' mind that Puebla and the hills before named had fallen into the enemy's hands, and that the whole republican force under Diaz would be soon upon him.

After his successful campaign in Tehuantepec, General Diaz returned to Oajaca, where he was met by several commissions from the republicans of Puebla, Vera Cruz, Tlascala, and Mexico, asking him to come among them, and inaugurate active military operations. A large supply of arms and ammunition, sent by the Mexican minister in the United States, had arrived at Minatitlan, but armament for cavalry and other things were needed for the troops then being organized. He would not leave Oajaca till these troops were ready. But finding the delay too long, he appointed General Alejandro García governor and military commandant of Oajaca, and toward the end of January or early in February, took his departure with only 200 lancers, his aids and a few officers of the commissariat and medical departments, bound for Acatlan el Grande.[10] Before reaching this place Diaz demanded the surrender of the considerable imperial garrison occupying the city of Matamoros Izúcar, which, believing itself in danger of an attack by a largely superior force, hurriedly fled to Puebla.

Diaz lost no time in concentrating the republican forces in northern Oajaca, Vera Cruz, Mexico, and Puebla for future operations. He at once assumed control of the districts in the valley and south of Puebla, giving his personal supervision to administrative and financial as well as to military affairs.[11] He also established his authority in the military line of Chalco and Tezcuco, and placed it in charge of Gen-

[10] He had on the 15th of Jan. written Godoy, Mexican consul in San Francisco, Cal., that in the course of the next month he would take up a position between Puebla and Mexico, with from 10,000 to 15,000 men, exclusive of garrisons in republican towns. *La Estrella de Occid.*, March 8, 1867.

[11] He declared contraband of war all effects—exempting only such as had been seized from private parties—sold by the French on their retreat to the coast. *Diaz, Porf., Biog.*, 95.

eral Cuéllar;[12] and afterward retired García from Oajaca, making him governor and comandante general of Vera Cruz, with headquarters at Orizaba; and to his former position as governor appointed J. M. Maldonado, and to that of military commandant Colonel Félix Diaz.

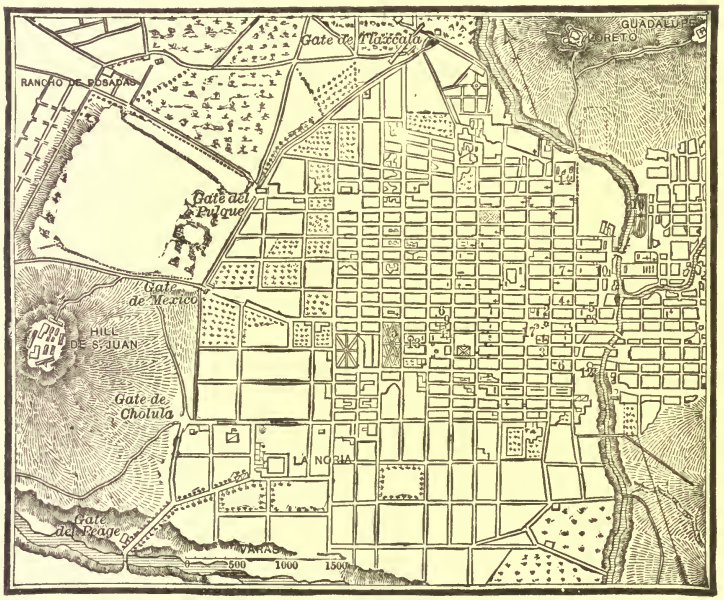
During Diaz' sojourn in Acatlan an episode occured which is worthy of mention. E. Bournouf, representing himself as an emissary from Maximilian, came to tender Diaz, in the emperor's name, the command of the imperial forces in Puebla and Mexico, coupled with the assurance that Marquez, Lares, and others of that clique, should be driven from power, and that Maximilian would leave the country, first placing the republican party in control of the situation. To which proposition Diaz answered that he had no right to hold with the archduke other relations than military laws and usages allowed with the commander of a hostile force.[13] Bournouf also asked that Maximilian should be permitted to pass unmolested with 5,000 Belgians and Austrians to Vera Cruz, where they would embark. Diaz' reply to this was that if such a force appeared near his lines he would certainly attack it.

On the 9th of March Diaz already had his headquarters on the Cerro de San Juan. His force consisted of two divisions of infantry under the respective command of Alatorre and Bonilla, and one of cavalry

[12] Early in March Diaz received the orders of the government adding to his command the federal district, and the three districts of the state of Mexico.

[13] Bournouf had been introduced in the camp blindfolded. Having signified his inability to go at once on account of ill health, Diaz deemed it advisable to communicate those facts to the governors and military commandants, which he did in a circular, saying, besides, that it was surprising such a proposition should be brought to him, who had indignantly rejected similar ones made him in Oajaca in 1864, and again when he was a prisoner in Puebla in 1865. He then concludes with words to this effect: 'These Europeans must hold us in poor estimation when they act with so little discretion, and in the manœuvres of their arduous diplomacy ignore even the plainest dictates of common sense.' *Diaz, Datos Biog.*, MS., 278–80; *Diaz, Porf., Biog.*, 97. The circular was published in nearly all the republican journals, among which may be mentioned *La República* of Jalapa, and *La Estrella de Occid.*, May 3, 1867.

under Toro.[14] After the southern division at Cuernavaca had been incorporated with his army, the line of observation of Chalco and Tezcuco established, and the telegraph lines in the plains and Rio Frio repaired, Diaz' authority extended from Tabasco and Chiapas to Pachuca and Toluca. He had to devise means to procure resources for supporting his troops without imposing too heavy burdens on the people, in which he was singularly successful.[15]



PUEBLA.

[14] While here he despatched an invitation to Diego Alvarez to join him with his 1,500 men; Leyva was ordered to occupy Chalco with his brigade, and Cuéllar was placed under him. Siege operations had already begun, when the general government, now on its way to San Luis Potosí, asked him to reënforce the army besieging Querétaro. A force, composed of troops from the 1st and 2d districts of Mexico, and one Puebla brigade, was accordingly forwarded under Gen. Mendez. *Diaz, Porf., Biog.*, 99–102.

[15] He established a custom-house in Apizaco, and a property tax of 1%, on the strength of which he raised a loan in Orizaba to meet urgent needs. He sent an inspector of customs to the gulf, reorganized the custom-house at Tabasco, closed the port of Vera Cruz while it should be in possession of the enemy, and made Alvarado a port of entry. *Diaz, Datos Biog.*, MS., 295;

The operations against Puebla were carried on with the utmost vigor, the besiegers gaining some advantage every day, till on the 2d of April at 4 o'clock in the morning their artillery opened fire, under cover of which assaults were undertaken simultaneously at different parts, which culminated in the capture of the place. In less than one hour the assailants were assembled in the place d'armes, the survivors of the garrison having taken refuge in the Loreto and Guadalupe forts.[16] The latter offered on the 4th to surrender if honorable terms were granted them, but Diaz would listen to nothing but an unconditional surrender, and they had to comply. Being amenable to the death penalty for high treason, many of the prisoners employed that day in preparation for it. But such was not to be their fate. The victorious general had a difficult problem to solve. He had in Oajaca over 1,000 prisoners—Mexican officers of all ranks, and foreign officers and soldiers—and those of Puebla were more numerous, for even leaving out the rank and file, they must have exceeded 600.[17] To shoot them was out of the question, and to set them at liberty, though a magnanimous act, might not meet with the approval of the government.[18] He adopted the latter course.[19] That same day he issued a general order to the military commandants to release all the prisoners, who were to remain for the time under

Méx., Col. Ley., 1863–7, iii. 188–91, 256–61; *Méx., Mem. Hacienda*, 1870, 681.

[16] The same day Diaz wrote the minister of war at San Luis Potosí of his success, and that the traitors Febronio Quijano, Mariano Trujeque, and 20 others had been executed. *La Estrella de Occid.*, May 17, 1867; *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iv. 316–17; *Mier y Terán, Apunt. Biog.*, 30–6; *Pera* and *Pradillo, Maxim.*, 121–57.

[17] Among them were the bishops Colima, Berea, and Covarrubias.

[18] Diaz remarked to one who recommended the release, 'Va á creer Juarez que le disputo el porvenir.' *Diaz, Porf., Biog.*, 112.

[19] Diaz took with him the imperialist generals Noriega and Tamariz to the place where the prisoners were confined, and addressing them, said: 'The nation has expressed her judgment on the empire's cause, but will not do herself justice unless she forgives the errors of her children; you are all free.' Then turning to those accompanying him he added, 'I was not born to be a jailer nor an executioner.' *Diaz, Datos Biog.*, MS., 314; *Diaz, Porf., Biog.*, 112

the surveillance of the local authorities, and subject to the disposal of the supreme government. Such of the foreign portion of the prisoners as selected to reside in the country were to be allowed to do so under the same conditions, and the rest might freely leave the republic.[20]

Diaz' triumph had not been without heavy casualties in his army, which had 154 killed, 223 wounded, and 87 missing, in the first division alone.[21] The victorious republicans now went in hot pursuit of Marquez, who took to flight, but was overtaken on the 9th in the hacienda of San Lorenzo, and routed on the 10th.[22] This was a disastrous day for the empire. Marquez had his heavy artillery that he could not carry along thrown down the barranca of San Cristóbal, and ordering his Austrians to continue the resistance, escaped at full gallop to the capital, arriving there on the 11th. The republican army tarried in Tezcuco, pursued its march on the 11th, and reached Tacubaya on the 12th. The enemy made some resistance at both places, but was dislodged, and sought safety in flight.[23] The republican

[20] The order bears date April 4th, and included the prisoners taken in the battles of Miahuatlan and La Carbonera, in the occupation of Oajaca, and in the assault of Puebla and surrender of the forts. *Diaz, Datos Biog.*, MS., 315-16; *Diaz, Porf., Biog.*, 113. Gen. Noriega, in a letter of Dec. 31, 1869, explaining his conduct at Puebla, and contradicting statements of Prince Salm-Salm, speaks of the danger he and his companions had been in of being executed, from which they were saved by Diaz' clemency, 'que todo el mundo conoce y merced á la cual no subimos al cadalso.' *Peza* and *Pradillo, Maxim.*, 151–74.

[21] Official report in *Diaz, Porf., Biog.*, 115–21. Bazaine's words, that if Diaz attempted the siege of Puebla his destruction was certain, did not prove true. *Id.*, 101–2.

[22] Notwithstanding the glowing accounts of imperialist writers who called the flight of Marquez' column from Huamantla to Mexico the battle of five days, it was nothing but an exhibition of panic and lack of military skill. Marquez succeeded, however, in saving himself. Descriptions of the operations at San Lorenzo appear in *Peza* and *Pradillo, Maxim.*, 111–24; *Arellano, Últ. Horas*, 94–106, 152–3; *Héricault, Maxim.*, 212–32; *Salm-Salm's Diary*, 294–302; *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 706; *Diaz, Datos Biog.*, MS., 321–36; *Diaz, Porf., Biog.*, 129–31; *Masseras, Un Essai d'Empire*, 189–91.

[23] The demonstration on Tacubaya was intended to make sure of Chapultepec. As the march against Marquez was begun the day after the fall of the Loreto and Guadalupe forts, Diaz had been unable to bring into immediate use the immense war material captured from the enemy. Another circumstance that could not be revealed at that time was that Guadarrama, who was sent to

general headquarters, after Chapultepec had been made safe, were transferred to the city of Guadalupe, and the operations for investing Mexico were begun at once.[24]

March of Diaz to Mexico.

watch Marquez, had been recalled to Querétaro. Later, Diaz had been asked not only to reënforce the army of the interior, but on the 27th or 28th of April to go there himself with his main force. He was offered the command in chief of the besieging forces, and wrote Escobedo that he would join him in eight days. 'Mantenga V. sus posiciones por algunos dias mas, seguro de que dentro de ocho me pondré en marcha para ese campamento.' But final orders released him from going to Querétaro. *Diaz, Datos Biog.*, MS., 341.

[24] Marquez has been blamed for the abandonment of Chapultepec and

Meantime Marquez exerted himself to place the city in condition for a desperate defence. But he encountered great difficulty in procuring funds wherewith to pay expenses. Vidaurri, minister of the treasury, acknowledged his inability to provide any, and placed his resignation in the lugarteniente's hands.[25] All denials to the contrary notwithstanding, the fact was that Marquez and Vidaurri were no longer in accord, owing to the latter's disapproval of O'Horan's violent course in collecting the forced loan. J. M. Lacunza became president of the council.

Marquez paid no regard to right or common decency. He continued to extort money in the emperor's name.[26] His emissaries forcibly entered private dwellings to make seizures. He also resorted to the unjustifiable device—so bitterly censured by the conservatives when Juarez' minister, Mendez, used it in 1863—of confining those who resisted his demands, barely allowing food enough to support life, with the intent to force the payment of ransom.[27]

The imperialist press assured its partisans that their triumph was certain; Escobedo and Diaz would be compelled to retire from before Querétaro and Mexico.[28] Encouraging news reached Marquez on the 6th of May from Maximilian, announcing his victory of April 27th, and giving the assurance that he would soon march to the relief of Mexico.[29] Marquez needed

Guadalupe, forgetting that to defend those positions and the extent of seven leagues the city would require a garrison of 20,000 men, whereas he had only 5,000 or 6,000.

[25] 'No me es posible cubrir ni el ramo mas preferente del ramo militar.' *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xviii. 1437. Diaz had on the 19th of April reminded all concerned of the law of April 12, 1862, prohibiting under the penalty of death all aid to the foreign enemy, manifesting his determination to make it effective upon all that should supply provisions to the beleaguered city. *Méx., Col. Ley.*, 1863–7, iii. 259–60; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, ix. 423.

[26] From the house of Barron he got $125,000; from Beistegui $100,000; and lesser sums from others.

[27] 'On les met au régime de la diète forcée, jusqu'a ce qu'ils se décident à payer rançon.' The Prussian count, Bennecke, paid $6,000 to escape that treatment. *Masseras, Un Essai d'Empire*, 214–15.

[28] The *Boletin Oficial* and *La Union* were the organs referred to.

[29] In another letter to Iribarren, published in the *Diario del Imperio* on the 7th of May, he spoke of his hopes to be able to compel the republicans to

no spurring to bring out his characteristic energy and activity, and his subordinates closely followed his example.

Forage was now extremely scarce. General M. Diaz de la Vega, who had charge of the exterior line of San Cosme, make a sortie in force on the 12th of of May, and drove the besiegers from their positions, pursuing them to the Hacienda de la Ascension y Popotla. Meanwhile Quiroga's brigade foraged at ease. The object being accomplished, the imperialists went back with loaded horses.[30]

The siege, though unaccompanied with fighting to any great extent, was producing horrible effects on the poor of the city, who had no means to procure the necessaries of life at their enhanced prices.[31] The garrison held out stoutly, in the expectation of immediate succor, when, on the 16th of May, a rumor circulated through the city that Querétaro had fallen. The news, as communicated in a telegram of Alcérreca to Diaz from San Juan del Rio, had been thrown into the town enclosed in bombs and grenades. It naturally caused much alarm; but after a while the idea began to prevail that it was a ruse of the enemy, deserving of no credence whatever. The news was true, for all that; 15,000 men of all arms, under General Ramon Corona, started from before Querétaro on the 17th of May to the assistance of Diaz. Riva Palacio with his division, and Marquez Galindo with his brigade, returned on the 22d from Querétaro.[32] On the 24th Corona reported himself with his 15,000 men. General Félix Diaz came the same day from

raise the siege of Mexico, urging that the defence should be continued, and the supply of war material increased.

[30] Salm-Salm, *Diary*, ii. 312, erroneously places this first sortie on the 18th, giving the Austrians the whole credit of its success. Marquez thanks Vega for that service on the 12th. No Austrians took part in the sortie. *Peza* and *Pradillo, Maxim.*, 136–9.

[31] A board of charity and the sisters of St Vincent de Paul relieved the indigent as well as they could.

[32] The *Boletin de Oriente*, a republican journal published in Diaz' camp, said, on the 24th of May, that the valley of Mexico was becoming the rendezvous of the uprisen nation.

Oajaca with cavalry. The general-in-chief, leaving Guadalupe in charge of Corona, transferred his headquarters to Tacubaya. The division of the north occupied Atzcapotzalco and Tacubaya. The investment was now complete, and the besiegers could not comprehend what made the garrison hold out, exposing itself and the city to utter destruction.[33] The cause was that Marquez would give no credence to any report not coming direct from the emperor. Even after he saw a letter from Vicente Riva Palacio to his wife, saying that he would soon be with her, he persisted in the defence, and to this end resorted to imposture.

At last, after many consultations as to whether the regency appointed by Maximilian at Querétaro on the 20th of March, 1867, should assume its office, it was resolved that Mariano Riva Palacio should repair, on the 28th of May, to Diaz' headquarters and ascertain the facts. That same morning Diaz placed in his hands Maximilian's telegram to Baron Magnus, requesting him to come to Querétaro with counsel to defend him, with which he returned to the city on the 29th.

Marquez still resolved to resist till the government was reconstituted pursuant to Maximilian's decree of May 11th. On receiving the information of the surrender of Querétaro and Maximilian's capture, Marquez attempted, in the night of the 17th–18th of June, a sally with 6,000 men,[34] throwing a bridge over the wide fosse surrounding the city, but was driven back by Diaz in person.[35] In this state of affairs, the Aus-

[33] Diaz felt that with sufficient sacrifice of life and destruction of property he could at once take the city; but there was no pressing need, and he preferred to spare both his men and the town, together with its inhabitants. As he has said himself, 'comprendió que con algunos dias mas de fuegos artificiales se rendirian.' *Diaz, Datos Biog.*, MS., 343–4. Masseras confirms it, characterizing Diaz as 'un homme qui s'était fait une loi de sacrifier l'impatience du succès au souci de ses conséquences.' *Un Essai d'Empire*, 196.

[34] In the preparations, lasting 48 hours, his agents used the most violent means to obtain men, money, and horses. *Masseras, Un Essai d'Empire*, 222.

[35] He was met by Diaz on the puente de los cuartos with two small brigades. On his way back he was a long time under the besiegers' cross-fire. *Diaz, Datos Biog.*, MS., 345.

trian chargé directed the Austrians to abstain from further service.[36] His right to do so has been denied, but the Austrian officers at once notified General Tabera of the receipt of this command.[37] Through the intercession of Baron Lago, Diaz agreed, on the 19th of June, to grant the Austrians terms of capitulation, assuming the responsibility of his act before his government, and pledging his word that the terms should be carried out.[38] That same day Marquez, who had received positive advice of the executions on the Cerro de las Campanas, concluded to resign his position, leaving the commanders of the garrison free to act as they might think proper. And being aware that if captured his execution was certain, he went into concealment, his family doing the same. His example was also followed by Vidaurri, Lacunza, O'Horan, and Manuel Ramirez Arellano.

[36] He wrote the Austrian colonel Khevenhuller that the emperor had told him he would send the Austrian officers an autograph letter requesting them to stop further bloodshed for him. Baron Lago felt certain that the emperor had written the letter, and it must have been intercepted by Marquez. *Masseras, Un Essai d'Empire*, 222–3; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xviii. 1624–5; *Boletin Republicano*, June 27, 1867.

[37] The action of the Austrians has been set down as selfish, and far from honorable. They had, under the conditions of their reënlistment, pursuant to Maximilian's proclamation at Orizaba Dec. 6, 1866, ceased to be Austrians, and had become Mexicans. *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xviii. 1626–7.

[38] 1st. The Austrians were to abstain from all participation in hostilities against the republican forces. 2d. Should they leave the capital on the 20th and present themselves at the general headquarters of the besieging army, Diaz would furnish them transportation to Vera Cruz at the expense of the Mexican government. Their baggage was also guaranteed. The officers were allowed to retain their arms and horses. All other arms and horses must be given up by them. 3d. Should the stipulated time elapse without the Austrians having availed themselves of it, though observing the condition expressed in article 1st, if the Austrian soldiers, in the event of a fight, retired therefrom and hoisted the white flag, Diaz guaranteed, if he succeeded in taking Mexico, only their lives, leaving the rest to the supreme government to decide. 4th. Austrians desiring to reside in the country would be permitted to do so, with guarantee of person and property. 5th. Austrians stationed at distant posts were allowed till the morning of the 21st to come in under clause no. 2; after that time they would be entitled only to the concessions in clause no. 3. 6th. The same terms were extended to other foreigners. As to the Mexicans, Diaz could not anticipate the resolution of the republican government by granting them terms which might be contrary to its determinations. 7th. Diaz wished to be timely informed when they would march out of Mexico, in order to afford them all the aid in his power. Those terms were accepted by the Austrians. *Id.*, 1638–9, 1641–2; *Domenech, Hist. du Mex.*, iii. 438–40.

General Ramon Tabera, upon whom had devolved the chief command, sent commissioners to Diaz to treat of capitulation.[39] He also had a conference with Diaz, at which the latter assured him that he could entertain no propositions which did not recognize the supremacy of his government. Tabera feared the application to himself and his companions of the law for the punishment of high treason, and told Diaz that rather than to submit to it the garrison would fight to the last.[40] The brief truce agreed upon having terminated without reaching the desired end, the besiegers reopened fire upon the town, and again set their columns in motion, the general's purpose being rather to feign an assault than to effect one.[41] After a few moments the white flag was again hoisted on the fortifications, and as soon as it was descried the firing ceased. This was on the 20th of June. Commissioners came out, to surrender the town and garrison at discretion, and Diaz instructed them how to effect the delivery, resolving to enter the city on the next day, due precautions against treachery being first taken.[42] After adopting measures for the preservation of order, and for supplying food to the inhabitants, Diaz had three prisons prepared for the servitors of the late archduke.[43] A term of forty-eight hours was allowed for all such to present them-

[39] The white flag being hoisted, and the call for a parley sounded, Ottenburg, the U. S. chargé, came out in a carriage, with the proposition that the city would surrender on the condition of life being guaranteed to its defenders. This was what the bearers of the flag of truce had asked for. Diaz refused to listen to the proposition, and allowed seven minutes for his return to the city. *Diaz, Datos Biog.*, MS., 346.

[40] 'Esas leyes son de sangre y exterminio, y ántes que poner el cuello bajo la cuchilla del verdugo, preferiremos seguir peleando como hombres resueltos.' *Diaz, Prof., Biog.*, 139.

[41] 'El general solo se habia propuesto simular un ataque y no practicarlo.' *Diaz, Datos Biog.*, MS., 346.

[42] Further particulars from republican as well as imperialist sources may be seen in *Boletin Rep.*, June 27, July 22, 1867; *Peza* and *Pradillo, Maxim.*, 121–36; *Pájaro Verde*, Jan.–June 1867; *Salm-Salm's Diary*, ii. 303–28; Héricault accuses Marquez of incapacity or treason, and praises Diaz' conduct. *Maxim.*, 185–241, 269–85, 375–82.

[43] One for his secretaries of state, councillors, and generals; the second for other high civil officials and field-officers; and the third for lower officials and subalterns. *Diaz, Datos Biog.*, MS., 348–9; *Boletin Rep.*, July 5, 10, 1867.

selves, during which Tabera alone responded. The time was extended twelve hours, and within the first six the prisons were full;[44] only such men as Marquez, Lacunza, O'Horan, Vidaurri, and a few others having failed to report themselves.[45]

A résumé of the war of intervention, from April 1863 to June 1867, shows that there took place within that period 1,020 battles, actions of war, and skirmishes, in which 73,547 republican and 12,209 imperialist Mexicans were placed hors de combat.[46] To these victims must be added those of the French and other nationalities, for which Napoleon's unjustifiable policy, in aid of a body of traitors to foist a monarchical government on this unfortunate country, is mainly responsible. Probably not less than 50,000 persons in all yielded their lives in this struggle, to say nothing about the money and misery connected with it. Surely it was a small enough matter, and one entirely justifiable, to throw in with the rest the lives of the leaders in this most iniquitous invasion.

President Juarez made his entry into the capital in an open carriage, at 9 o'clock in the morning of the

[44] No harsh treatment of the prisoners was allowed. Their families and friends had free access to them. The sick were permitted to remain at their homes. *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xviii. 1655–6.

[45] The Hungarian and Polish cavalry, quartered in the National palace, having remained neutral from the time they heard of Maximilian's fate, was allowed as a mark of honor to retain during three days its arms and horses. The privilege was also granted, for the same reason, to Chenet's French guerrilla force, which was quartered in San Pedro y San Pablo.

[46] Republicans: killed, 31,962; wounded, 8,304; prisoners, 33,281. Imperialists: killed, 5,671; wounded, 2,159; prisoners, 4,379. These figures indicate that the actual number of Mexicans who lost their lives on the field of battle was 37,633, and the number of wounded 10,463. *Gallardo, Martirol.*, 49. The general title of this work is *Martirologio de los Defensores de la independencia de México*. Mex., 1875. Oblong fol., 50 pp. The author, Basilio Perez Gallardo, claims to have obtained his data from official reports in the *Diario del Imperio*, and from *La Sociedad*, said to be the most sensible of the publications of the intervention, disregarding letters of correspondents, or information furnished by newspapers of the so-called departments. The work purports to give the encounters between the interventionist and republican forces to the date in 1867, when the city of Mexico was reoccupied by the republican government, together with the number of Mexicans killed, wounded, and prisoners of both armies, the year, month, and date, state, and place of each encounter; names of commanders or leaders, and some notes of considerable importance. The work was dedicated to President Juarez, who warmly thanked the author for his patriotic service.

15th of July, accompanied by his ministers Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada, José María Iglesias, and Ignacio Mejía, and was welcomed amidst the shouts of the people, the roar of artillery, and the ringing of bells. The same day he issued a manifesto to the effect that during the four years he had been away from the city he had contracted no obligations prejudicial to the independence and sovereignty of the republic, the integrality of her territory, or to the respect due to the constitution and laws. He displayed benevolence toward the vanquished, and hoped all good Mexicans would aid in securing for the country the benefits of peace.[47] The day after his arrival at the capital a number of imperialists were sentenced to death by court-martial at Querétaro.[48] A strong petition was telegraphed him from there on behalf of the prisoners and of their families. The sentence was commuted to imprisonment. O'Horan, who was captured a few days later, was not so fortunate. He was tried, convicted, and shot on the 21st of August, Juarez refusing to spare his life, notwithstanding the supplications of his mother and other members of his family, and the numerons petitions addressed to him from all quarters.[49] Vidaurri, who had been arrested in the capital on the 8th of July, was not allowed even the privilege of a trial. His identity being established, he was shot forthwith. Severo del Castillo, also sentenced to execution at Querétaro, had the good fortune to obtain a commutation of his penalty. Marquez,

[47] The document seems to have been dictated by a desire to conciliate opposing elements. *Méx., Col. Ley.*, 1863–7, iii. 286–8; *Boletin Rep.*, July 16, 17, 21, 1867; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, x. 7–28; *La Estrella de Occid.*, Aug. 30, 1867.

[48] Casanova, Escobar, Ramirez, Valdés, Moret, Reyes, Herrera y Lozada, Calvo, Magaña, Liceaga, Monterde, Othon, and Prince Salm-Salm. *Méx., Col. Ley.*, 63–7, iii. 246–50; *Salm-Salm's Diary*, ii. 101, 119–20; *El Estado de Sin.*, Oct. 4, 1867.

[49] 'Algo se debia á la justicia y á la venganza nacional.' *Baz, Vida de Juarez*, 302. Among the petitioners were Porfirio Diaz and other liberal generals. Full particulars on his case in *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xviii. 1661–85; *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.*, 714–15; *Salm-Salm's Diary*, ii. 102–3, 120; *Masseras, Un Essai d'Empire*, 386–7; *Boletin Repub.*, July 23, 24, Aug. 21, 25, 1867; *La Estrella de Occid.*, Nov. 15, 1867.

Lacunza, and Ramirez de Arellano succeeded in escaping from the country.[50]

The time had now come when the government might have disarmed party hatred, and gained the support of its former opponents; but the men in power adopted the policy of persecution, continuing to punish the imperialists with confiscation of their estates, thereby reducing whole families to indigence. Howsoever justifiable such a course, not all the liberal party looked with favor upon the proceeding, a portion of the progressionist press strongly condemning it as unconstitutional.[51] The confiscation was decreed pursuant to the law of August 16, 1863; but the president, exercising his discretional powers, finally commuted it, deciding that the persons who had incurred it should pay instead a fine, to be fixed by the secretary of the treasury.[52] The imperialist prisoners were disposed of in an order of July 14th; many of them were sentenced to imprisonment, and together with those from Querétaro were sent to Perote. A still larger number was liberated, but to continue under the surveillance of the authorities.[53] Twelve of the most prominent imperialists were expelled from the republic.[54]

A portion of the press was trying to prevail on the

[50] It is understood that Marquez, after a six months' concealment, during which his aged mother was in constant agony dreading his arrest, resolved to hazard an escape, and effected it in daylight, disguised as an Indian charcoal vender, occupying 16 days to reach Vera Cruz, all the time in danger of detection. He had to tarry five days at the port, where he finally embarked for the U. S., whence he went to reside in Habana, at which place he eked out a living as a pawnbroker.

[51] *El Monitor Republicano* of Aug. 3, 1867, declared it a violation of the constitution of 1857, and altogether unjust.

[52] All claims such persons might have against the government were forfeited, however. The benefits of the decree were not extended to persons declared traitors to the country. *Méx., Col. Ley.*, 1863–7, iii. 321–3; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, x. 42–3, 109–10, 112; *Tovar. Hist. Parl.*, i. 65–400, passim.

[53] Such as captains and subalterns, and officials of an inferior order. *Méx., Col. Ley.*, 1863–7, iii. 278–9, 289.

[54] Among the last were Bishop Ormaechea, and the ex-ministers Marin, Mier y Teran, Portilla, and Torres Larraínzar.

government to issue an amnesty law.[55] This was rather pleasing to the president and his cabinet, who would have acceded thereto but for the office-seekers, who kept up their clamor of treason against the fallen party. But the government tempered its rigor as far as it could without running the risk of being charged with weakness by the opponents of amnesty. It evidently intended to gradually give way,[56] so as to arrive at the end desired by the friends of a general amnesty, without too openly antagonizing the most radical portion of its opponents. This was frankly acknowledged by the conservative *Revista Universal.* But the radical element would sanction no half-way measures. Several attempts were made from time to time, and a general amnesty bill was favorably reported on by the committees of judicial and government affairs in congress, but failed of passage, its antagonists claiming that it would be dishonorable and immoral to pardon the traitors.[57]

The imperialist commander Olvera had surrendered on the 27th of May, with his force, to General Martinez at Huichapan, on condition of not being molested for the past on account of political opinions,[58] so that all military resistance to the government's authority had ceased. After the embarkation of the French troops, the city of Vera Cruz, which had been under the imperialist generals Taboada and Herran, made some resistance for a while, but on the 27th of June capitulated to the republican troops of Alejandro

[55] *La Orquesta*, edited by Riva Palacio, favored the measure. Francisco Zarco's paper, *El Siglo XIX.*, opposed it.

[56] Four days after their imprisonment, 14 were allowed to go to their homes on the plea of old age or sickness; on the 10th day 58 others of the least culpable were released; and on the 73d those who were to be liberated but to continue under surveillance. *La Revista Universal*, Oct. 10, 1867. This was a conservative journal.

[57] The arguments for and against are given in *Tovar, Hist. Parl.*, i. 65–383, passim.

[58] The arrangement was disallowed on the 7th of June by the government at San Luis Potosí, and Martinez suspended from command. Subsequent events must have made it an accomplished fact. *Méx., Col. Ley.*, 1863–7, iii. 206–9.

García and Benavides.[59] The last stronghold of the imperialists, namely, that of Nayarit, submitted on the 22d of July, when Lozada and his subordinates, with the civil authorities and people, recognized the supreme government of the republic.[60]

Among the president's first acts was the reëstablishment of the portfolio of fomento, calling Blas Balcárcel to take charge of it; and upon the resignation of José María Iglesias from the department of justice and public instruction, Antonio Martinez de Castro was appointed his successor.[61] He also decreed that the supreme authorities—legislative, executive, and judicial—of the several states should not reside at seaports, and that all should return to their former respective capitals.[62] Next came a general order of the 23d reducing the four corps d'armée, Centro, Oriente, Norte, and Occidente, to as many divisions with a force of 4,000 men each.[63] The fifth division, Juan Álvarez' command, was to garrison Acapulco. This decree, sending into poverty two thirds of the army which had fought the battles of the republic against both the foreign foe and imperialism, and at

[59] The authorities and other compromitted persons sought refuge on foreign vessels. *Nioxˌ Expéd. du Mex.*, 715; *Salm-Salm's Dairy*, ii. 100; *La Estrella de Occid.*, Aug. 2, 1867; *Zamacois Hist. Méj.*, xviii. 1649.

[60] In order to accomplish it, Guadarrama's cavalry, of Corona's command, secured the strategic points. *La Estrella de Occid.*, Aug. 9, Sept. 13, Oct. 4, 1867; *El Est. de Sin.*, Aug. 9, Sept. 13, 1867. It has been said that it was effected through the influence with Lozada and others there of Barron, Forbes, & Co., whose good-will had been secured by confirming to them the concession made by Maximilian to build the Vera Cruz railroad. *Marquez de Leon, Mem. Póst.*, MS., 312-7. Tepic was made a military district directly dependent on the general government. *Riva Palacio, Hist. Adm. Lerdo*, 112, 412–4.

[61] Decrees of July 20 and 21, 1867. *Mex., Col. Ley.*, 1863–7, iii. 280–3; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, x. 28; *El Derecho*, i. 15.

[62] On the 22d of July, 1867. *Diario Ofic.*, Aug. 21, 1867; *Méx., Col. Ley.*, 1863–7, iii. 293–4; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, x. 28–9.

[63] The central division was placed in command of Nicolás Régules, with headquarters in Mexico; the eastern was given to Porfirio Diaz, headquarters in Tehuacan—including the garrisons of Vera Cruz and Tabasco; the northern was to be under Mariano Escobedo, including the garrisons of Tampico, Matamoros, and other northern frontier places, with headquarters at San Luis Potosí. The command of the 4th or western was given to Ramon Corona, who was to control Manzanillo, Mazatlan, and Tepic, with headquarters in Guadalajara. *Méx., Col. Ley.*, 1863–7, iii. 295–8; *Diaz, Datos Biog.*, MS., 352; *Boletin Repub.*, July 27, 30, Aug. 21, 1867.

the same time striking a blow at many aspirations, was not well received by the soldiers, and erelong their displeasure was manifested in an alarming manner.[64] All discretional powers given to divers generals during the war were revoked by the same general order.

General Diaz, out of deference to the president's wishes, accepted the command of the eastern division for a limited time; at the expiration of two months he retired to private life.[65] The discretional powers vested in Juarez were by him applied to several other uses in the promotion of the country's interests.[66] The government now had an opportunity to carry to completion the intended reforms, and to reconstruct the political edifice. The reorganization of the several administrative branches was a long task, much pruning being needed to retain in service only competent and useful men. It was of paramount importance to establish the judiciary, and Juarez did so at the earliest opportunity, appointing Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada president ad interim of the supreme court.[67] Another decree made valid all judicial acts passed during the existence of the empire, the lawyers and notaries who took part in them being restored to the exercise of their offices. Marriages contracted during the same period were also validated.[68]

[64] The claims of these soldiers of the republic were neglected. *Riva Palacio, Hist. Adm. Lerdo*, 25–6. The president, however, decreed on the 5th of Aug., 1867, special decorations to honor their services. *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, x. 36–7; *Boletin Rep.*, Aug. 16, 1867.

[65] When he surrendered the command of the late besieging army, which exceeded 20,000 men, all had been paid in full; he had also covered other large expenses, and still had in hand a balance of over $315,000, which he turned over to the general treasury. After his return to Oajaca his pay as a general of division was tendered, but he refused it signifying to Juarez that he would not return to the service as long as the government pursued a constitutional course. *Diaz, Datos Biog.*, MS., 354–5.

[66] Privileges for constructing railroads on the isthmus of Tehuantepec, and from Mexico to Vera Cruz, were renewed; special schools of medicine, jurisprudence, engineering, fine and mechanic arts, agriculture, and for the deaf and dumb were created.

[67] The associate justices, also provisionally appointed, were Pedro Ogazon, Manuel M. Zamacona, Vicente Riva Palacio, José M. Lafragua, Mariano Yañez, Pedro Ordaz, Guillermo Valle, Manuel Z. Gomez, Joaquin Cardoso, and Rafael Dondé. See the decree of Aug. 1, 1867. *Méx., Col. Ley.*, 1863–7, iii. 302–6; *Boletin Rep.*, Aug. 4, 1867; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, x. 32–3.

[68] Decrees of Aug. 20 and Dec. 5, 1867. *Id.*, 62–6, 209–10.

The government had to encounter and overcome the anarchical tendencies showing themselves in many places, and to free the press from the thraldom it had been under during the late war,[69] and citizens in general from an insufferable tyranny.[70] Several political organizations, among the most prominent of which was the Zaragoza club,[71] were endeavoring to aid the government, their aims being to have the constitution amended by legal means, constituting the congress in two chambers, and establishing fairness in public elections; to encourage foreign immigration; to raise the communal or municipal element to the rank of a fourth power; and to promote the permanent existence of an American continental congress.

The liberals were quite hopeful that the principles they had struggled so long for would soon become established. But, unfortunately, the call for general elections again divided the progressionist party, and brought on a great deal of trouble. The discretional powers the president held, though never abused by him, were displeasing to the majority of the people, who feared—martial law being still retained in force to protect freedom of elections—that the public liberties were imperilled, when subjected thus long to the will of one man. The long-delayed electoral law was finally enacted on the 14th and published on the 17th of August, calling on the people to choose a president of the republic, members of a fourth constitutional congress, and a president and justices of the supreme court. The people were also asked to express their wish on certain proposed amendments to the constitution; among others, if it was the national will that the ordinary congress should effect the changes without

[69] Many newspapers had been despotically suppressed, and liberal writers imprisoned for an open expression of their opinions.

[70] Scandalous outrages against citizens had been perpetrated in Aguascalientes and elsewhere. *Rivera, Gob. de Méx.*, ii. 677. A presidential decree of the 14th of Aug. greatly curtailed the powers of governors with the view of preventing abuses. *Méx., Col. Ley.*, 1863–7, iii. 328–9; *El Derecho*, i. 15; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, x. 56–7.

[71] Inaugurated late in July 1867. *Boletin Rep.*, Aug. 2, 1867.

the requirements of the 127th article of that fundamental law being fulfilled.[72]

The proposed reforms were good in themselves, but the manner suggested to effect them met with public disfavor. They were not urgent, and might be introduced without infringing the supreme law of the land. The idea of allowing ecclesiastics the power to interfere in elections was distasteful to the more advanced liberals. In fact, the whole proposition produced such a bad effect that Juarez found it expedient to make explanations;[73] but his words failed to allay the popular discontent, which was exhibited in the protests of political clubs, ayuntamientos, and other corporations, every such act increasing the general disquietude.[74] Distinguished members of the liberal party recommended a complete abstention from voting on that part of the electoral decree comprising the proposed amendments.[75]

These differences led to the organization of a compact party calling itself constitucionalista, and favoring the election of Porfirio Diaz to the presidency.[76]

[72] Establishment of two legislative chambers; giving the executive the veto power, subject to being overruled by a two-thirds vote of both houses of congress; prescribing the mode of filling vacancies caused by the death or inability of the president and vice-president; restricting the power of the comision permanente to call extra sessions of congress. The people were likewise asked to decide if state constitutions were to be amended to conform with the foregoing changes, if adopted; and finally, if ecclesiastics might have the privilege of voting and being voted for. *Dublan* and *Lozano*, *Leg. Mex.*, x. 44–56, 67–8; *Rivera*, *Gob. de Méx.*, ii. 678; *Riva Palacio*, *Hist. Adm. Lerdo*, 33–40; *Boletin Rep.*, Aug. 18, 21, 1867; *Tovar*, *Hist. Parl.*, i. 1–7; *Méx.*, *Col. Ley.*, 1863–7, iii. 328–9; *Convocatoria*, *Observ.*, 1–12.

[73] In a manifesto of Aug. 22d he said, among other things, that the reform adopted by him had been directed to the development and perfection of the constitution; and that the amendments suggested in his decree of the 14th were an expression of his positive convictions, resulting from past events, and from the dictates of experience in Mexico and other republics. *Tovar*, *Hist. Parl.*, i. 13–14.

[74] At a large public meeting held in the Teatro Principal of Mexico, resolutions were passed against the decree. Nearly all the prominent journals of the country also objected to the innovation. Baz, while acknowledging that the law was 'la manzana de la discordia,' and the opposition just though exaggerated, denies that the latter was justifiable after the government retraced its steps. *Vida de Juarez*, 300.

[75] Among the opponents were Leon Guzman and Mendez, governors respectively of Guanajuato and Puebla, who were dismissed from office. *Rivera*, *Gob. de Méx.*, ii. 679; *Boletin Rep.*, Sept. 2, 1867; *El Constitucional*, Sept. 26, 1867; *La Estrella de Occid.*, Nov. 22, 1867.

[76] *Boletin Rep.*, Sept. 4, 1868.

Nevertheless, when the elections took place early in October, Juarez obtained the majority of votes for president of the republic,[77] and Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada, who had also had Diaz as a competitor, for president of the supreme court. At the opening of the fourth constitutional congress, Juarez surrendered his discretional powers, though he was authorized to hold them thirty days longer, and shortly after accounted for the manner in which he had exercised them.[78] On the 19th of December he was declared by congress the president elect, and on the 25th assumed the duties for the term ending on the 30th of November, 1871.[79] The constitutional reforms he had proposed to the people were put out of mind for the time.[80]

The republican government of Mexico, since the time of the European intervention and subsequent establishment over the country of a monarchy which was recognized by all the powers of that continent, had been permitted to hold diplomatic relations solely with the republics of America, all of which, during the nation's struggle to shake off the foreign incubus, manifested at every opportunity their sympathy and wishes for the success of the republic. The relations of amity with the United States were continued after Juarez' government resumed its functions at the national capital. At the opening of the Mexican congress, in December 1867, President Juarez took occasion to express his acknowledgment, of the con-

[77] He received 7,422 votes out of 10,380. *Tovar, Hist. Parl.*, i. 91; *Soc. Mex. Geog. Boletin*, 2d ep., iv. 570–85. The fact is, that the majority of the liberal party, Diaz himself among the number, had all along favored Juarez' reelection, duly appreciating 'su comportamiento abnegado y constante.' *Diaz, Datos Biog.*, MS., 359.

[78] He was called upon by congress on the 18th of Jan., 1868, to do so. *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, x. 233.

[79] *Tovar, Hist. Parl.*, i. 56-60, 94; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, x. 217, 219; *El Derecho*, 111, 258; *El Constitucional*, Dec. 10, 14, 21, 25, 1867; *Diario Ofic.*, Dec. 8, 25, 1867.

[80] In 1869, however, congress amended the electoral law, giving the right to vote to the priests or pastors of all religious sects. *Rivera, Gob. de Méx.*, ii. 683.

stant sympathy of the people of the United States, and of the moral support its government had extended to the republican cause in Mexico.[81] The good feeling toward the United States was specially manifested upon the visit to Mexico of William H. Seward, late secretary of state, in 1869.[82] The long-pending question of claims was finally adjusted by arbitration.[83] A balance appearing against Mexico, her government has been since paying it off in yearly installments of $300,000. Other conventions were also entered into by the two governments; one on the 10th of July, 1868, to determine the nationality of citizens of either republic emigrating to the other.[84] A consular convention was likewise signed at Washington July 10, 1868, but failed to be ratified by Mexico.[85]

Diplomatic relations with the powers of Europe were only gradually renewed,[86] the Mexican govern-

[81] Adding, 'Han merecido y merecen justamente las simpatías y la consideracion del pueblo y del gobierno de México.' *Tovar, Hist. Parl.*, i. 57.

[82] Seward was received at Manzanillo, and every mark of respect extended him by the authorities from his landing to his departure. *Clarke's Mex.*, MS., 3; *Evans' Sister Rep.*, 268.

[83] A convention was first entered into by the two governments on the 4th of July, 1868, leaving to a mixed commission and an umpire to decide on the claims of the citizens of either country against the other, within two years and six months. Further conventions were subsequently concluded, granting more time to the commission, the last one, of the 29th of April, 1876, proroguing the term for the completion of the task till the 20th of Nov., 1876. *U. S. Gov. Doc.*, 40th Cong. 3d Sess., H. Ex. 98, xiii.; *Id.*, 44th Cong. 2d Sess., Sen. 31, 1–103; *Id.*, 45th Cong. 1st Sess., Miscel. 13; *Id.*, 45th Cong. 2d Sess., H. Com. Report, 27, pts 1, 2, i.; *Tovar, Hist. Parl.*, iv. 785–6; *Mex., Derecho Intern.*, 1st pt, 283–315; *Méx., Mem. Rel.*, 1873, 11–19, app. v.–vi., annex no. 1, 3–194, and numerous tables; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, x. 585–8; xi. 5–8, 15–16, 25–7, 161, 470–2; *Diario Debates*, 8 Constit. Leg., ii. 13–14; *Aspíroz, Cód. Extrangería*, 190–9; *Rodriguez, Com. Mixta*, 1–67; *Méx., Mem. Hacienda*, 1870, 919–26; *Méx., Sinóp. Hist. Reclam.*, 14–53; *El Constitucional*, June 12, 1868; *Diario Ofic.*, Aug. 18, 1868, July 7, 1870; *Salv., Diario Ofic.*, Nov. 5, 1875.

[84] Under this convention, American citizens residing five consecutive years in Mexico are considered Mexicans; and vice versa, Americans naturalized in Mexico returning to the U. S. without the intention of going back to the former recover their original nationality. The same privilege is enjoyed by Mexicans returning to their native country. This convention was given force for ten years or more, unless either party was notified by the other within six months after the expiration of the 10 years that it should cease. *Aspíroz, Cód. Extrangería*, 199–202; *Tovar, Hist. Parl.*, iii. 860, 891–2, 1072, 1120–8; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, x. 583–5; *Diario Ofic.*, May 12, 1869.

[85] *Méx., Derecho Intern.*, 2d pt, 175–80.

[86] The British minister, on the 8th of Dec., 1867, demanded passports for himself and the members of his legation, which were sent to him. *Dublan* and *Lozano*, x. 217; *Diaro Ofic.*, Dec. 20, 1867; *El Constitucional*, Dec. 23, 1867.

ment pursuing an independent and decorous course toward them. It avoided offending them; and without asking for any favor, had resolved to oppose no unnecessary obstacles to the reëstablishment of amicable relations, and the negotiation of new treaties, particularly for the furtherance of trade. European subjects received protection to their persons and property, and were assured of its continuance.[87] The government likewise decreed measures for the payment of certain British and Spanish claims.[88] Italy was the first European nation to reopen diplomatic relations with the republic, which she did by accrediting a minister near the Mexican government in 1868, and entering into treaties.[89] The king of Prussia, in the name of the North German Confederation and the Zollverein, also made a treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation with Mexico, in 1869.[90] Spain in 1871, having changed her dynasty, reëstablished friendly relations with Mexico, accrediting a minister near her government, and asking for the Mexican legation to be reinstalled at Madrid.[91] The government of the United

[87] Frenchmen specially were told, as they had been on the 12th of April, 1862, 'Los franceses pacificos residentes en el pais, quedan bajo la salvaguarda de las leyes y de las autoridades mexicanas.' *Méx.*, *Mem. Relaciones*, 1873, annex no. x. 74–5.

[88] Decree of Dec. 21, 1867, reiterated Feb. 1, 1868. The Brit. and Sp. bondholders were asked March 14, 1870, to produce their bonds for adjustment. *Dublan* and *Lozano*, *Leg. Mex.*, x. 220–1, 258–9, 265–6, xi. 21–2.

[89] A treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation was concluded in Mexico on the 14th of Dec., 1870, and a convention for the extradition of criminals on the 17th. *El Constitucional*, Feb. 2, 1868; *Méx.*, *Derecho Intern.*, 1st pt, 577–96. *Diario Debates*, 7° Cong., i. 1031–8; *Bol. Ofic. Est. Sin.*, Sept. 28, 1874. *Méx.*, *Mem. Rel. Exter.*, 1873, annex L.

[90] On the 28th of Aug. A protocol was added to it on the 26th of Nov. of the same year. *Méx.*, *Derecho Intern.*, 1st pt, 80–101; *Méx.*, *Diario Ofic.*, Aug. 28, 1869, June 10, 1870; *Diario Debates Quinto Cong.*, i. 33; *Aspiroz*, *Cód. Extrangeria*, 203–14; *Dublan* and *Lozano*, *Leg. Mex.*, xi. 168–76.

[91] The correspondence was reopened with an autograph letter from King Amadeo I. of Apr. 30, 1871, delivered by Feliciano Herreros de Tejada, accredited minister to the president of Mexico, expressing a desire to restore friendly relations between the two governments, which feeling was reciprocated on receipt of that letter in Sept. by Juarez, whose government extended a most cordial reception to the Spanish minister, promising soon to send a representative to Madrid. Prim's friendliness toward Mexico, and the good offices of the U. S. government in the negotiations to bring about the desired result, are gratefully alluded to in the correspondence between the ministers of foreign affairs of Spain and Mexico. *Méx.*, *Mem. Relaciones*, 1871, 8–9, 32–43; *El Monitor*, July 1, 1871.

States, through whose friendly offices diplomatic relations had been restored between Mexico and the kingdoms of Italy, Prussia, and Spain, was negotiating in the same spirit in 1873 to bring about a similar result with the republic of France, and everything presented a favorable aspect.[92]

[92] The details and correspondence may be seen in *Méx.*, *Mem. Relaciones*, 1873, 63–5, annex no. 4, 39–40. The author of *E. Masseras*, *Un Essai d'Empire au Mexique*, Paris, 1879, 12mo, i.–ii. and 441 pp., had been at different times chief editor of newspapers in the French language, namely, *La France*, *Le Courrier des États Unis* of New York, and *L'Ere* of Mexico. He had advocated, in a pamphlet entitled *Le Programme de l'Empire*, the necessity of foreign intervention in Mexican affairs, and the establishment of a monarchy in that country under the auspices of European governments, commending the policy of Napoleon III. and denouncing that of the U. S. In his present works he expatiates on the results of the foreign intervention, briefly on Maximilian's administration, but fully and in detail on the events which followed the evacuation of Mexico by the French army; namely, siege and capture of Querétaro by the republican forces, and subsequent trial and execution of Maximilian and his generals Miramon and Mejía; and the final crushing blows struck at the imperial régime in Puebla and Mexico, culminating in the triumphant return of Juarez and his government to the capital. The narrative, which is in clear and elegant language, ends with the republican government's first acts in Mexico, including the surrender of Maximilian's remains to his family. The whole may be called an impartial account of the events. *Diario de los Debates, Tercer Congreso Constitucional de la Union.* Méx., 1873. Fol., 2 vol., 1st, 200 pp., ii. 104 pp. The first volume comprises the minutes of the first ordinary session of the Mexican congress in 1862; and the second contains those of the second ordinary session in 1863. The national legislature decreed the publication of the minutes of its sessions beginning with the labors of the 1st congress existing under the constitution of 1857; but as there was in the years of the 3d congress, 1862–3, and the preceding ones, no stenographic bureau in the secretary's office, nor any one to keep the minutes, recourse was had to compiling the acts and official documents existing in the office of the secretary, and of the records kept by some journals published at those periods, among which were those of the *Siglo XIX.*, taking therefrom the extracts of deputies' speeches. The utmost exactness having been observed, all facts related are founded on existing acts and documents. Some of the documents the compiler was unable to find, owing, doubtless, to the fact that a large portion of the archives was lost at the time the French army occupied Mexico in 1863. *Tovar, Pantaleon, Historia Parlamentaria del Cuarto Congreso Constitucional*, Méx., 1872–4, fol., 4 vol., is a history of the labors of the 4th congress of Mexico from the 5th of Nov., 1867, to the end of its legal term, namely, May 31, 1869. The compiler, who was a deputy to that body from Puebla, actually began his work on the 4th of Dec., 1867, preceding it with the official text of the congressional acts, and not with the minutes, which he found to be full of errors. All facts stated in the work the compiler assures us he has carefully collated and compared with the acts and official documents of the congress. Vol. i., containing xxvi. and 664 pp., gives the labors of that body during the 1st session, that ended March 29, 1868; vol. ii., with xvi., 627, and 172 pp., gives the doings of the 2d session, from March 31 to May 31, 1868, and the appropriations bill for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1869; vol. iii., with xii. and 1148 pp., has the minutes of the third session, from Sept. 5, 1868, to Jan. 21, 1869; and vol. iv., with xxiv. and 1140 pp., sets forth the congressional work in the 4th session, from Apr. 1 to May, 1831. The pages in Roman contain

analyses of the labors of each session respectively. Each volume furnishes also an alphabetical index of the subjects therein contained. *Diario de los Debates.* Fol., 24 vol. These large and thick volumes give us in detail the daily work of the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th congresses of Mexico at their several sessions, together with that of their respective permanent committees during the recess of the legislative body, embracing the period from Sept. 1, 1869, to Apr. 1, 1882, and their results.

Francisco de P. Arrangoiz, Méjico desde 1808 hasta 1867. Méx., 1872. Sm. 4°, 4 vol. The chief aim of this work is to furnish an historical picture of the second Mexican empire, and this it does fully and clearly. The author is evidently well informed on general modern history, and on the international relations of the several prominent powers. So much had been published in France, after the execution of Maximilian, displaying ignorance of Mexican history, manners, and civilization, that the author, prompted by patriotic motives, undertook to throw light on those subjects, and to draw public attention to events connected with his country, about which so little seemed to be known. The narrative for the period from 1808 to 1830 is a mere condensation from Alaman's *Historia de Méjico.* From and after the last-mentioned year he gives an independent statement of events down to the time when the conservative party and clergy of Mexico conceived, as he alleges, the plan of choosing a ruler from among the reigning families of Europe. From this point his work assumes in a measure the form of a diary, treating events as they arise without any attempt at historical generalization. The author was among the first to suggest to Maximilian the acceptance of the Mexican throne, and was for some time in his service in a diplomatic capacity; but he resigned his office when he saw Maximilian's course toward the interests of the church and conservative party of Mexico. His letter of resignation to Maximilian points out what he considered the errors of that prince's policy, and foreshadowed the fatal result. He asserted that no complete history of Maximilian's rule could be written without having access to the documents in the possession of the French government. Maximilian's unhappy fate is wholly attributed to Napoleon III. and his ministers.

Emmanuel Domenech—Histoire du Mexique—Juarez et Maximilien—Correspondences Inédites des Présidents, Ministres et Généraux Almonte, Santa-Anna, Gutierrez, Miramon, Marquez, Mejía, Woll, etc., etc., de Juarez, de L'Empereur Maximilien, et de L'Impératrice Charlotte. Paris, 1868. 8°, 3 vol., pp. 314, 412, and 455. Beginning with the earliest date of Indian mythology, the author of these volumes carries the history of Mexico down to 1867. The contents of the work are thus divided. In volume i. Indian history previous to the conquest is treated of in the first 136 pages; then follows a narration of the conquest itself in 1519 to 1521, for the statments in which the writer has relied chiefly upon Bernal Diaz. This period occupies 100 pages. The remainder of the volume is taken up by a succinct review of the colonial times from 1521 to 1810. Although Domenech does not name the authorities he made use of in writing this portion of his work, it seems that he was mainly guided by *Cavo, Tres Siglos.* The 2d volume is devoted to the history of Mexico from 1810 to 1861, in which the war of independence is treated in a very superficial manner, only 42 pages being given to it. With much greater detail is narrated the history of the succeeding 40 years, full accounts being furnished of the different metamorphoses which the republic underwent during that period. The author here frequently quotes from Suarez y Navarro, Lorenzo de Zavala, Luis de la Rosa, Poinsett, Filisola, and others. Volume iii. is the most important part of the whole work, and is entirely devoted to the history of the tripartite alliance and the French intervention, ending with the tragic death of Maximilian. The author supports his narrative of this period by numerous documents, mainly consisting of letters written by Maximilian, the Empress Carlota, Almonte, Santa Anna, Gutierrez, Miramon, Marquez, Mejía, Juarez, Woll, and others, thus rendering this part of his production not only important, but trustworthy. Domenech resided for 20 years in the U. S. and Mexico, which time he employed in familiarizing himself with

the political conditions of these countries and the respective characters of the inhabitants; at the same time he collected the documents—4,000 in number, as he says—which he has made use of in his work. During Maximilian's government he was director of the cabinet press and chaplain of the army. He speaks of many of the events narrated as an eye-witness. His language is plain, and his statements well and clearly expressed. The author claims he is impartial, and has reasonably succeeded in his endeavors to be so.

E. Lefêvre, Le Mexique et L'Intervention Européenne. Mex., 1862. 8°, 479 pp. This work is divided into two parts; the first relates to events that preceded the European intervention in Mexico, the second to the acts of the intervention, concluding with a series of documents issued during the first two months after the rupture of the London convention and withdrawal of the Spaniards and English, the whole comprising the period from 1857 to 1862. The main object of the author—evidently a French republican—was to expose the trickery of certain men who held positions as French ministers accredited near the Mexican government, and to prove that President Juarez and his cabinet constituted the legitimate and constitutional government of Mexico.

E. Lefêvre, Documentos Oficiales recogidos en la secretaría privada de Maximiliano. Historia de la Intervencion Francesa en Méjico. Brusselas y Londres, 1869. 8°, 2 vol., 1st, 464 pp., 2d, 454 pp. This is another work, but in the Spanish language, by the same author, who was chief editor of *La Tribune* in Mexico. In the first volume, after a brief review of Mexican affairs, explaining, among other things, the conduct of French ministers accredited to the republic, the difficulties the liberal government had to surmount in order to restore peace and order, and the manner in which the debts of Mexico orginated, the author enters fully upon the question of European intervention, policy of the French, English, Spanish, and American governments, invasion of Mexico by the armed forces of the powers to the tripartite convention, and subsequent events till the occupation of the Mexican capital by the French army, and organization of a usurping government under the protection of that army, followed by the arrangements entered into in Europe under which Archduke Maximilian was forced upon Mexico as its emperor, and afterward recognized as such by the monarchical governments of Europe. The 2d vol. treats of Maximilian's administration, including his relations with the pope and Napoleon III., till the evacuation of the country by the French army, together with the subsequent events that ended with Maximilian's capture and execution. The author assures us that he has been careful not to assert too much on the intrigues which originated the empire; that with the permission of the government of Juarez he made a search among the papers left behind by Maximilian, for documents to clear up those intrigues, without success; but he well knew that such documents existed, some in the hands of the pope, others in those of the imperial family of Austria, and still others, perhaps, in London. Referring to the *Journal de Paris* as his authority, he declares that in one of the clauses of Maximilian's last will he bequeathed to Prince Salm-Salm all his papers, including those taken to Europe by his wife, Princess Charlotte, and entrusted to him the task of publishing the secret negotiations that preceded his departure from Miramare, his general plans, and the causes beyond his control by which they were made to fail. This clause of Maximilian's will, he asserts upon the same authority, was withheld from publication by the emperor of Austria, who claimed the right as head of the family, and Maximilian's brother and sovereign. The papers were accordingly not delivered to Salm-Salm, but subsequently transferred from Miramare to the archives of the Lorraine family. The pope also returned a refusal to Salm-Salm's demand. Consult *Salm-Salm, My Diary*, i., Pref. v.–xi. It will be well to state here that Lefêvre in every line of his work disapproves the conduct of France toward Mexico, and shows himself to be a confirmed republican. The Mexican congress, appreciating the sources from which the author derived his material, authorized the government, by decree of Apr. 20, 1868, to purchase 1,000 copies of the work.

G. Niox, Expédition du Mexique, 1861–1867. Paris, 1874. 8°, p. 770. The author was a captain of the general staff of the French army. His work contains full information on the European intervention in Mexico during the years 1861–7, beginning with the action of France, England, and Spain, and closing with the capitulation of Mexico and Vera Cruz in June 1867, and the restoration of the republican government. The political considerations are given in such a manner as to render comprehensive the causes, chain of events, and consequences of the military operations. The author quotes copiously from official documents, and appears to be fairly impartial in his details, though evidently inclined to blame the Mexican republicans for many of their acts, particularly the execution of Maximilian.

Manuel Ramirez de Arellano—Últimas Horas del Imperio. (Traducida del francés, y seguida de las consideraciones del Sr N. Huyelmann.) Mexico, 1869. 12°, pp. 105. Arellano, a general of brigade in the imperial army, denounces in strong terms the conduct of General Marquez, which he classifies as treacherous. With reference to the manifesto published by the latter in defence of his action, Arellano makes this severe remark: 'El autor de esta memoria lleva la hipocresía, la falsedad y el cinismo á un grado tal, que en honor de la verdad histórica, nuestro deber es refutarlo.' On the following page he speaks of the manifesto as 'setenta y tres páginas de la edicion económica, de que se compone,' in which there is not a word of truth. He maintains that Marquez was the author of the executions at Tacubaya, and that his claims to having won the battles of Ahualulco and San Joaquin were pretensions that Miramon would smile at from the tomb. The *Últimas Horas* was first published in French at Paris, and afterward translated into Spanish. It elicited a reply from Marquez, under the title, *Refutacion hecha por el General de Division Leonardo Marquez al Libelo del General de Brigada Don Manuel Ramirez de Arellano publicado en Paris el 30 de Diciembre de 1868, bajo el Epígrafe de 'Últimas Horas del Imperio.'* Mexico, n. d. 12°, p. 371. As these political and military rivals were bitterly opposed to each other, it can only be expected that their counter imputations display bitter animosity. But it is to be regretted that spiteful expressions, marked by want of dignity, creep into their pages. I have already quoted Arellano; Marquez speaks thus of his opponent's publication: 'Es un fárrago de disparates, un cúmulo de necedades, una serie de contradicciones tal, que verdaderamente no se comprende, y se necesita la paciencia de Job para acabar de leer el libro sin arrojarlo de las manos en cien ocasiones.' Page vii. The extreme views of the two political parties are presented to the reader by these two writers.

Papeles y Correspondencia de la Familia Imperial de Francia . . . Relativos á la Intervencion Francesa en México, Mexico, 1873, 12°, pp. 214, with index, contains a series of letters, a few of which are addressed by General Bazaine to the emperor Napoleon. The greater portion of them were written by members of the imperial army serving in Mexico to their relatives in France. As may be expected, they represent one-sided views, but most of them show Bazaine's duplicity, and the intrigues and corruption of Maximilian's ministers and advisers.

Niceto de Zamacois—Historia de Méjico desde sus Tiempos mas Remotos hasta Nuestros Dias, etc. Barcelona and Mex., 1877–82. 8°, vol. i.–xviii. This heavy work includes what the author terms the four great phases of Mexican history; viz., the period preceding the conquest; the conquest itself, preceded by an account of the discovery of America and following events; the three centuries of Spanish domination; and the independent period, commencing from the first events preparatory to Hidalgo's revolution down to Maximilian's death. The arrangement is chronological, events and government measures being recorded year by year. The last date is December 1867. The author's style is clear, and generally speaking elegant, though at times turgid and diffuse, statements, or matter previously treated of, being often repeated. He has, moreover, a faculty of singling out trifles as subjects for argument or correction, while great questions appear to be beyond reach of his recognition; at the same time, his vanity is evident from the praise he bestows upon him-

self. Vol. xiii. 527. Zamacois professes an impartiality which his treatment of questions does not always bear out. His Spanish instincts (he is a Spanish Basque) warp his judgment. He depicts in glowing colors the prowess and wisdom of his countrymen and government, but touches faintly upon their evil actions; and where he cannot avoid setting forth some heinous deed, he manages to provide extenuating circumstances, except in one or two instances. Even when describing the massacre of the Indian nobles in the temple of Mexico by order of Alvarado, while he disapproves the deed, he defends the motive which prompted it, taking Bernal Diaz, one of the actors, as an infallible authority. But so far as the conquest is concerned, Zamacois has evidently not consulted half the authorities, yet he assumes to chide Prescott for mistakes, and frequently raps at his fingers for deviating from Bernal Diaz, whose work is Zamacois' historical gospel. The fact is, that Prescott found many facts in works not known to the latter. It must be acknowledged, however, that full credit is given to the Indian allies of the Spaniards for their share in the conquest. Much space is devoted to the system of administration by Spain in Mexico and other colonies, comparing it with that of other nations, particularly of England in her North American colonies, invariably giving the fullest preference to the former. The author delights in showing the Anglo-Saxon to have been in those days fanatical and ignorant, as well as given to piracy upon 'harmless' Spain. He rarely misses an opportunity of airing his ill feeling against the English, and abusing their successors in North America. In his reckless onslaught he often exhibits much ignorance. He professes to have consulted, in the preparation of his work, Clavigero, Gomara, Benavente, Sahagun, Camargo, Ixtlilxochitl, Muñoz, Oviedo, Zurita, Acosta, Bernal Diaz, the Anonymous Conqueror, Solis, Las Casas, Gama, Torquemada, Betancurt, Herrera, Robertson, Zuazo, and, as he assures us, 'one hundred other illustrious writers,' among whom appear Prescott, Cavo, Alaman, Zavala, Mora, Bustamante, Arrangoiz, Liceaga, Rosains, Tornel, the Riveras, and several manuscripts obtained from friends; he likewise states that he levied contributions from the Archivo Nacional of Mexico, and from precious documents which, till a recent date, enriched the religious houses of Mexico, Cortés' letters, and the letter from the town council of the Villa Rica to the king. Aside from Cortés' own letters, the author gives more credence to Bernal Diaz than to any one else, on the ground that he was an eyewitness, and a frank soldier, who in his narrative did not draw upon imagination. Robertson's work he considers truly estimable, and yet containing 'inexactitudes y contradicciones palpitantes que forman un desagradable lunar en la obra.' Raynal and Pauw are harshly criticised in a few lines as unworthy of credence. Alaman's *Hist. Méj.* and *Disertaciones* are spoken of in the highest terms of praise, and full reliance seems to have been at once placed on them, though with the saving clause that the author disagrees with the Mexican on many points. It is noticeable that, while Zamacois copies from that author page after page, giving him full credit, he also takes a large amount of facts, often almost in Alaman's own words, without crediting him therefor—which looks very much like the trick of a common plagiarist. Another peculiarity is observed in this connection: foot-notes are taken verbatim et literatim from Alaman's book, so that the reader is left to suppose that the copyist obtained them direct from the Mexican author's original sources. Zamacois shows a peculiar pleasure in correcting what he calls mistakes of Prescott, Robertson, Solis, and others, coolly asserting in divers places that the *escritores extrangeros* are ever disposed to misrepresent facts, or to make exaggerated appreciations of them, with the view of stigmatizing Spanish character. He repeatedly enters upon a comparison between Spanish civilization and advancement, as well as political and religious policy in America, and those of England—which is always his bugbear—invariably awarding the superiority to the former, and it may be, in some instances, not altogether wrongly. To the charge of the 'autos de fé,' as telling against Spanish civilization, he answers that they cause horror now, but when practised in Mexico—and they were very few in number—public opinion deemed

them useful and necessary to prevent the spread of pernicious ideas on matters of religious faith, and he does not fail to bring forward the horrible tortures inflicted in England and other European nations, and in the American colonies, upon both political and common prisoners, the burning of witches, etc. Zamacois lived many years in Mexico, and died there early in 1886. During Maximilian's empire he was the chief editor of *El Cronista*, and had likewise been previously known as a novelist. He confesses a strong affection for Mexico and Mexicans, and in his treatment of questions disconnected with Spanish interests endeavors to exercise an unbiassed judgment, feeling his responsibility, and resolving to accomplish his task honorably. On the whole, he ought to be awarded some credit for the good arrangement of events, and for much information on character, literary advancement, and many other points of real interest. Nor should mention of his industry be omitted. He states that for five years he worked daily from nine to eleven hours, and sometimes twelve hours. xviii. 1773. His last three volumes, containing no less than 3,971 pages, are devoted to the tripartite alliance, and the French intervention. Zamacois considers that the governments of the U. S., England, and France caused irreparable injury to the Mexican nation, 'by their lying promises of sympathy and disinterestedness.' He maintains that there are very few foreign writers who, in their narratives of those events, have not spoken with injustice of Mexico and the Mexicans. Salm-Salm, Kératry, and Domenech come under his special censure for offensive and unjust expressions, the latter being freely quoted and commented upon for his exposure of the immoralities of the Mexican priesthood and their want of enlightenment. Zamacois maintains that Domenech's assertions are false. Among the few impartial foreign writers he mentions Alberto Hans, 'who knew how to appreciate properly the good qualities of the sons of the country.' The typographical work throughout is good, and all the volumes are embellished with wood-cuts, a large number of them purporting to be portraits of distinguished men of Mexican history.

Circulares y Otras Publicaciones hechas por la Legacion Mexicana en Washington durante la Guerra de Intervencion en 1862–1867. Mexico, 1868. 2 vol., pp. 507 and 408. These volumes contain a collection of circulars and other publications issued during the years 1862–1867 by Matías Romero, the envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Washington. They were sent to Mexico by Romero for the purpose of inspiring patriotism in the people during the intervention, and are of a diversified nature, including official correspondence and documents, accounts showing the sales of Mexican bonds and the purchase of war material, speeches and extracts from periodicals, and a great variety of other such matter. In vol. i., 406–48, will be found a biography of Benito Juarez, written by *Un Mexicano*, and in vol. ii., 306–13, is an introduction by Romero to *Historia Militar del General Ulises S. Grant*, written in English by Adam Badeau, and proposed, at the suggestion of Romero, to be translated into Spanish. The names of the collectors and editors of these volumes do not appear.

As a sequel to the above is, *Correspondencia de la Legacion Mexicana en Washington...sobre la Captura, Juicio y Ejecucion de Don Fernando Maximiliano de Hapsburgo*, which was published in Mexico the same year by Romero, and contains his correspondence with the minister of foreign relations of the Mexican republic and the department of state at Washington relative to Maximilian's capture and execution, and also accounts of conferences held by him with Mr Seward relative to the intervention of the U. S. on his behalf.

L. Le Saint—Guerre du Mexique 1861–1867, Lille and Paris, n. d., 8°, pp. 224, is a French version of the intervention, devoted principally to sounding the praises of the French army and its leaders, as well as of Maximilian, whose course of action is warmly supported. The data relating to military and political events are comparatively meagre, and the accounts of them favorable to the imperialists. Occasionally documents of an official character are given.

CHAPTER XVI.

END OF THE JUAREZ RÉGIME.

1868–1872.

UNDER THE NEW ORDER OF THINGS—REËLECTION OF JUAREZ—SEDITIONS AND UPRISINGS—MINISTERIAL CRISES—EARTHQUAKES AND HURRICANES—CREATION OF NEW STATES—ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATION AND IMPROVEMENTS—PRONUNCIAMIENTOS AND REVOLUTIONS—INSECURITY—AMNESTY—POLITICAL PARTIES—JUARISTAS, LERDISTAS, AND PORFIRISTAS—PLAN OF LA NORIA—FAILURE OF THE PORFIRISTAS—DEATH OF JUAREZ—SEBASTIAN LERDO DE TEJADA INSTALLED AS PRESIDENT—REMAINS OF JUAREZ—REFLECTIONS ON HIS CAREER.

JUAREZ had scarcely taken possession of the executive chair on his reëlection in December 1867, when political disturbance broke out which lasted to the day of his death. First, an attempt was made to dispute the legitimacy of Juarez' authority. Then followed insurrections in several of the states. In Yucatan quite a serious disturbance took place, and Alatorre was sent there with his brigade.[1] The revolted Indians, even after several defeats, continued their irruptions on the peaceable towns. The government decreed on the 27th of March, 1868, to establish in Campeche a military colony of 500 men.[2] There

[1] He defeated the insurrectionists at Maxcanú Jan. 31, 1868, the principal leaders being killed. Battles were fought at Uman and other places. These victories were followed up by the occupation of Mérida and Sisal. Many of the chief insurgents were captured. Early in March the insurrection was at an end, and the troops left the peninsula in May, the prisoners with few exceptions having been pardoned. *El Constitucional*, Jan. 2–25 passim, Feb. 7–29 passim, March 6, 19, 21, May 4, June 3, 1868; *Diario Oficial*, Feb. 14, 15, 22, 27, March 4, Aug. 20, 22, 1868; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, x. 225–6; *Tovar, Hist. Parl.*, ii. 5, 17, 383–4; *La Estrella de Occid.*, March 20, Apr. 3, 1868.

[2] The cost was computed at about $114,000. *Méx., Mem. Hacienda*, 1870, 767; *Méx., Iniciativas, etc.*, 1869, 4.

were seditious movements, also, in Guerrero,[3] Puebla, Vera Cruz, Mexico, Querétaro, Jalisco, Sinaloa, and other parts, all of which were defeated by the government's forces. The most formidable were headed by Miguel Negrete, the ex-general, and by the guerrilla chief Aureliano Rivera; but they met with ill success, and had to seek safety in flight.[4] An insurrection of the Yaquis occurred in Sonora, which region suffered likewise from the raids of the Apaches. The government, among other measures, concluded to establish military colonies near the frontiers.[5]

Ministerial crises likewise contributed to the general uneasiness. Juarez determined to have, under his present tenure of office, the same cabinet ministers that served during the dictatorship. This was another step which awakened a strong opposition.[6] Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada was asked to be minister of foreign and internal relations,[7] and congress was requested to grant him leave to act as such, a ell as for Deputy Balcárcel to continue as minister. The permissions were granted, but without implying a

[3] It was merely local there, against Gov. Diego Álvarez, and ended with the surrender of the chief Jimenez with his forces early in April. *Diario Oficial*, Apr. 12, 1868.

[4] Details of the actions which never assumed the proportions of battles, and of the defeats of the insurgent leaders, may be found in *El Constitucional*, April 13 to June 30, 1868; *Diario Oficial*, April 12, 19, 30, May 17, July 14, Aug. 23, Sept. 26, 1868. Miguel Negrete was a deserter from the republican service during the imperial war, and went abroad; he afterward tendered his services to Maximilian, who gave him the office of comandante general of Vera Cruz. On the downfall of the empire he became the leader of a gang nicknamed Los Plateados. Aureliano Rivera was a general of brigade of the republic, and for his rebellion was dropped from the rolls of the army. *Boletin Rep.*, June 28, 1867; *La Estrella de Occid.*, June 28, 1867, July 3, 1868. Congress on the 8th of May suspended certain articles of the constitution for conspiracy offences, and they remained so suspended till Dec. 31, 1868. *El Derecho*, iii. 441–2; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, x. 319–20, 511.

[5] Details on Apache depredations are given in *Hist. North Mex. States*, ii., this series.

[6] There were many who considered themselves entitled to the portfolios of government and treasury left vacant by Iglesias.

[7] The supreme court, whose president he was, for a while refused to allow him to serve in the cabinet; it finally consented, but not for a prolonged service. *El Constitucional*, June 7, 1868. Lerdo's enemies called him a jesuit. Gen. Plácido Vega, in a letter to Gov. Pesqueira early in 1867, warned him against Lerdo, who was always intriguing to make himself president. He would, he said, ally himself with the moderados to attain his end. *Vega Doc.*, iii. 427–8.

vote of confidence, an opposition of forty deputies doing Juarez much damage. The portfolio of the treasury was finally intrusted to Matías Romero, and that of government to Ignacio L. Vallarta; the latter held his position but a short time, as he was a confirmed constitutionalist. After his retirement, José M. Iglesias succeeded him in June, in which month Ignacio Mariscal was called to the department of justice, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Martinez de Castro.[8] Juarez failed to restore harmony in the liberal party, and congress, being mainly made up of the victorious republicans, was the object of constant attack from the conservatives, who accused it of puerility, frivolity, tardiness, and the like.

Political troubles were not the only calamities heaped upon Mexico. Convulsions of nature now visited some portions of the republic. The worst cases were those of Matamoros, Bagdad, and Brazos in Tamaulipas, and Tuxtepec in Oajaca, which were almost destroyed in October and November 1867, by earthquakes, hurricanes, and freshets.[9] The last-named state had again to suffer, in May 1870, from a great destruction of life and property, caused by earthquakes.

The disturbances of the several states arose from the dissatisfaction of the minorities, who alleged that their defeat had been the result of violence and corruption, the general government being charged with tampering with the polls to secure the election of its friends.[10] The injudicious electoral law of August 14, 1867, prompted many to suspect Juarez of unconsti-

[8] *El Constitucional*, Jan. 17, 30, 31, Feb. 3, June 19, 1868; *Diario Ofic.*, June 16, 18, 1868; *Baz, Vida de Juarez*, 302; *Tovar, Hist. Parl.*, i. 222; ii. 508, 517, 529; iii. 9, 31–3, 43; *El Defensor de la Reforma*, of Zac., Jan.–Dec. 1868; *Clarke's U. S. and Mex.*, MS., 3.

[9] *El Constitucional*, Nov. 4, 25, 1867; *Diario Ofic.*, Nov. 5, 1867; *La Sociedad*, Oct. 22, 25, 30, 1867.

[10] 'Tomando el gobierno parte activa en las elecciones de diputados, gobernadores, y aun magistrados de la suprema corte.' *Riva Palacio, Hist. Adm. Lerdo*, 27.

tutional ideas. This suspicion was increased when his ministers asked congress several times, and particularly on the 25th of January, 1868, to grant him larger powers, which was done on the 8th of May, when several personal rights were suspended, and the mode of trying conspirators was determined. Measures were taken for internal improvement, and for the promotion of trade, agriculture, and general business.[11]

One trouble was the friends of Gonzalez Ortega, now known as Orteguistas, who wished to have undone all that had been done, going back to the time when, as they claimed, Ortega should have been recognized as president, he having issued a manifesto in support of his claim. Ortega arrived in Zacatecas on the 8th of January, 1867, accompanied by General Patoni, and announced himself to Governor Anza, who sent Secretary of State Marquez to inquire the object of his visit. He said that he had come as president of the republic, and wished to hold a conference with the governor. This being granted, Ortega urged his right to the presidency; but in place of acknowledging this, Anza arrested Ortega and Patoni and sent them to Juarez,[12] who kept them in durance until his position was assured, when the government ordered their release.[13]

Early in 1868 insecurity throughout the country assumed alarming proportions.[14] In most of the states robbery, kidnapping, and murder were of daily occurrence.[15] But by the end of 1868 quiet was somewhat

[11] Agriculture was declining from heavy taxes; stagnation in trade prevailed; money was scarce; and the public roads were in bad condition.

[12] Anza's course was approved. *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1863–7; iii. 148–52; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, x. 4–5.

[13] They were not tried. The order was issued July 18, 1868. *Diario Ofic.*, July 21, 1868; *Tovar, Hist. Parl.*, i. 93, 100, 106–7, 120.

[14] In Jalpan Marquez and Santa Anna were proclaimed in May. The latter carried on his intrigues from Habana, and had agents in Mexico. The clergy threatened with excommunication all who claimed damages for losses during the foreign intervention. *Id.*, iii. 85; *El Constitucional*, Jan. 25, Apr. 25, May 24, 1868.

[15] The assassination, Aug. 18, 1868, of Gen. Patoni, said to have been by officers of the 1st brigade of the 4th division—Corona's command—was a scandalous one. The supposed chief instigator, Gen. Benigno Canto, was

restored, the insurgents being defeated everywhere, without the government having resorted to ruinous taxation.

The expediency of creating new states from the large territory possessed by the old state of Mexico was generally acknowledged. On the 1st of December, 1868, congress enacted a law for the formation of the state of Morelos.[16] It required that a legislature and executive should be there installed within four months. President Juarez sanctioned, and published on the 17th of April, 1869, the creation of the new state, and it was subsequently ratified by the other states. The state government was formally installed on the 26th of April.[17] The population of Morelos at that time was about 121,000.[18] The capital was established in Cuernavaca, a town of some 12,000 souls.

The state of Hidalgo was erected pursuant to an act of congress of January 16, 1869,[19] which measure was well received by the nation. The boundaries

finally brought to trial, and sentenced, on the 21st of Feb., 1873, to ten years' imprisonment. He died at Durango in April of the same year. The operations of the kidnappers caused much terror, and business was paralyzed. *Diario Ofic.*, Aug. 24, 1868, Nov. 5, 1869; *Monitor Rep.*, June 23, 26, 1872; *El Federal*, Feb. 25, March 7, 1873; *La Estrella de Occid.*, Sept. 11, Oct. 2, 1868; *La Gaceta de Policía*, Oct. 1868 to May 1869; *Rivera, Gob. de Méx.*, ii. 682. Gen. Plácido Vega, on the 14th of Oct., 1868, wrote several members of congress that he had a narrow escape from a fate similar to Patoni's. *Vega, Doc.*, iii. 672–3.

[16] It was formed with the districts of Cuernavaca, Yautepec, Cuautla de Morelos, Jonacatepec, and Tetecala, whose respective chief towns bear the same names. Its area is 4,600 square kilometers. *Morelos, Exped. sobre*, 1–34; *Tovar, Hist. Parl.*, i. 95, 152, 218, 310, 489; ii. 530–3; iii. 91–1107 passim; iv. 102, 140, 160, 170, 180; *Diario Debates*, 8° Cong., i. 103.

[17] *Diario Ofic.*, Apr. 20, 1869; *El Monitor*, Apr. 28, 1869. The state constitution was adopted on the 28th of July, 1870, and was considerably amended on the 3d of Dec., 1878. *Morelos, Constitucion Polit.*, 1–37.

[18] In 1874 it was about 150,300. *García Cubas, Atlas Metód.*, 48. The chief sources of wealth were agriculture and the manufacture of flour and excellent sugar and rum. *Hermosa, Compend. Geog.*, 138–40.

[19] Gen. Doria was made the provisional governor. *El Monitor*, Jan. 21, 22, 1869; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, x. 519–18; *La Regeneracion de Sin.*, Feb. 10, 13, 1869. The petition for its creation was presented by Deputy Antonio Tagle, and bore the signatures of a number of deputations and upwards of 60 representatives. Petitions to the same effect also came from municipalities and private citizens. *Tovar, Hist. Parl.*, i. 74–616 passim; ii. 235–533 passim; iii. 32–1105 passim.

were: on the north, the states of San Luis Potosí and Vera Cruz; on the east, Puebla; on the south, Mexico; and on the west, Querétaro.[20] Its population was about 404,000. The chief source of wealth consisted in working the rich mines of gold, silver, lead, copper, iron, alum, sulphur, etc. Pachuca was made the capital, a town of about 12,000 inhabitants. The organization was completed with the election of authorities by the people on the 17th of May, 1869; Antonio Tagle was chosen governor, and installed on the 27th.[21]

The state of Mexico with the curtailment of territory was left with only 20,300 square kilometers.[22] The population in 1870 was 612,000, and in 1874, 663,557. The capital was established at Toluca, a city of about 12,000 inhabitants. The state does not include the city of Mexico, which with a portion of adjacent country forms the district of Mexico, or federal district, where the supreme national authorities officially reside.[23]

The year 1869 opened under more favorable auspices. Liberal institutions were becoming more firmly rooted; administrative reorganization and material improvements again went forward. Hopes were entertained that no more serious disturbances would take place,

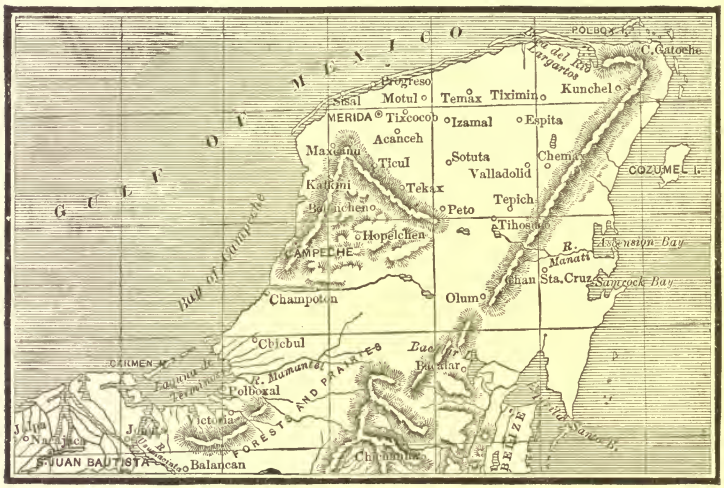
[20] The state had the following districts: Atotonilco el Grande, Actopan, Apam, Jacala, Huichapan, Huejutla, Metztitlan, Pachuca, Tulancingo, Tula, Ixmiquilpan, Zacualtipan, and Zimapan, whose respective chief towns had the same names. Its area was 21,130 square kilometers. *García Cubas, Atlas Metód.*, 46; *Hermosa, Compend. Geog.*, 119.

[21] He was enthusiastically received. *Diario Ofic.*, June 8, 1869; *El Monitor*, May 14, 20, 27, 30, June 9, 1869. *Diario Debates*, 5° Cong., i. 187.

[22] The boundaries became then: on the north, Hidalgo; on the east, Tlascala; on the south-east, Morelos; on the south, Guerrero; and on the west, Michoacan. An attempt was made in 1868 to form with the towns of the valley a state to be named Estado del Valle, but no action seems to have been taken. *Tovar, Hist. Parl.*, i. 100, 111, 168–552 passim; ii. 5, 319, 359. The 15 districts in which the state was divided are Jilotepec, Tezcuco, Chalco, Otumba, Tlalnepantla, Cuautitlan, Zumpango, Toluca, Tenango, Lerma, Tenancingo, Ixtlahuaca, Villa del Valle, Zoltepec, and Tejupilco. Their respective chief towns bear the same names. *Hermosa, Comp. Geog.*, 128, 130.

[23] Its limits now extend to Zacoalco on the north; Los Remedios on the west; Tlalpam on the south; and El Peñon Viejo on the east. *Id.*, 51, 208; *Méx., Mem. Gobern.*, 1871, 16–17, annex no. 14, 89–90.

at least till there should be another attempt to reëlect President Juarez. These hopes were, however, destined to disappointment. A pronunciamiento of a seditious character occurred in Mérida, Yucatan, in January and February, which was summarily suppressed, and a number put to death by Colonel Ceballos. These executions were regarded throughout Mexico as but little better than assassinations.[24] The Indians also were troublesome here. After the restoration of the supreme authority of Mexico over Yucatan, the state was regularly allowed pecuniary



YUCATAN.

resources, which with its revenue sufficed to meet all expenses, even leaving a balance over. But early in 1869 the general government stopped the supplies, and then the state treasury was obliged to support the troops on the Indian frontier.[25]

[24] Ceballos was subjected to trial by order of the government, though the legislature of Yucatan had decreed him a vote of thanks for suppressing the sedition. *El Monitor*, Feb. 7, 12, 16, March 24, 25, May 22, June 9, 1869; *Diario Ofic.*, March 9, April 15, 22, 1869; *El Derecho*, ii. 227, 247–8, 290, 307.

[25] They were defeated at the hacienda of Katbé. In June a force of 4,000 Indians was concentrated at Tihosuco. On the 7th of July they burned Yax-

During 1869, owing to drought, the corn crop, forming the staple of food for the masses, was very small, and the people suffered greatly. Agriculture was, generally speaking, in a deplorable state, resulting from the twenty years' struggle, which required a large portion of the population to be constantly on the frontier watching the Indians. However, in the region free from Indian depredations henequen was cultivated on a large scale, and quite profitably, promising to become a source of wealth.[26] The war of races continued without the hostile Indians manifesting any disposition to submit, or even to treat with the government.[27]

Other states were also the victims of hostile Indians. Nuevo Leon was often raided by wild Indians from the United States.[28] Chiapas suffered from a war of castes;[29] the national congress and executive at once resolved to aid the state with arms and money.[30] Indian troubles continued, however, for a long time afterward. The frontier states of Chihuahua and Sonora continued to be the tramping-ground of the relentless Apaches.

A pronunciamiento took place at Puebla, headed by Miguel Negrete, who had been in concealment in

kabá. The state government had but few serviceable arms; but in Sept. the national executive contributed troops and money. *Diario Ofic.*, March 27, Aug. 7, Oct. 2, 1869; *El Monitor*, July 9, 1869; *Diario Debates*, 5° Cong., i. 46.

[26] There were in the state 1,145 haciendas, 363 ranchos, 831 sitios and parages, 117,668 head of cattle, 16,251 horses, etc.; 96 estates had been destroyed since 1862, and 39 new ones made. The estimated value of agricultural property was $1,568,717. *Yuc. Exped. Visita Ofic.*, 5, 6, 15–17, 27.

[27] In the latter part of 1871 some chiefs were murdered, being suspected by their people of a wish to tender their submission to the government. *El Monitor Rep.*, Jan. 7, 10, 1872.

[28] One of the many invasions was that of the Kickapoos in 1869, when the Posa rancho was assaulted by them. *Méx.*, *Informe Comis. Pesquis.*, 1874, 52–61, and ap. xxii.–xxvi., xlviii.–ix.; *Mex.*, *Rept Mex. Border Comm.*, 307–18; *Diario Ofic.*, March 20, 1869.

[29] Two of their chiefs were captured and shot. About 7,000 Indians were dispersed on the 7th of July, 1869, by 350 government troops. The rebels were again defeated with heavy loss, at Puntehuitz, Nov. 13, 1869. *El Derecho*, iii. 111–12; *Diario Ofic.*, Dec. 10, 1869; *El Monitor*, Aug. 14, 1869; *El Occidental*, Aug. 4, 11, 25, Sept. 1, 29, Oct. 20, 27, 1869.

[30] Six hundred muskets and $3,000 monthly to be exclusively used for defence against the Indians. *Id*, Oct. 30, 1899; *Dublan* and *Lozano*, *Leg. Mex.*, x. 743; *La Estrella de Occid.*, Dec. 24, 1869.

that city, on the 3d of February. He was, however, obliged to abandon the place on the 7th, and on the 22d of the same month was defeated by General Cuéllar at Lagunilla near San Martin Atexcal. The rebel force was completely dispersed.[31] Insurrectionary movements also occurred in almost all the states; but by the end of June public security was reëstablished, and in October and November the pacification was nearly completed.[32]

Another revolution broke out, however, on the 15th of December, 1869, at San Luis Potosí, headed by generals Francisco Aguirre, Martinez, and Larrañaga, against Juarez' government, and was seconded on the 10th of January, 1870, in Zacatecas by Governor Trinidad García de la Cadena, who placed himself at the head of the whole movement.[33] The rebels, supported by a body of troops of the fourth division, seized a conducta of about $70,000. The public peace was also again disturbed in other states. The president displayed due activity, having first obtained ample powers from congress.[34] The states where the

[31] Forty-eight officers of all ranks and 330 rank and file were taken prisoners; a large quantity of arms and other war material fell into the victors' hands. *El Monitor*, Feb. 5–9, 21, 23, 24, 1869. Several of the insurgent officers were executed, one of them being Gen. Francisco Lujan. *Diario Ofic.*, March 10, 1869; *La Estrella de Occid.*, April 2, 16, May 7, 1869.

[32] Details of the operations appear in *Diario Ofic.*, March 24, 31, Apr. 14 to Dec. 18, 1869, passim; *El Derecho*, iii. 141, 157, 173; *Diario Debates*, 5° Cong., i. 388–918 passim; *Zac.*, *Mem. del Est.*, 1–72 passim; *Méx.*, *Mem.*, *Hacienda*, 187, 993–4; *El Monitor*, *El Occidental*, *La Estrella de Occid.*, *El Def. de Ref.*, and other journals, in almost every issue.

[33] Gov. Escandon, the legislature, and other functionaries of San Luis Potosí were arrested, and Aguirre was proclaimed governor. *Diario Ofic.*, Dec. 28, 1869, Jan. 1, March 30, 1870; *El Monitor*, Dec. 21, 1869; *La Estrella de Occid.*, Feb. 18, March 4, 1870; *Méx.*, *Mem. Gobern.*, 1871, 4, and annex no. 2, p. 43–4; *V. Cruz*, *Mem.*, 1871, 19–20. Marquez de Leon attributes the revolution to Juarez' attempts to retain power, and to the cruelties of government officers in that year, which had been unparalleled. The murders in Yucatan by Ceballos, in Sinaloa by Parras, and the executions at Atexcal had been the work of savages rather than of civilized authorities. Public opinion condemned them, but Juarez offered no redress, preferring to play the part of dictator. In San Luis Potosí, Sóstenes Escandon was chosen governor in spite of Juarez. *Mem. Póst.*, MS., 325–34.

[34] He was authorized to muster into service 4,000 men of the national guard of the states. *Dublan* and *Lozano*, *Leg. Mex.*, x. 779–83, xi. 9–11; *Diario Debates*, 5° Cong., i. 390, 500–8, 759–884 passim; *Boletin Ofic. Estad. Sin.*, Jan. 18, 1870; *Diario Ofic.*, Jan. 13, 18, 1870; *Méx.*, *Mem. Hacienda*, 1870, 882–3.

revolution developed itself in force, namely, San Luis Potosí, Zacatecas, Jalisco, and Querétaro, were placed under martial law.[35] In about four months the movement, which had been one of personal ambition, but threatened the existence of Juarez' administration, was forced to succumb, the rebels being defeated on the 22d of February, 1870, by General Rocha,[36] at a place known as Lo de Ovejo, with heavy losses.[37] The result was that Guadarrama and other prominent leaders submitted to the government. García de la Cadena afterward captured Zacatecas, from whose merchants he obtained a large sum of money, and from private citizens arms and horses, and then departed for Sierra Hermosa; but soon after was routed at Villanueva, and forced into exile.[38] The insurgents met with disaster at every encounter, and finally gave up the struggle.[39] This revolution left homeless a large number of men who had rendered good services to their country.

The long-desired general amnesty law was finally enacted by congress on the 13th of October, 1870.[40]

[35] From which they were released on the 26th of March. *El Derecho*, iv. 289.

[36] This general had routed Toledo at El Tejon in January.

[37] They lost all their artillery—about 26 pieces—a large quantity of other arms, 800 killed and wounded, and many officers and upwards of 1,000 rank and file were taken prisoners. The rest of their force, which had been of about 5,000 on going into battle, became dispersed. García de la Cadena, Martinez, Huerta, and Toledo fled. *Diario Ofic.*, March 5, Apr. 6, 1870; *El Derecho*, iv. 185; *Marquez de Leon, Mem. Póst.*, MS., 335–7; *La Estrella de Occid.*, Apr. 1, 8, 1870; *Cos, Estadist. Silao*, in *Méx., Soc. Geog. Boletin*, 2a Ép., iv. 748; *Baz, Vida de Juarez*, 303–3.

[38] *Diario Ofic.*, Apr. 2, 5, 10, etc., 1870; *La Estrella de Occid.*, Apr. 22, 1870; *Periód. Ofic.*, of Zac., 1870–4.

[39] Some of the governors were given extraordinary powers where needed to restore peace. *Guer., Varias Ley.*, Decree 58. Ex-gen. Gutierrez was court-martialed and shot for having belonged to a 'banda de foragidos.' *El Monitor*, Feb. 16, 1860; *Boletin Ofic. Estad. Sin.*, Apr. 18, 1870. The government is accused of using arbitrary measures to uphold its authority. The *Diario Ofic.* throughout the year is full of details on the political disturbances. The same may be said of *El Occidental, El Monitor Rep.*, etc. Riva Palacio, *Mem. á la Legisl. de Méx.*, 9, and *Diario Debates*, 5° Cong., i. 882, 887–8, also give information.

[40] The state of Puebla, by its legislature and executive, had, as early as the 16th of July, 1870, restored the rights of citizens of the state to those who served under the intervention or the empire, excepting from the privileges of

It contained eleven articles, and embraced persons who, to the 19th of September of the same year, had been guilty of *infidencia,* or treason, sedition, conspiracy, and other offences of a political nature. From its benefits were excepted, 1st, the regentes and lugartenientes of the empire; and 2d, generals who, while commanding in chief a division or corps d'armée, deserted to the foreign invader.[41] One month was granted for insurgents still under arms to apply for their pardons; failing in which, they were to be prosecuted. The eleventh article declared that the persons included in the second exception should not be sentenced to the penalty of death, to which they were amenable, but to the "mayor extraordinaria." A few days later several deputies[42] moved that the benefits of the amnesty should be extended to the men who had been regents of the empire, but congress rejected the motion. Prisoners entitled to the amnesty were released. Among them were the ex-generals Severo del Castillo and Miguel Negrete. The latter had been arrested in July, subjected to trial, and being convicted, was sentenced to death.[43] But the people would not allow such a fate to befall one of the heroes of the Cinco de Mayo, as well as a brave defender of Puebla the following year, and petitions for his un-

the law those persons who held the offices of secretary or under-secretary of state, and those who acted as members of courts-martial, or who, while serving their country, deserted to the enemy. *Puebla, Var. Ley.*, no. 41.

[41] The executive wanted also to be excepted the so-called ministers who countersigned Maximilian's decree of Oct. 3, 1865, and the leaders of insurrections and mutinies that had occurred from Aug. 1867 to the date of the law, but congress rejected the proposition. The benefits of the amnesty were also allowed to those among the excepted whose fate had been defined by the executive, and it might be extended to persons comprised in the second exception whenever the executive deemed it expedient. Prosecutions already instituted were to be discontinued, and fines remitted. Sequestrated or confiscated property, not yet sold, was to be restored, in the condition it might then be, to the parties interested. The amnesty did not exempt from responsibility for property of the government or private parties illegally seized; nor did it imply restoration of rank, decorations, offices, honors, pay, pensions, montepío, etc. *Diario Debates*, 5° Cong., iii. 213–18; *Diario Ofic.*, Oct. 16, 1870. Marquez de Leon claims some credit for this enactment. *Mem. Póst.*, MS., 342–4.

[42] Zamacona, Islas, Prieto, Ávila, and Orozco. *El Siglo*, Oct. 23, 1870.

[43] *Diario Ofic.*, July 12, 13, 1870. Lerdo was accused of favoring Negrete's execution out of personal hostility. *El Monitor Rep.*, July 13–15, 1870.

conditional pardon came from all quarters, and he was released on the 14th of October.[44] One of the great difficulties Juarez had to contend with was the constant demand from the liberal party for a change of policy, and consequent change of ministers, to which he paid no heed. He was also greatly censured for having his salary account adjusted, and the balance due him paid by the treasury.[45]

The presidential election for the next constitutional term, to end on the 30th of November, 1875, now came again to throw the country into turmoil.[46] The chief candidates were Juarez, Lerdo de Tejada, and Porfirio Diaz. Juarez had in his behalf, besides his great prestige with the 'puro' wing of the liberal party, a large following of office-holders. He encountered much opposition, however, on the part of the strict constitutionalists, who honestly believed that successive reëlections were against the spirit of democracy.[47] Nevertheless, disregarding these considerations, Juarez exerted himself to the utmost to secure his reëlection, which was a grave error on his part. Indeed, had he shown a disinclination to appear again as a candidate, the opposition would have been disarmed, and in all probability the great national party would have insisted on his continuing at the head of affairs another term to complete his work.[48]

[44] He published a card expressing his gratitude to the people who had manifested so much interest on his behalf. *Id.*, Oct. 16, 1870; *La Estrella de Occid.*, Dec. 2, 1870.

[45] A sum exceeding $60,000. *Rivera, Gob. de Méx.*, ii. 683.

[46] Congress adopted, April 22, 1871, an amendment to the electoral law of 1857, prescribing that, in the event of no presidential candidate obtaining the requisite constitutional majority, it should choose one of the two most favored candidates, voting not by deputations, but by individual members. This was looked on by some as contrary to the true spirit of the institutions which called for equal representation, in such cases, of the 'entidades federativas.' *Méx., Diario Ofic.*, Apr. 23, 1871. Another amendment, May 8th, had for its object to insure greater freedom of election. *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, xi. 495–9. This last law was repealed Oct. 13, 1873. *Diario Debates*, 7° Cong., i. 1269.

[47] They were considered by many thinking men as a source of danger, even though the reëlected president should be a man of acknowledged virtues, 'hubiera sido la encarnacion de la reforma, y se llamara Benito Juarez.' *Riva Palacio, Adm. Lerdo*, 28.

[48] It has been alleged in support of his course that he was filled with the

Diaz was a military man, and a representative of the popular element. His victories during the war of intervention, his patriotism and honesty of purpose, had made him the favorite of the men who took a more or less active part in the war against the French.[49] Juarez' opponents used their best endeavors to secure the election of Diaz.[50]

Lerdo was acknowledged to be a man of great ability; still, he owed much of his reputation to the name he bore, made popular by his brother Miguel Lerdo, the author of the famous decrees on the property of the clergy, and whose memory was held dear by all liberals. Sebastian Lerdo had won to his support a portion of the official element, by aiding with the whole power of the national administration the choice of certain governors, etc. He had taken advantage of the confidence Juarez had reposed in him, and of the ample powers he had given him, to fill the chief offices of the national and state governments with men friendly to himself, and who must have been antagonistic to Juarez' candidacy.[51] His supporters were the least numerous, however, and represented no party with a decided political color. For there were among them some well-known liberals; others with conservative proclivities; and not a few were supposed

idea that it was his duty not to leave unfinished the task of reconstruction and reform. *Rivera, Gob. de Méx.*, ii. 683–4; *La Paz*, Jan.–June 1871.

[49] They formed a party of action, whose ranks had been greatly swelled with men discontented with the government on account of Lerdo's policy. *Riva Palacio, Adm. Lerdo*, 28–9; *El Mensajero*, Jan.–July 1871.

[50] Juarez having been taken ill in Oct. 1870, so that his life was despaired of, his friends were disposed to support Diaz; but he recovered and no arrangement was made. Marquez de Leon asserts that he worked for Diaz in Sinaloa and elsewhere, and that through the imprudence of Benitez, Diaz' chief supporter, some of his most prominent political friends—Vallarta, Ogazon, Montes, Leon Guzman, Zamacona, and others—became alienated. This result was also brought about by squabbles between Lerdo and others, of which Juarez took advantage to win them over to his side. *Mem. Pól.*, MS., 73, 337–47; *Méx., Diario Ofic.*, Feb. 19, 20, 1871; *El Monitor Rep.*, Jan. 6, 1871.

[51] Even those who were opposed to Juarez' reëlection looked with displeasure on Lerdo's crooked conduct. He was also accused of unconstitutional acts. *Riva Palacio, Adm. Lerdo*, 29–30, 41–2; *El Monitor Rep.*, Nov. 26, 29, Dec. 9, 28, 1870, Feb. 9, March 24, 1871.

to have no fixed political opinions.[52] Under the circumstances, Lerdo could no longer be a member of the ministry, and he accordingly resigned in January, 1871, returning to his office of president of the supreme court.[53]

The election came off at last; but none of the candidates having obtained the requisite majority,[54] the sixth congress, on the 12th of October, 1871, chose and formally declared Juarez to be the constitutional president for the next term.[55] He was inducted into office on the 1st of December with the usual ceremonials. In his address to congress he bewailed that the spirit of militarism had come again to disturb the public peace; expressing the hope that the representatives of the people and all good citizens would frown it down.[56] But long before congress had made this declaration, the supporters of Lerdo and Diaz were aware that their efforts were of no avail. The friends of the latter accused the government of having tampered with the polls, effecting its purpose through the official element.[57]

[52] The conservatives divided their suffrages between Juarez and Lerdo. *Baz, Vida de Juarez*, 304. *La Paz*, Jan.–June 1871, supported Juarez; whereas *El Correo del Com.*, *El Federalista*, and *El Imparcial* advocated Lerdo's election.

[53] The cabinet after this was formed of personal supporters of Juarez, José M. Castillo Velasco becoming the minister of government. *El Monitor Rep.*, Jan. 11, 18, 1871.

[54] Juarez had 5,837 electoral votes; Lerdo, 2,874; Diaz, 3,555. *Baz, Vida de Juarez*, 306.

[55] Dec. 1, 1871, to Nov. 30, 1875. He was so declared under the electoral law of 1857, and the amendments of Apr. 22 and May 8, 1871. *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, xi. 581; *Diario, Debates*, 6° Cong., i. 187, 218, 230, 271–3; *Méx., Diario Ofic.*, June 27, 29, July 4, 8, 11, Oct. 7, 13, 14, 17, 18, 1871; *El Monitor*, Oct. 14, Nov. 1, Dec. 2, 1871; *Boletin Ofic. Est. Sin.*, Oct. 31, 1871; *El Provenir Nic.*, Oct. 1871.

[56] The president of the chamber promised the coöperation of his colleagues. *Diario Debates*, 6° Cong., i. 627–9.

[57] Marquez de Leon says that false credentials were obtained by some deputies; that a shameless disrespect for law prevailed at the elections; 'there were towns of only 2,000 inhabitants where 2,500 votes appeared as cast; the government's partisans claiming a majority where Juarez had not had a single vote.' *Mem. Póst.*, MS., 347–8. Diaz himself says: 'It was clearly seen that by official instructions rather than by the wish of the people votes in favor of Juarez had been polled in quantities;' and it has been asserted—recent party animosities have not permitted to clear up this matter—that in counting the votes 'hubo suplantacion.' *Datos Biog.*, MS., 357–8.

The supporters of Porfirio Diaz, popularly called Porfiristas, refused to recognize Juarez as lawfully elected, resolving to gain by force of arms the victory they claimed to have been robbed of by the government's influence and money. Revolutionary movements followed one another in quick succession; and finally Diaz, who had been residing at his hacienda of La Noria, after declining to countenance any revolutionary movements, gave way to the suggestions of Ignacio Vallarta, Zamacona, and Marquez de Leon—deputies respectively for Jalisco, Sinaloa, and Puebla—General Ogazon and others,[58] and now about the 8th of November, 1871, issued from La Noria a manifesto to the Mexican people, setting forth the grounds for the revolution, which was to have for its battle-cry, "Constitucion de '57 y libertad electoral," and for its programme, "Ménos gobierno y mas libertades," and embodying a plan for the reconstruction of the government. The reconstruction was to be effected by a convention composed of three representatives for each state, chosen by the direct votes of the people, which body was to form an organic law, meantime choosing a provisional president, who upon no consideration should be the commander of the revolutionary forces.[59]

The revolution presented a threatening attitude; but though seconded in many places of more or less importance, it had the germ of self-destruction. Its

[58] 'Cediendo el Gen. Diaz á lo que le proponian Vallarta, Ogazon y demás oposicionistas á aquel gobierno, se retiró para Oaxaca con el propósito de iniciar y encabezar la revolucion.' *Diaz, Datos Biog.*, MS., 359.

[59] The other bases of reconstruction were the following: The election of president of the republic to be direct by individual vote, excluding from candidacy any citizen who during one year preceding the date of election had, if even for one day, held any authority or office whose functions extended over the whole national territory. Congress was to exercise electoral powers only in economic matters, and never in designating high public functionaries. The appointments of secretaries of state, or other officials having a yearly salary of $3,000 or upwards, must be submitted for confirmation to congress. The Mexican union must guarantee to ayuntamientos rights and means of their own to secure their independence and freedom of action; trial by jury to be established; the odious excise tax to be abolished; and the regulations of custom-houses to be amended. *Diario Ofic.*, Nov. 13, 1871; *Riva Palacio, Adm. Lerdo*, 30; *Caballero, Hist. Alm.*, 57–9; *El Monitor*, Nov. 14, 1871.

authors and sponsors called themselves constitutionalists, and yet went to work, by means of violence and bloodshed, to break the constitution they made their battle-cry. Allowing that the reëlection of Juarez had been unjustifiable and illegal, and that his title should have been set aside with all the energy of the nation, why was Lerdo de Tejada, president of the supreme court, and the official designated by the constitution of 1857 as the legal temporary successor, also set aside?[60] It is surmised that the revolutionists mistrusted him; but if so, they failed to express it in their plan.[61] The result of it all was that the plan met with but few supporters, the liberal party, as a whole, looking upon it as hostile to the constitution of 1857, as an impending military dictatorship prompted by the spirit of militarism, as Juarez called it, and as exclusive. Had the revolutionary movement been well directed, however, without resorting with such precipitancy to arms, its chances of success might have been greater, for its possibilities were large, whole states having made declarations against the general government.[62]

But previous to Diaz' open rupture with the government, his partisans had broken out into rebellion in several parts of the republic. A pronun-

[60] Art. 79th of the constitution says: 'During a temporary vacancy of the presidential office, and during an absolute one till the newly elected shall present himself, the executive authority is to be exercised by the president of the supreme court of justice.' *Méx., Ley. Fund*, 369.

[61] Marquez de Leon, who must be well informed on the events of this period as well as on the motives of the men, says: 'While the capture of Saltillo by Treviño was being glorified, the press was engaged in discussing the 'abominable plan de la Noria,' by which Gen. Diaz, influenced by Lic. Justo Benitez, ignored the president of the supreme court....The ill-advised plan was badly received; public opinion became lukewarm. The plan was a mere proclamation of the chief, subscribed by himself alone. In this he had 'desilusionado á la generalidad.' *Mem. Pól.*, MS., 358–9; *El Monitor*, Jan. 3, 1872. Diaz thus explains the unexpected result: 'Meantime Juarez appointed Lic. Vallarta governor of the state of Jalisco, cajoled some others that he suspected to be compromitted, y la revolucion comenzó á debilitarse mas de lo que debia,' *Datos, Bioy.*, MS., 359–60.

[62] The party calling itself constitutionalist, born of the opposition to the electoral law of Aug. 14, 1867, lost its prestige, its moral force, with the rude attack made against the constitution by the Plan de la Noria. The revolution was defeated by public opinion rather than by force of arms. *Baz, Vida de Juarez*, 310.

ciamiento at Tampico, which had been quelled by General Sóstenes Rocha after a short siege and bloody assault,[63] was followed by other revolts which were put down only with the spilling of much blood.[64] A serious attempt to upset the government occurred in the national capital on the 1st of October, when Toledo, Chavarría, Negrete, Mayer, and others seized at three o'clock in the afternoon the Ciudadela and the Belem jail. Juarez, with his characteristic promptness, adopted measures for the suppression of the sedition, and its authors were routed at midnight, after a desperate resistance, by Rocha, under orders from General García, their position being taken by assault.[65] Colonel Castro, governor of the federal district, perished in an encounter on the road to Popotla with the forces of the guerrilla chief Aureliano Rivera.

Diaz' partisans in Oajaca, before his manifesto was issued, had seized the federal artillery, and a large quantity of other war material. Juarez was well enough prepared to meet the issue of battle,[66] though it must be confessed that at times the fate of his

[63] According to Rocha's telegram of June 11th, he had taken the place at point of the bayonet; 'muchos prisioneros; ni un oficial; todos han muerto en el combate, y son muchos.' *Méx., Diario, Ofic.*, June 11, 1871; *Toma de Tampico*, 1–29; *Diario Debates*, 5° Cong., iv. 555; 6° Cong., i. 193; *Baz, Vida de Juarez*, 305–6.

[64] The garrison of Guaymas, on the 1st of Nov., mutinied, killing the officers, and seizing the custom-house, but was soon brought again under subjection. In Nuevo Leon, Gen. Treviño rebelled and invaded Durango. In Sinaloa, Marquez de Leon, Parra, and others made a pronunciamiento on the 13th of Sept. with 300 men, but were defeated on the 21st, at Las Higueras de Culiacan. The official report has it: 'Muchos muertos; nada de prisioneros.' It seems, however, that Parra surrendered, a few days later, with a number of his men. *Méx., Diario Ofic.*, Oct. 4, 9, 25, 26, 1871. Tabasco and Chiapas also had some disturbances.

[65] Upwards of 300 prisoners, together with all the artillery and ammunition, fell into Rocha's hands. *Méx., Mem., Gobern.*, 1871, 10, and annex no. 6, 69–70; *El Monitor*, Oct. 3, 6, 1871; *Méx., Diario Ofic.*, Oct. 2, 8, 9, 1871. Marquez de Leon says: 'Rocha proved himself an assassin by his massacre of prisoners,' adding that Gen. Guerra, who had charge of the cavalry, was ordered by the minister of war to bring in no prisoners, but kill them all. *Mem. Póst.*, MS., 348–9.

[66] Congress, immediately after the inauguration, granted him extraordinary powers to bring about the restoration of peace, which included that of increasing the forces for active service. These powers were continued him on the 2d of Apr., 1872. *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, xi. 593–5; *Diario Debates, 8 Constit. Leg.*, i. 181–2, iii. 419; *Id.*, 6° Cong., ii. 9–10.

government depended on the result of a single engagement. He despatched to the front two of his most trusty generals. Alatorre advanced upon Oajaca, which he occupied on the 4th of January, 1872, after a sanguinary encounter between Loaeza's brigade of his command and a body of Diaz' forces under General Luis Mier y Teran at San Mateo Xindihui.[67] This victory virtually ended the campaign in Oajaca. Félix Diaz lost his life soon after.[68]

Porfirio Diaz, after organizing the insurrection in the east, marched with about 100 mounted men into the interior, reaching Zacatecas[69] on the 8th of February, amidst a great ovation. Rocha repaired to the interior, and on the Cerro de la Bufa in Zacatecas signally defeated the main army of Nuevo Leon under Treviño on the 2d of March,[70] after five hours' fighting, the latter losing all his artillery, a large number of prisoners, together with an immense supply of arms and ammunition. His infantry was lost, and the remnants of the cavalry fled, one portion toward

[67] The action took place from the 21st to the 23d of Dec., 1871, the Porfiristas being nearly annihilated, and their general seriously wounded. The remnants of Terán's force, as well as himself, succeeded in reaching Oajaca, where Gen. Félix Diaz commanded, who concluded not to defend the place, on being informed that the forces of both Alatorre and Rocha were approaching it. *Mier y Terán, Apuntes Biog.*, 40–2; *El Monitor Rep.*, Dec. 29, 1871, Jan. 4, 9, 10, 13, 23, 1872.

[68] His body was brought to the commandant of Pochutla at 5 A. M. of Jan. 23, 1872. He was slain by a pursuing party from Tehuantepec. Official telegram in *El Monitor Rep.*, Feb. 2, 1872.

[69] The place had been taken by the Porfirista chiefs Donato Guerra and Pedro Martinez, Jan. 26th. *Id.*, Feb. 3, 20, 1872; *El Federalista*, Jan. 24, 1872.

[70] According to Marquez de Leon, the Porfirista army was 9,000 strong, of which 3,000 were cavalry armed with repeating rifles. Treviño started with this force toward San Luis Potosí. Rocha was then coming against him from Mexico with 3,500 men, and Corella was moving from San Luis with 1,500 to watch their opponents. Antillon had 3,000 in Guanajuato, offering to join the pronunciados and end the revolution if the president of the supreme court was called to the presidency; but Licenciado Benitez was present and opposed it. There was now a favorable opportunity for the pronunciados to defeat the enemy before he got his forces together; they also had the best of artillery. These advantages were thrown away by Treviño's retreat into a region where, from the nature of the ground, artillery was rendered useless. Rocha came against him with 8,000 men, on the Bufa hill, and routed the Porfirista army. *Mem. Póst.*, MS., 366–7; *El Monitor Rep.*, March 5, 15, 26, 1872; *Boletin Ofic. Est. Sin.*, May 8, 12, July 10, 1872.

Fresnillo and another toward Jerez.[71] Rocha's cavalry pursued for some distance. The result of this victory was the reoccupation of Zacatecas by the Juaristas on the 13th of April, Durango having been abandoned by their opponents, and taken by Rocha.

Sinaloa, by her legislature, had in December 1871 declared against the authority of Juarez; and Mazatlan and other important towns of the state were for some time under control of the revolutionists; but after the Juarist successes in Zacatecas and Durango, matters changed again.[72] Yucatan was once more at this time brought into the vortex of revolution. A pronunciamiento on the 13th of March, 1872, at Valladolid, ignored the authority of Governor Cicerol, which was seized by Mariscal, who with the insurgents operated against both the state and federal authorities.[73] They were still in arms in July.

While military operations were going on in Zacatecas, Diaz approached Mexico with a column of cavalry,[74] being deceived with the assurance that a movement in his favor would break out in the city. On becoming convinced that no such assistance could be counted on, he proceeded to Jalisco.[75] A document purporting to have emanated from the leader of the

[71] Guerra was afterward surprised in Laguna de Tahualila, and lost Marquez' and his own cavalry. *Marquez de Leon, Mem. Póst.*, 367–8; *El Federalista*, June 21, 1872; *El Monitor Rep.*, June 7, 1872.

[72] They had raised forced loans at Mazatlan to the amount of $250,000 to Jan. 4, 1872. Pesqueira had recovered El Fuerte and Culiacan in Feb. Marquez endeavored to take the latter in May, but met with defeat at Pesqueira's hands. Mazatlan was occupied by Rocha early in May. *El Federalista*, Feb. 29, March 14, Apr. 16, May 28, 1872; *El Monitor Rep.*, Dec. 7, 1871, Jan. 27, March 20, 24, Apr. 11, 13, 17, May 8, 16, 22, 28, June 19, 22, July 18, 1872; *Marquez de Leon, Mem. Póst.*, MS., 361–3, 375–8, 388.

[73] The government troops were defeated March 20th, and Gen. Cepeda Peraza was killed; but in April the insurgents abandoned Mérida, Progreso, and Sisal, which were reoccupied by the government. *El Federalista*, Apr. 2–24, May 9, 1872; *El Monitor Rep.*, Apr. 5, June 18, 1872, July 18, 25, 1873; *Boletin Ofic. Est. Sin.*, May 21, 30, 1872.

[74] 'Con una habilidad sin ejemplo, se presentó á las orillas de la capital.' *Baz, Vida de Juarez*, 310.

[75] Jalisco, like the other states, had been suffering from the effects of seditious movements in various districts. Gov. Vallarta had been granted discretional powers; martial law ruled, and heavy taxes were levied. *El Monitor Rep.*, Jan. 17, 30, March 28, Apr. 27, May 4, 7, July 19, 1872; *El Federalista*, Feb. 20, 1872; *Jalisco, Mem.*, 1–3, 11–2, doc. no. 5.

revolution at Ameca on the 3d of April, and to be a modification of the La Noria plan, was circulated in Mexico; the object being to establish the president of the supreme court as provisional president of the republic; but thinking men looked upon it as apocryphal.[76] It was no less unconstitutional than the plan of La Noria. Diaz finally sought an asylum with Lozada at Tepic.[77] After the triumph of La Bufa, the insurrection did not present the same menacing aspect as at the latter part of 1871; but in Chihuahua, Guerrero, the Sierra of Puebla, and indeed everywhere throughout the country, it still possessed elements strong for resistance, which any turn of events might render formidable. The government had gained several victories, but they were not of a decisive character.[78] Juarez' administration could not feel assured of its safety as to the war as late as July 1872.[79] The political situation was no more satisfactory. The three political parties, Juaristas, Lerdistas, and Porfiristas, were about equal in number of deputies in the sixth congress, and though Juarez had a majority, his measures might be jeopardized by a temporary alliance of the two opposing parties.[80] In the early part of June 1872 there was a ministerial crisis, Mariscal, Romero, and Castillo Velasco resign-

[76] It was in the form of a circular to the generals supporting Diaz, who were to send it to those serving the government. *El Federalista*, May 28, 1872.

[77] *El Monitor Rep.*, July 7, 1872, on the authority of *La Civilizacion* of Guadalajara, states that Diaz visited the Sebonico volcano in company with Lozada and Plácido Vega, without attempting to keep himself incognito.

[78] Donato Guerra defeated Gov. Terrasas in Chihuahua, and won for himself friends. Diaz with his presence there gave renewed encouragement to his cause. In Guerrero, Jimenez, and in Puebla, Negrete, Lúcas, Carrillo, and Mendez kept the government busy and incurring heavy expenses to support its numerous forces. *Riva Palacio, Adm. Lerdo*, 12, 15; *Marquez de Leon, Mem. Póst.*, MS., 389–83; *Diario Ofic.*, 24, 25, Nov. 28, 30, 1871; *El Monitor Rep.*, Nov. 29, 1871, to July 24, 1872, passim; *El Federalista*, Jan. 25 to July 13, 1872, passim; *Voz de Méj.*, Jan. 3, 11, 1872; *Guer., Mem. Gob.*, 1872, 4–6, 31–8; *Diario Debates*, 8 Constitut. Leg.; ii. 95; *Méx., Llamamiento*, 1–12; *Méx., Mem. Relaciones*, 1883, 49–53, annex no. 3, 89–94.

[79] 'No era por cierto muy halagador el cuadro.' *Riva Palacio, Adm. Lerdo*, 15.

[80] Party animosity was exacerbated by the attempt of the Juaristas to throw out several credentials, though they succeeded in only two or three cases.

ing their portfolios. Juarez then reconstructed his cabinet with the following ministers: José María Lafragua, of relations; Francisco Gomez del Palacio, of government; Joaquin Ruiz, of justice and public instruction; Blas Balcárcel, of fomento; Ignacio Mejía, of war; and Francisco Mejía, of the treasury. Ruiz declined on the 21st of June the position tendered him.[81]

Juarez had been taken seriously ill with an affection of the brain, as it was reported, in October 1870, from which he rallied; shortly after he lost his wife, whom he highly prized.[82] It seems that Juarez had a presentiment that his own end was near; for in conversing with his friends he expressed regret that it would be out of his power to reconstruct the affairs of his country, wherein, he said, almost every effort hitherto had been directed to destroy. Nevertheless, amidst all the turmoil, he was beginning to see the realization of his heart-felt wish for peace, when death overtook him. On the 18th of July, 1872, he experienced an acute pain in one of his legs, and had some difficulty in breathing; but he thought the trouble would all pass off. He left his office earlier than usual that day, and spent the time with his family, hoping next morning to take some exercise in the forest of Chapultepec.[83] As night approached the family noticed that he was becoming very ill, and that his heart seemed to be affected. Doctors Barreda, Alvarado, and Lucio were summoned; but though every remedy known to science was applied,

[81] *El Federalista*, June 11. 14, 1872; *El Monitor Rep.*, June 11, 12, 22, 1872.

[82] Jan. 2, 1871. The foreign ministers, as well as all classes of society, manifested their sorrow. She had been a noble matron, who by acts of charity won for herself the esteem of all. *Baz, Vida de Juarez*, 304. The funeral took place on the 3d, and was largely attended, the representatives of the U. S., Prussia, and Italy being among the cortége. *Diario Ofic.*, Jan. 14, 1871; *El Monitor Rep.*, Jan. 3, 1871; *El Occidental*, Jan. 31, 1871.

[83] It was his custom when he felt unwell to walk there early in the morning, and to rapidly go up the hill so as to bring on a perspiration. This with an early bath usually relieved him.

the disease rapidly progressed, and shortly after 11 o'clock that night the president expired, surrounded by his children and friends. At dawn the next morning minute-guns announced to the Mexican nation that their chief magistrate was no longer among the living; that the great mind which during so many years and mid so many difficulties and tribulations faithfully guided it toward liberty and progress had ceased its labor, the great heart that so dearly loved Mexico had ceased to beat. The announcement fell upon the people like a calamity. Even party strife for the moment was paralyzed. Juarez' remains, while still warm, were taken to the salon de embajadores of the palace;[84] and the people thronged the hall to view the peaceful features of him who had been in life the object of so much admiration on the part of some, and of so much hatred on the part of others.[85]

The president of the supreme court, Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada, having been summoned to assume the reins of government, qualified at half-past eleven o'clock in the morning of the 19th of July, before the comision permanente of congress, received the condolence of the diplomatic corps[86] and public officials, and gave directions for the funeral of the late chief magistrate to be in accordance with that exalted position. The remains were embalmed and kept in state till the 22d, when at nine o'clock in the morning they were placed in a zinc coffin, which in its turn was enclosed in a mahogany case, garnished with two sprigs of laurel and olive, and bearing the initials B. J. A magnificent hearse, drawn by six horses, which were kept in hand by six lackeys, conveyed the

[84] Pursuant to an unrepealed law which brought to mind the practice of the colonial period at the death of a viceroy. *Rivera, Gob. de Méx.*, ii. 685.

[85] Among the public manifestations of sorrow were particularly noticed those of the French residents, who remembered that his protection had not failed them in times when popular passions in Mexico were violently roused by the acts of their government.

[86] Manifestations of sorrow came afterward from the heads of foreign governments having relations with Mexico, among which was an autograph letter from Amadeo of Spain. *Méx., Mem. Relaciones*, 1873, annex no. 4, 51–8, 116–17; *El Monitor Rep.*, Nov. 17, 1872.

body to the San Fernando cemetery, to be interred in the family tomb.[87] In an angle of the garden in the plazuela de San Fernando had been raised a monument in the style of the Greek parthenon. The coffin was laid on a large urn, covered with laurel leaves made of gold and evergreens; in the upper triangle were seen alpha and omega, symbolizing the beginning and end of things, and on the top of the small temple was a bust of Juarez.[88] The standard-bearer of the Batallon de Supremos Poderes, holding in his hand the national flag draped in mourning, took a position in front of the monument surrounded by a guard of honor. After the requisite ceremonies, the body was consigned to the tomb, and at a signal from the towers of San Fernando, the battery of the palace officially announced that the grave already enclosed the mortal remains of the great leader of reform and independence.[89] Honors to the memory of Juarez were afterward paid by several state and municipal governments, and in several foreign countries, in various ways.[90]

[87] The pall-bearers were Luis Velazquez, director of the law school, Gen. Alejandro García, comandante-general of Mexico, Manuel P. Izaguirre, the nation's treasurer, and Alfredo Chavero, representing the ayuntamiento of the capital. The late president's aides-de-camp and one infantry company with a band escorted the body. The presidential carriage, draped in black, followed, and after it went those of President Lerdo, secretaries of state, diplomatic corps, deputies, judiciary, and other distinguished persons and corporations. In the cortége were seen journalists, workingmen's associations, alumni of the preparatory, law, and medical schools, physicians, masonic lodges, the Santa Cecilia and Philharmonic societies, and the German club. The army was represented by a military band, the cadets of the military school, bodies from each of the arms, besides a battery of 12 pieces. The procession consisted of nearly 5,000 persons. An immense concourse of people filled the streets, windows, balconies, and house-tops, probably constituting three fourths of the population in the city.

[88] The mausoleum was surrounded with colossal tapers, and had inside two magnificent alabaster vases, from which rose the vapors of incense and myrrh.

[89] *El Monitor Rep.*, July 20, 21, 24, 1872; *Méx.*, *Derecho Intern.*, 3d pt, 116–17; *Baz, Vida de Juarez*, 312–15; *Chavero, Discurso*, 1–20; *Romero, Breve Oracion; El Federalista*, 1–15.

[90] Querétaro declared him a benemérito, and gave his name to the plaza formerly called de la Cruz, also appropriating funds to make it worthy of its new name. Oajaca decreed to purchase the house where Juarez was born, and dedicate him a monument there. In Puebla it was enacted that his name should be inscribed in golden letters in the legislative chamber, and a monument should be raised. *El Monitor Rep.*, Aug. 1, Nov. 14, 1872; *El Federalista*, May, 22, 1873; *Diario Ofic.*, May 5, 1875. The medical college of Peru, early in 1872, had awarded him a gold medal. *El Federalista*, March 21, 1872.

The national congress in due time took into consideration the form of posthumous honors to the late statesman, including substantial provision for his family. Several ways were proposed; and finally a resolution was adopted, on the 18th of April, 1873, giving, among other things, monuments to himself and wife, and pensions to their children.[91] On the 7th of May, 1875, the remains of Juarez and his wife were exhumed from the family vault and transferred to the provisional niche which was to hold them till the monument then being prepared in the San Fernando cemetery should be finished. The final exhumation, with appropriate ceremonies, took place on the 18th of July, 1880.[92] Juarez left property valued at $138,000;[93] and three books in his own handwriting, namely, a compilation of maxims from Tacitus,[94] an account of his expenditures during his peregrinations,

[91] 1st. Juarez was declared a 'benemérito de la patria en grado heróico;' his name was ordered to be inscribed in letters of gold in the chamber of the national congress. 2d. On the 21st of March of each year the national flag was to be hoisted on all public buildings, in commemoration of his birth, and also on the 18th of July at half-mast, as a sign of mourning for his death. 3d. The executive to appropriate from the treasury $50,000 to erect a commemorative monument, with a statue of Juarez thereupon. This monument was to be finished on the 5th of May, 1874. 4th. The executive to apply, out of the treasury, $10,000 for a sepulchre to hold the mortal remains of Juarez and his wife. The work was to be finished on the 18th of July, 1873. 5th. A pension of $3,000 a year granted to each of Juarez' daughters, Soledad, Josefa, and María de Jesus, while they remained unmarried, and the same to the minor son, Benito, till he completed his professional studies, or till his 25th year. The same pension to be allowed to each of Juarez' seven children should they ever become poor. The pensions to be paid in monthly instalments of $250, and the executive never to reduce the amounts upon any consideration. 6th. The pension of $3,000 allowed the unmarried daughters to be reduced to $1,500 from the date of marriage. This latter sum to be paid yearly from date of the law to each of the married daughters, and to the son after he completed his 25th year. 7th. The executive was authorized to capitalize each one of these pensions, taking as a basis a period of five years, provided the party interested assented to it. 8th. A prize of $2,000 was to be offered for the best biography of Juarez, the executive to appoint the judges. *Diario Debates*, 6° Cong., iv. 138–9; *Méx., Derecho Intern.*, 3d pt, 118–19; *Boletin Ofic. Est. Sin.*, May 24, 1873; *El Fénix*, of Mazatlan, Dec. 13, 1872. Young Benito was in 1877 appointed secretary of the Mexican legation near the government of Italy. *La Voz de Méj.*, Oct. 17, 1877.

[92] *Méx., Diario Ofic.*, May 9, 1875; Rivera, *Méx. Pintoresco*, i. 377–8, gives a view and description of the tomb.

[93] Including $17,000 of unpaid salary. This was a moderate fortune as compared with that of some other rulers, when we consider that he had been president about 15 years. *El Monitor Rep.*, Aug. 11, 1872.

[94] Another account says it was an autobiography. *Id.*, July 24, 1872.

and sketches of the more prominent men with whom he had relations during his public life.

Juarez with his death bequeathed to his country the boon of peace. Opponents in arms laid them down, and placed themselves under the constitutional flag. He had ever an unfaltering faith in his mission. Old traditions he ignored; petty wrangles and temporizing policies he despised. Heeding only the dictates of duty, he opposed an iron will to the torrent of personal ambitions and party strife, to the wicked envy of a triumphant reaction, as well as of a foreign invasion. He saved the constitution of 1857 by taking into his hands the reins of government at the time that the allied clergy and army were endeavoring to destroy it. Without him the liberal party would have found itself without a leader, or even a cause to fight for. What would have been the fate of the republic, we might ask, if Juarez,[95] the chief magistrate, without soldiers or resources, had faltered? Who would have taken up the struggle had he abandoned it? Indeed, in vain may we search history for a more wonderful example of human greatness and success—a poor, ignorant Indian boy, emerging from the wild mountains of Oajaca to link his name to some of the most radical reforms the American continent has ever witnessed.

[95] 'El presidente peregrino.' *Baz, Vida de Juarez*, 316.

CHAPTER XVII.

LERDO PRESIDENT.

1872–1874.

EFFECT OF JUAREZ' DEATH—LERDO RETAINS THE MINISTERS OF JUAREZ—GENERAL AMNESTY PROCLAIMED—DIAZ REFUSES TO ACCEPT IT—CONFLAGRATION IN THE PALACE—THE COUNTRY TRANQUILIZED—DIAZ SUBMITS—LERDO ELECTED CONSTITUTIONAL PRESIDENT—HIS POPULARITY—HE PERSISTS IN RETAINING THE MINISTERS—DISAPPOINTMENT—CLOSING OF CONGRESS—THE VERA CRUZ RAILROAD—THE TEPIC REBELLION—GUADALAJARA THREATENED—CAPTURE AND DEATH OF LOZADA—END OF THE REBELLION—THE DISTRICT OF TEPIC—CONGRESSIONAL ACTS—EXPULSION OF THE JESUITS—PASSAGE OF THE REFORM LAWS—DISTURBANCES—SEVENTH CONSTITUTIONAL CONGRESS.

As the news of Juarez' death spread throughout the land, there was no little uneasiness felt by many. A change in the administration of affairs was now certain; but what it would be, or how it would affect the country, were beyond the power of man to foretell. At the time of his death the Juaristas were still powerful enough, and could not be disregarded. Indeed, as stated in the last preceding chapter, any change in the fortunes of war might give the upper hand to the revolutionists. So much as to the military situation. The political field was not more promising, for the reason that neither of the three parties struggling for supremacy had sufficient strength of its own to carry its measures in congress.[1]

The first matter to occupy the public mind was

[1] This was the sixth constitutional congress, and the elections of the members to it had been signalized by the interference of those in power. The governors of the different states were supporters of one or other of the three factions, and each had used every means to send deputies attached to the cause of his party. *Riva Palacio, Hist. Admin. Lerdo*, 15.

the expected formation of a new cabinet. No one doubted that the ministers of Juarez, who had shown themselves the persistent enemies of Lerdo, would be removed;[2] but to the surprise of every one they were retained. To the demands of his party for a new ministry, expressed through the medium of its journals, Lerdo paid no heed. It was thought that, regarding himself as only acting president, he intended to let things remain as they were until the elections should decide who should be chief magistrate. By taking no step which might cause alarm, his own election would be the more certain.[3] Such was the general opinion; but Lerdo was a man who could keep his own secrets. He delighted to mystify, to place men in equivocal positions; and to involve political affairs in a mist of doubt and uncertainty, he regarded as the height of administrative ability.

Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada y Corrial was born in Jalapa, in 1825, and his education began at Puebla. In the first years of his studies he was inclined to adopt theology, under the patronage of Bishop Pablo Vazquez; but he afterward abandoned it for law, and completed his education at Mexico. While still young he was, by reason of his great attainments, chosen president of the college of San Ildefonso in Mexico. Later he was made magistrate of the supreme court. During the administration of Comonfort he received his appointment as minister of foreign affairs. The reader is already familiar with his political career since that time. He was a man small in

[2] The cabinet ministers were: of relations, José María Lafragua; of war, General Ignacio Mejía; of the treasury, Francisco Mejía; of public works and development of industries, Blas Barcárcel. Contrary to the constitution, there was neither a ministro de gobernacion nor a ministro de justicia, the duties of these being performed by the oficiales mayores of the respective offices.

[3] The position of the ministers was somewhat anomalous. With the death of Juarez their former relations had ceased; yet Lerdo retained them in office without formally reappointing them. They themselves reported that they had sent in their resignations, and that they had not been accepted. By retaining their portfolios, they exposed themselves to the attacks of the periodicals of every political view; 'los periódicos de todos los colores políticos seguian haciendo guerra mas ó menos franca al Ministerio, tachando de poco delicados á los ministros de Juarez que continuaban al lado de Lerdo.'

frame but well built, modest and unassuming in manner, thoroughly republican in politics, a great worker, and in argument clear, deliberate, and logical.

I have said that his measures were ofttimes dark; but a little light broke in on his present policy when he issued orders for the election of a president. By retaining the old ministers he might so inspire confidence as to secure the union of the former men of Juarez with his own, and so make certain his position. Hence on the 27th of July he published a decree, assigning the 13th and 27th of October following as the two election days. Still further to restore public confidence, he proclaimed at the same time an amnesty, extending it to all political offenders; and on the 2d of August issued decrees relieving the states of Puebla, Zacatecas, and Hidalgo from martial law, to which they had been subject, the release being extended at later dates to all the states of the republic.[4] By this measure such constitutional governors and officers as had lost their positions during the administration of Juarez, in consequence of the revolution, were restored to office. These liberal measures gave great satisfaction to the public, and the offer was quickly accepted by most of the insurgent leaders,[5] who hastened to tender their submission to the governors of the states, under the shield of the amnesty.[6]

[4] Copies of decrees in *El Monitor Rep.*, Aug. 3, 8, 1872, and Sept. 18, 1872.

[5] A list of ten revolutionary leaders who availed themselves of the amnesty is given in *Id.*, 7th Aug., 1872. Among them was Negrete, who retired to private life, having issued a proclamation expressing his confidence in Lerdo.

[6] In one instance only does it appear that the amnesty was not properly observed. Jimenez, the leader of the revolution in Guerrero, presented himself to the governor of that state, relying upon the promises of the president. *El Monitor*, Oct. 1, 10, 1872. The governor, Gen. Arce, however, imprisoned him on the plea that all the insurgent arms had not been delivered up, and arbitrarily fixed the number in excess. The friends of Jimenez in the capital represented the case to Lerdo, who, day after day, promised to order the release of Jimenez. He failed to do so, however, and Jimenez, after a month's imprisonment, was liberated by Arce and Figueroa, the commander of the forces in Guerrero. The enemies of Lerdo charge him with intentional neglect. *Riva Palacio, Hist. Admin. Lerdo*, 69–71. Figueroa deemed the small delivery of arms an indication that Jimenez' submission was simulated. *El Federal*, Oct. 24, 1872.

General Porfirio Diaz, however, declined to accept the amnesty, save under certain modifications. On the 1st of August he addressed a letter to the president, setting forth his views of the position, and conveying covert threats of future opposition in case existing evils were not remedied, and satisfactory guarantees given that the popular suffrage should be inviolably established.[7] Alluding to the amnesty, he thought that the spirit in which it had been extended was adequate to the necessities of the political position, but that the terms of it were not sufficiently favorable. He moreover urged Lerdo to extend the time assigned for the election of president, in order that the towns in which the revolution had been developed might become settled, and calmly consider and cast their votes. Lastly, as a main condition by which to secure his coöperation in pacifying the country, he asked that an exception should be made in his own case with regard to the deprivation of position and salary as laid down in the fourth article of Lerdo's decree. In fact, while recognizing Lerdo as president, he dictated conditions to him, and hinted at war in case they were not accepted.

The president yielded in no point. Diaz was given to understand that no conventional agreement with him would be entertained, and that his submission would have to be made in accordance with the amnesty law.[8] By the end of September all the revolutionary forces, with the exception of those in Sinaloa and Chihuahua, had accepted the amnesty, and the

[7] 'Pero si no se le hace experimentar el cambio que en la política apetece,' he said, 'si no se reparan hasta donde sea posible los males ocasionados por la dictadura, y sobre todo, si no se dan garantías sérias y prácticas al voto popular, la situacion presente accarreará una tregua, pero no la pacificacion definitiva de la República.' *El Monitor Rep.*, Sept. 3, 1872.

[8] In a later communication dated Sept. 22d, and addressed to Gen. Carrillo, commander of the government forces in Durango, Diaz intimated that the conditions under which he would submit were: that a new amnesty law should be proclaimed, free from the restrictions contained in the existing one; that the government should initiate before congress a constitutional reform with respect to the non-reëlection of the president; and that free suffrage should be guaranteed.

fact that Diaz refused to do so caused some inquietude. No one could regard the revolution as completely terminated so long as he held aloof.

During the earlier communications between Diaz and Lerdo, while men's minds were still agitated by the change in affairs, an event occurred significant in superstitious quarters of dire calamity. Early in the afternoon of August 22d, a fire broke out in the interior of the palace, originating on the wooden roof of the chamber of deputies.[9] The conflagration spread with rapidity, and the cupola, also of wood, was quickly ablaze. Tongues of flame shot intermittently upward, streaking with fiery red black columns of smoke which soon formed a pall over the capital, the great bell of the cathedral ringing out further commotion. The knowledge that quantities of ammunition were deposited in the store-rooms increased the interest. By the exertions of General Mejía and the ministers, the fire was kept confined to that portion of the building occupied by the legislative chambers, which was totally destroyed.[10]

As the election days drew near the pacification of the country was gradually accomplished, and constitutional order restored. In Sinaloa the revolutionists, after gaining possession of Mazatlan,[11] and making captives of the commandant Flores, the civil and

[9] The fire was caused by the carelessness of a plumber engaged in repairing some leaden water-pipes, and who left his brazier with live coals in it on the roof while he went to dinner. *El Federalista*, Aug. 23, 1872.

[10] After this disaster the deputies occupied the theatre of Iturbide. Fortunately all archives and documents were saved. The loss caused by the destruction of the buildings was estimated at $200,000. Seven fire-engines were brought up, only one of which proved serviceable, and that belonged to private persons. The editor of the *Federalista*, in recording this condition of the fire department, remarks: 'Debemos hacer esta justicia á la bomba de palacio: ¡era la que se hallaba en peor estado!' The sword and walking-stick of Iturbide, which hung on a wall of the chambers, were saved, though the hilt of the former was lost for a time. Iturbide's sword had been presented to congress by Gen. Bustamante. The blade was Damascus and the hilt of ivory. *Cambas, Mex. Pint.* i. 11–12; *El Federalista*, Aug. 27, 1872.

[11] Mazatlan was taken Sept. 14th, by Doroteo Lopez. *El Monitor Rep.*, Sept. 26, 1872.

military authorities, and the garrison, accepted the amnesty on the 6th of October, Flores and the other prisoners being released by Colonel Francisco Cañedo, a revolutionary leader who had recognized Lerdo's government, and installed himself as provisional governor of the state.[12] On the 19th Mazatlan was occupied by the federal troops, and the revolutionary movement in Sinaloa was virtually at an end. Nor were affairs in Chihuahua more favorable to Diaz' designs. Lerdo managed matters so as to make it clear that the direct cause of the former revolution no longer existed. To continue a contest which had been entered into for the purpose of overthrowing one government, against another of different and more liberal politics, might or might not be called for. Diaz well knew this; but he hoped that by refusing submission he would obtain from Lerdo those changes in the political programme which he had suggested, and which would enhance his own prospects of election to the presidency. His generals evidently did not all share his views. Guerra, among the last of those who submitted,[13] on the 5th of September had entered into a convention with Terrasas, by which the former recognized the latter as governor, agreeing to evacuate the city of Chihuahua on the 15th, and withdraw his troops from the state by the 23d,[14] which terms he complied with, proceeding to Durango, where he made his submission.

[12] *El Federalista*, Oct. 11, 1872; *El Monitor Rep.*, Oct. 12, 1872. Cañedo had assumed the military and political command of the state, Gov. Buelna having, according to Cañedo's statement, resigned in his favor. Buelna, however, did not confirm his resignation when released from the power of Cañedo, but asserted that it had been extorted from him by compulsion. An order was accordingly sent to Gen. Ceballos, commander of the government troops in Sinaloa, to reinstate Buelna. *El Monitor Rep.*, Oct. 12, 24, 25, Nov. 21, 1872; *El Federalista*, Oct, 26, Nov. 7, 1872.

[13] Guerra arrived at the capital the last of Nov. *El Federalista*, Nov. 28, 1872.

[14] *El Monitor*, Sept. 26, 1872. Guerra's submission was still considered doubtful, as he did not disband his troops and formally accept the amnesty. His intentions were the more suspicious from the fact that in the agreement he stipulated that $25,000 should be paid him for their maintenance. It was suspected that he intended to march against Durango, and Gen. Rocha was ordered to Chihuahua.

Diaz at last became aware that it was useless for him to hold out longer for terms; and to engage in a contest with the government at present was impossible. His troops were demoralized by the knowledge that so many leaders had laid down their arms, and that Lerdo would listen to no proposition for a compromise. The first election day was past, and nothing that he could do would have any effect toward securing freedom of vote at the polls, and the promotion of his own interests. However humiliating it might be, there was no course open to him but submission; hence on the 26th of October the minister of war received a telegram announcing that Porfirio Diaz, with the forces under his command, had accepted the amnesty without condition. This intelligence was greeted with demonstrations of joy, the more so from the fact that on the same day the secondary elections were being held.

On the 16th of November congress declared the result of the elections, and proclaimed Lerdo president.[15] The announcement was received with great rejoicing and public festivities. Lerdo's popularity had daily increased from the time he had assumed the presidency. The public now felt confident that he would inaugurate a social and political regeneration. He enjoyed, moreover, a high reputation for talent and administrative ability. The public, wearied of wars, longed for a government which would devote itself to the arts of peace.[16] On the 1st of December the inauguration of the president took place. Standing before the assembled congress, he made the customary protestation of loyalty and patriotism. He said nothing, however, about free suffrage and non-reëlection.[17] Lerdo, in fact, proved a disappointment.

[15] Lerdo polled 9,520 votes, Diaz 604, and others 136. The declaration of Lerdo as president was voted for by 150 deputies against three who opposed it. Alfaro, Mirafuentes, and Tagle represented the minority.

[16] Believing in this, Lerdo obtained a loan of $600,000 to meet the necessities of the treasury, which, on his succession, was wellnigh exhausted.

[17] On Dec. 4th a congressional decree was passed, ordering Mexican legations to be sent to Spain, Germany, and Guatemala. Porfirio Diaz was pro-

The nation expected that a new cabinet composed of Lerdistas and Porfiristas would be formed at once. A change of ministers would be a pacific revolution, effected by the pressure of public opinion, and without resort to arms. According to the principles proclaimed by the leaders of the late revolution, Lerdo had no legitimate right to assume the position of president ad interim on the death of Juarez. The latter was regarded as having usurped the presidential chair, and it was illogical to allow that he could have a successor. But neither Lerdistas nor Porfiristas were inclined to raise objections: the former, because their leader was now in power, and their aspirations were fulfilled; and the latter, because they believed that the change in affairs for which they had been contending would presently be effected, now that one who was politically opposed to Juarez stood at the head. They preferred ignoring the principle which they had proclaimed to protracting a sanguinary war. Thus a league was established between the two parties, and the Porfiristas proved the sincerity of their intentions by casting their votes in favor of Lerdo. A coalition of the two factions would constitute an overwhelming majority, and each party confidently anticipated such a union. Nothing, indeed, was wanting to cement their friendly relations but the formation of a ministry composed of the most eminent Porfiristas and Lerdistas. But this was not done. The dissatisfaction which he caused by neglecting to remove the ministers of Juarez from office during his ad interim administration had been appeased by the confident expectation that the change would be effected when he was constitutionally elected president. These hopes, however, were converted into exasperation, when Lerdo, at a feast, in reply to one of his stanchest partisans, who indicated to him that a change of the ministry was necessary, stated that he owed his

posed to the government as a suitable citizen on whom to bestow one of the European appointments.

elevation, not to his party, but to constitutional law, and that consequently he was fettered by no compromise.

On the 15th of December the sixth constitutional congress closed its third term. Perfect accord at that time existed between the president and the chamber. Lerdo in his discourse spoke of the advantages to commerce which would be derived from the establishment of the legations in Germany, Spain, and Guatemala; and called attention to the great importance of creating commissions to inquire into the depredations committed on the northern frontier. The extension of telegraph lines and the promotion of railroad projects would, he said, receive the careful attention of the executive; and he concluded his speech by congratulaing the deputies upon the patriotic zeal with which they had discharged their important duties. The reply of the president of the chamber was equally satisfactory.

The opening of 1873 was signalized by the inauguration of the Vera Cruz railroad. On the morning of new-year's day peals of artillery and bands of music announced the departure of the president, attended by his ministers and a numerous suite of officials, for Vera Cruz, by the line now for the first time opened to the public. His journey to the port and return to the capital were marked by an uninterrupted succession of festivities. The cities and towns through which he passed were gay with bright colors, and the inhabitants vied with each other in obsequious adulations to the new president. Balls and banquets, public receptions and speeches, bonfires and the popular joy, indicated the high favor in which Lerdo stood. After remaining some days in Vera Cruz he returned to the capital, where he arrived on the 15th.[18] But nevertheless, when the excitement calmed, the public

[18] For full particulars, consult *El Diario Oficial*, Jan. 1873; *El Siglo XIX.*; *El Monitor Rep.*; *La Voz de Méx.*; *El Federalista.*

began to feel that it had been hoaxed. It soon became notorious that the railroad was not completed according to contract, and that the inauguration had been premature. This was regarded as a fraud on the part of the contractors, to whom large concessions had been granted. The press severely denounced the matter; but the government entered into no explanation, which indicated that it intended to support the railroad company. Unfavorable comments were made, and conclusions drawn as to what would be the ruinous result of future expensive concessions for like enterprises.

While Lerdo was thus being fêted and flattered, trouble was brewing elsewhere. Manuel Lozada, cacique of Alica, had acquired a despotic power over the district of Tepic, whose inhabitants had practically maintained their independence from the time of the conquest. This chief, ever ready to aid those opposed to the government, had afforded hospitality to several of the late revolutionary leaders, and these had gained ascendency over him. On the 1st of August, 1872, he issued a proclamation stating that the towns of Nayarit could only yield a passive obedience to the government; they could not defend it. At the same time hospitality was offered to Porfirio Diaz, Plácido Vega, Trinidad García de la Cadena, and others. At the beginning of October the ayuntamientos, constituted authorities of Tepic, were forcibly removed from office, and others of insurgent tendencies appointed in their places. In November Lozada sent commissioners to Lerdo to explain matters, and lay before the government propositions for the settlement of matters relative to the district. The commission returned at the end of the year, but the result of their mission was not satisfactory to the people of Tepic. On January 15, 1873, a great council was held at San Luis de Lozada, and on the 17th the tribes of Nayarit issued a plan proclaiming war

against the government, styled their armed forces the 'ejército mexicano popular restaurador,' and appointed Lozada their commander in chief.[19]

Lozada was prepared for the contest, having at his command, as was claimed, 12,000 to 15,000 men, armed and provided with ammunition.[20] Dividing his forces into three divisions, Sinaloa, Zacatecas, and Jalisco were invaded; Lozada directing in person the movement against the last-named state.[21] With half of his force he marched rapidly against Guadalajara, town after town falling into his hands, most of the inhabitants fleeing at his approach. On January 24th he arrived before Tequila, which, after an obstinate resistance, succumbed to overwhelming numbers. The unfortunate inhabitants were submitted to the grossest outrages. The rebels now marched against Guadalajara, and arrived at the rancho of Mojonera, four leagues from the city.

On the 27th General Corona at the head of the federal troops marched from Guadalajara, and during that day and on the 28th engaged the insurgents at Mojonera, defeating them with the loss of more than 1,000 in killed and wounded, and three pieces of artillery.[22] Owing to the unserviceable condition of his artillery, Corona could not pursue, and so returned to Guadalajara. But from that time no success attended Lozada's enterprise. While he was engaging with Corona at Mojonera, General Ceballos on the 27th

[19] Full particulars with documents will be found in *El Federalista*, Oct. 9, 1872; *El Monitor Rep.*, Jan. 25, 28, 29, and Feb. 12, 1873; *Estado de Sin.*, Jan. 29, 1873.

[20] *El Monitor Rep.*, Feb. 23, 1873. An approximate calculation made about a month later reduces the number to 9,000 men, with 13,000 serviceable muskets and rifles. In this estimate it is stated that though Lozada had more than 50 pieces of artillery, no more than 6 were serviceable, and that the ammunition had been so spoiled during the six preceding years of peace that he had sent to San Francisco, Cal., for powder and gun-caps. *Id.*, Mar. 9, 1873. It must be borne in mind, however, that these figures only represent estimates which appeared in a journal of the city of Mexico.

[21] The invasion of Sinaloa was directed by Agaton Martinez and Leonardo Sandoval; that of Zacatecas by Dionisio Gerónimo and Marcelino Rentería. *Id.*, Feb. 23, 1873.

[22] Despatches of Corona, Flores, and Gov. Vallarta, in *Id.*, Jan. 31 and Feb. 12, 1873.

routed the division directed against Sinaloa, and at the head of about 3,000 men directed his course to Tepic. The incursion into Zacatecas was also repulsed. The policy of the federal commanders, too, in conjunction with Lozada's cruelty and causeless executions, worked against him. Corona liberated the prisoners that had fallen into his hands, and the reports carried by these of the kindly treatment they had received had great effect among the insurgents. On the 28th of February Ceballos' cavalry, under General Carbó, entered Tepic, and on March 1st the remainder of the command. On the 2d Ceballos issued an amnesty, and during the month numerous insurgent bands submitted. About the middle of March Corona arrived with nearly 5,000 more men. Lozada, whose force was now reduced to 4,000 men at the most, had retreated to the Sierra, and during April the rebels were dislodged from several strongholds.[23] These reverses led to still further submission, and when on May 5th the insurgents were routed by General Carbó with heavy loss at Arroyo de Guadalupe, only a handful of followers accompanied Lozada in his flight to the pass of Rio de Alica. The pacification of Tepic was now almost accomplished. During May and June various detachments, sent in different directions into the Sierra, subjected several refractory towns; but the chief leader eluded all efforts to capture him. On July 12th, however, Lieutenant-colonel Andrés Rosales,[24] who was stationed at San Luis de Lozada, made an incursion into the mountains, and on the 14th surprised a group of about half a dozen men, among whom was Lozada. Resistance was useless, and he was taken to San Luis. Proceedings were

[23] On the 10th they were driven from Mala Noche. *El Federalista*, April 15, 1873; on the 13th and 14th the fortified hill of Jazmin was taken. *El Monitor Rep.*, April 17, 19, 1873; and on the 22d Lozada was dislodged from Guaynamota. *Id.*, April 29 and May 14, 1873.

[24] Andrés Rosales had abandoned Lozada in Oct. 1872, on account of his cruelty and unjustifiable executions of his own followers. *El Federalista*, Nov. 6, 1872.

instituted against him, and on the 18th sentence of death was pronounced, and carried out on the 19th.[25] With the death of this chief the rebellion in Tepic was ended. On August 5th the last insurgent band surrendered.[26]

When congress reassembled in March 1873, it soon became evident that a strong opposition was present. This was made manifest by the election of Gomez del Palacio as president of the house, although in the antechamber the majority had been greatly against him. The result was that the ministerial deputies left the hall, and the session remained without a quorum. Such an event could not take place without comments in the press. *El Siglo XIX.*, which had firmly defended Lerdo's candidature, now attacked the ministry, maintaining that no proper union could exist between it and the president, as the former had been the soul of Juarez' administration. This elicited a reply from the *Diario Oficial*, to the effect that complete concord existed between Lerdo and his ministers; that the latter had long exhibited firmness and self-denial in favor of an administration which considered their services necessary; and that such doctrines as those expressed in *El Siglo* would most certainly never gain their object. This language of the official organ was a severe blow to the Lerdistas, and naturally estranged them. Thus Lerdo, instead of strengthening himself by a judicious management of the three parties, was already laying the basis of a strong hostile faction. While alienating the Lerdistas, and treating with disfavor the Porfiristas, he did not win the decided

[25] *Id.*, July 24, 25, 1873; *El Monitor Rep.*, Aug. 2, 1873. In the *Boletin Oficial*, of Tepic, July 19, 1873, it was stated that $20,000, which had been offered for the capture of Lozada, was being distributed on that date to Rosales and his command. No declaration or testimony was taken from Lozada, who might have revealed something with regard to his accomplices or his intentions. Riva Palacio thus comments upon this mode of proceedings 'Pero parece que se tuvo empeño en echar tierra sobre este asunto.' *Hist. Admin. Lerdo*, 117. Lozada said that others, not he, were to blame.

[26] Corona's telegraphic despatch in *El Monitor Rep.*, Aug. 7, 1873.

support of his former enemies, the Juaristas, and consequently failed to surround himself with devoted partisans.

On the 1st of April the president delivered his address on the opening of congress, speaking in most flattering terms of the prospects of the country. The principal topics of his discourse were the relations with the United States with regard to the settlement of mutual claims, the reduction of railroad tariffs, the development of telegraphs, and the question about the district of Tepic. As early as 1867, Juarez had, on the submission of the insurgent leader Manuel Rivas, formed a military canton out of that portion of Jalisco subject to the federal government; and in 1869 it was proposed to the legislature of Jalisco that Tepic should be raised to the position of an independent state. This proposal met with decided opposition,[27] and Tepic continued to remain in its abnormal position, although certain deputies in congress, from time to time, demanded its restoration to the state of Jalisco. In March 1873 the government of Jalisco inquired of the federal government if it could organize the ayuntamientos and appoint officials in the district. The reply was, that Tepic was a military federal district, and would remain such until the congress decided otherwise. Lerdo, in his discourse, adhered to this decision, and during April the question was warmly discussed in the house, and the action of the government severely commented on. At that time the subjection of Tepic had been all but accomplished; and the government's refusal to restore the district to Jalisco laid it open to the charge of evasion, and of temporizing on a matter of vital importance, namely, the integrity of the states. The segregation of Tepic and its permanent conversion into a military district would be unconstitutional; nevertheless, this appeared to be the object of the government.[28]

[27] *Diario Debates*, 5° Cong., ii. 177, 179, 205, 213; *Id.*, 6° Cong., iii. 319, 448, 677, 745.

[28] The opposition naturally feared that when the matter was brought be-

During this last session of the 6th congress, whose constitutional term was drawing to a close, much time was devoted to discussions of the financial question. Over twenty-two millions were asked for by the government; but the congressional commission, in its report presented April 2d, stated that the estimated income, which would not be less than eighteen millions, would be sufficient to meet all necessary expenses; and called attention to the frequent waste of the public funds, and the excessive peculation that had been practised in previous years.[29] The debates on the matter were long and serious; and as there was little prospect of a speedy termination of them, on the motion of the deputies Baz and Islas, the discussion of the report was suspended, and a law was passed to the effect that the estimates which had ruled during the fiscal year about to close should be taken as those for the following one. Another important matter to which the congress gave its attention was the development of railroad systems and the establishment of telegraph lines, and several concessions were granted.

Assassinations and the abduction of prominent citizens prevailed to such an extent that the executive brought the matter before congress; and on the 2d of May martial law was proclaimed against highwaymen and abductors.[30]

During the early part of this year jesuits began to reassemble in violation of the laws of reform, and

fore congress the government would carry the question. Riva Palacio fully discusses the matter. *Hist. Admin. Lerdo*, 112–120, 129–34. The opening addresses will be found in *Id.*, 143–51.

[29] The commissioners were Gomez del Palacio, Zamacona, Gochicoa, Stávoli, and Perez Castro. They stated in their report that more than $1,500,000 was unaccounted for of the receipts in the treasury during the fiscal year 1871–2.

[30] The punishment of death was pronounced against any such malefactor caught in delicto flagrante, without further proceedings than the drawing up of a statement by the officer of the capturing force, proving the capture and the identification of the individual. Those not caught in the act were to be tried by the authorities whose agents effected the capture, whether civil or military. The trial was not to extend beyond 15 days, and the accused, if proved guilty, was to be condemned to death, without power of appeal, and executed. *Diario Debates*, 6° Cong., iv. 312.

even to preach against them. Nuns also again formed themselves into communities. On the night of May 20th the governor of the district caused two hundred nuns, who were living in community in Mexico City, Guadalupe, and Tacubaya, to be turned into the streets. At the same time about seventy jesuits, friars, and servitors were arrested. The executive, on the 23d, by virtue of the faculties extended to him by the 33d article of the constitution, ordered the banishment of nineteen jesuits. They appealed, however, for protection to the district judge, who granted it to them. But this was of no avail, for the supreme court annulled his decision in their favor on August 19th.[31] Though the press and the greater portion of the intelligent public approved of these proceedings, the passions of the lower orders were excited, and the severe treatment of the nuns evoked wide sympathy. At a later date—by decree of December 1, 1874—the sisters of charity were expelled from the country, a proceeding which was regarded by many as unnecessarily severe.

On May 31st the term of the sixth constitutional congress expired. One of its last acts, and by far its most important one, was the approval, on the 29th, of the reform laws proposed as additions to the constitution of 1857. By these reforms the church and state were declared independent of each other, and freedom of religion proclaimed; marriage became a civil contract; no religious institution could acquire real estate or hold mortgage thereon; the religious oath was done away with, an assertion on the part of a witness that he would speak the truth being only required; forced labor was forbidden; and the liberty of man, in respect of labor, education, and religion, declared inviolable. As a consequence, the law neither recog-

[31] Consult *Riva Palacio*, ut sup., 168, 258–60, 291–2; *El Federalista*, June 4, July 29, and Aug. 1, 1873; *El Monitor Rep.*, May 22-25, July 29–30, and Aug. 21, 1873. Jesuits were also expelled by the senate from Puebla, and some disagreement occurred between the legislature and the governor, who sought to protect them. *Id.*, Mar. 25–26, Apr. 5, 6, 10, 24, Aug. 23, 1873.

nized nor permitted the establishment of monastic orders of any denomination whatever. These important laws were incorporated into the constitution, and became organic by decree of the seventh congress September 25th following.[32] It cannot, however, be expected that such sweeping reforms would be quietly accepted without some trouble from the clergy. All public functionaries and municipal authorities were required to make a formal and solemn protestation to observe the new laws.[33] Excommunication was fulminated from the vatican against those who did so, and the clergy stirred up the passions of the ignorant Indians. In Fresnillo, Juchipila, and Villanueva, the municipal authorities refused to protest. The cry of Mueran los protestantes!—death to those who protest! —was heard in numerous towns in Oajaca. In the state of Mexico, the chief of police and the administrador de rentas at Tejupilco were murdered, and the town pillaged and reduced to ashes. At Zinacantepec the municipal buildings were assaulted by 2,000 or 3,000 infuriated fanatics, and three employés put to death. But these wild efforts soon spent themselves.[34] Priestcraft in Mexico was henceforth and forever fangless.

The elections for the seventh constitutional congress passed off quietly, but not without indications of government intrigues.[35] On the 16th of September con-

[32] *Diario Debates*, 6° Cong., iv. 658–9; *Id.*, 7° Cong., i. 184–93. The decree was definitely approved Nov. 12th. The legislatures of the following states had recognized the new laws; namely, Mexico, Morelos, Hidalgo, Guanajuato, Oajaca, Tlascala, Michoacan, Aguascalientes, Querétaro, Puebla, Vera Cruz, San Luis Potosí, Tamaulipas, Guerrero, Chiapas, Durango, and Campeche. *Riva Palacio*, ut sup., 304–5.

[33] The form administered to the president and members of congress was as follows: 'Protesto sin reserva alguna guardar y hacer guardar las adiciones y reformas á la constitucion política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, decretadas el 25 de Setiembre de 1873 y promulgadas el 5 de Octubre del mismo año.'

[34] Fuller particulars will be found in *Id.*, 313–14; *El Federalista*, Nov. 11, 1873; *El Monitor*, Oct. 1, 3, 5, Nov. 13, 15, 20, 25, 1873.

[35] In Jalisco instances of double elections of deputies occurred, establishing a pernicious precedent. The 'dobles elecciones,' as explained by Riva Palacio, occurred when two members were appointed, the one by credentials issued by a legitimate electoral college, and the other by falsified credentials. One of the cases in question was this: In the district of La Barca, Alfonso Arzo

gress was installed. Much of its attention was directed to railroad matters, and important work was done. It disapproved the contract of May 29, 1873, with the International Company of Texas, for the construction of a line from the capital to the Rio Grande, and rejected the proposition to incorporate together all or any one of the three companies, the Union Contract, the International of Texas, and the Mexican Limited. It moreover finally approved a modified form of an agreement made between the government and the Vera Cruz Railway Company, fixing the tariff of freight charges, known as the convenio de las tarifas. Into this agreement amplified concessions had been introduced, distinct from the question of freight rates, and it had been the subject of much debate in the previous congress. The terms of the original agreement were so conspicuously favorable to the company, and detrimental to a large class of Mexican producers, that faith in Lerdo's railroad policy and his intentions was shaken. It was considered that the interests of the nation were being sacrificed to those of the English company. The labors of congress were so severe that it did not close its sessions until the 21st of January, 1874.

was named deputy with all legal requirements, while Sabás Lomelí was also appointed for the same district by virtue of credentials purporting to be issued by an electoral college assembled at Totolan, which was not a cabecera de distrito. The excuse given for the meeting of the electors at that town was fear of interference by an armed force. The certificate was fabricated, and the college suppositious. Nevertheless, the federal government managed to get the false credentials approved, to the rejection of the legitimate certificate. *Hist. Adm. Lerdo*, 390–1.

CHAPTER XVIII.

LERDO, IGLESIAS, AND DIAZ.

1874–1876.

POLITICAL TROUBLES IN THE STATES—AFFAIRS IN YUCATAN—RELIGIOUS UPRISING IN MICHOACAN—CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY—PROGRESS OF PROTESTANTISM—THE STAMP-ACT—PREROGATIVES OF THE SUPREME COURT ATTACKED—DECLINE OF LERDO'S POPULARITY—POLITICAL PERSECUTIONS—REËLECTION SCHEMES—DIAZ LEAVES MEXICO—INSURRECTION IN OAJACA—A REVOLUTIONARY BLAZE—PLANS OF TUXTEPEC AND PALO BLANCO—DIAZ IN THE NORTH—HIS RETURN TO OAJACA—FRAUDULENT ELECTIONS—LERDO PROCLAIMED REËLECTED—IGLESIAS PROTESTS—HE ASSUMES THE EXECUTIVE POWER—DIAZ DEFEATS ALATORRE AT TECOAC—FLIGHT OF LERDO—CONSTITUTIONALIST VERSUS REVOLUTIONIST—DIAZ ENTERS THE CAPITAL—PROCLAIMS HIMSELF EXECUTIVE—IGLESIAS LEAVES THE COUNTRY—DIAZ AT THE HEAD.

PEACE was now almost established in Mexico, and during the next two years no military opposition of importance was offered to Lerdo's administration. There were disturbances, it is true, in different parts of the republic, but they were local; and though the federal troops were employed in restoring tranquillity, the demonstrations were not generally directed against the government. In August 1873 difficulties had arisen between the diputacion permanente of Coahuila and the governor, Cepeda. The latter was accused of malversation in office, of usurping the prerogatives of the judiciary and legislative powers, and attacking the personal rights of citizens. Cepeda's friends in the legislature, being in the minority, absented themselves from the sessions, thereby preventing a legal quorum in the assembly.[1] Nevertheless, the remain-

[1] The diputacion permanente consisted of eleven members, four of whom

ing seven diputados permanentes passed a decree, September 10th, deposing Cepeda, and appointing Ismael Salás as governor ad interim, and then removed to Monclova. Cepeda retaliated by denouncing them as rebels, and on the 19th hostilities broke out. Both parties appealed to the general government for aid, which was refused; but by the interposition of federal troops, and the appointment of a military provisional governor in the person of General Fuero, by the central executive, the state was pacified.

In Yucatan a serious local rebellion broke out. This state had long been distracted by internal strife. The pacific arrangements entered into with the Indian chief Tzuc in 1853[2] were of short duration. There was an uprising again in the following year, and two expeditions directed against Chan Santa Cruz[3] resulted in serious reverses to the Yucatec troops. Emboldened by this failure to punish them, the Indians assumed the offensive. Tecax and other pueblos were assaulted, and more than 2,000 persons of both sexes and all ages were put to death. Valladolid was next attacked, and though the assailants were repulsed, it was at the cost of a great number of lives. In 1860 a force of 3,000 men under Colonel Acéreto was sent against Chan Santa Cruz, which, after much hard fighting and discouraging difficulties, was occupied. Acéreto then endeavored to advance farther into the enemy's country, but met with such tenacious resistance that he returned to Chan Santa Cruz; and seeing that his men were demoralized, and their spirit broken by the losses sustained in this warfare in thick forests against ambuscades and an invisible foe, he gave up the expedition and returned, with the loss of

were attached to Cepeda. The law required that two thirds of the members should be present, to constitute a quorum, and as seven do not amount to two-thirds of eleven, that number was not considered sufficient.

[2] See *Hist. Mex.*, v. 539, this series.

[3] '*Chan*, quiere decir *chica* or *pequeña*,' that is little. *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, 2ª Ep. i. 73.

1,500 men killed,[4] 2,500 muskets, and all his artillery, ammunition, and baggage trains. The resources of Yucatan were now exhausted; and efforts were confined to self-defence, which were only partially successful. Many a thriving town was burned, and large tracts were desolated.[5]

In 1864 José Salazar Ilarregui was appointed by Maximilian comisario of Yucatan, and attempted to pacify the Indians by kind words and pacific overtures. He sent an agent to them, who, after having brought back a few peaceable Indians, returned and entered the hostile territory, where he was soon put to death.[6] Hostilities were now prosecuted with renewed vigor, and dreadful atrocities were committed.[7] Ilarregui, finding his peace policy useless, despatched the imperialist general Galvez against the Indians, with 1,000 government troops and 400 Yucatecs. Galvez advanced as far as Xonot, six leagues from Tihosuco, and occupied it. But he was soon besieged and compelled to retreat, having lost 400 men and three pieces of artillery and his ammunition. Tihosuco then fell into the enemy's hands; the military line of deten was withdrawn fifteen leagues;[8] and to this day the Indians are unsubdued.

But this war of races was not the only scourge from

[4] The wounded had to be abandoned, and were all put to death. *Mendiolea*, in *Id.*, 79.

[5] The devastations of the Yucatan Indians were unsurpassed even by those of the Apaches in the northern part of the republic. In the three districts of Valladolid, Espita, and Tizimin the population in 1846 was 97,468; in 1862 it had been reduced to 35,469. In the former year there were 49 thriving towns, 19 of which had been totally destroyed by 1862. Out of 693 flourishing haciendas and ranchos, 335 were devastated and abandoned during the same period.

[6] He was 'macheteado,' which consisted in slowly nicking or crimping the victim's limbs and body over with cuts given with the machete, care being taken not to deal a fatal wound, or cause too great a loss of blood. The cuts were so skilfully arranged with regard to circulation that no more blood flowed from a dozen wounds than from one, each successive cut always stopping the supply to the preceding wound inflicted.

[7] 'De nuevo quemaron á los hombres y clavaron en estacas á las mugeres, cortándoles el seno.' *Id.*, 80.

[8] All through this devastating warfare the Indians were well supplied with fire-arms and ammunition from Belize. The British government made no attempt to stop such traffic, and the colonial government openly connived at it.

which the unhappy Yucatec peninsula suffered. Political quarrels and intestine strife were endless. The rivalry between Campeche and Mérida was fierce and implacable, and for years a series of struggles had been carried on, each more sanguinary and deplorable than the last. It became obvious that the only means of terminating them was by separation. On February 5, 1858, Campeche, recognizing the constitution of 1857, and following the example of Vera Cruz, asserted its sovereignty; all the towns in the district having declared in favor of its separation from Yucatan, it proclaimed its elevation into a state, May 18, 1858.[9]

From this time more harmony prevailed between Campeche and Mérida, but political troubles did not cease; and during the decade 1861 to 1870 various local insurrections occurred. In 1873 one of a serious nature took place in Yucatan. The May elections had been conducted with much violence, the candidates for the vice-governorship being Francisco Canton and Miguel Castellanos Sanchez. Encounters in the streets of Mérida were frequent, attended with bloodshed, and on the day of the election the disorder was so great that the provisional governor, General Alatorre, with the federal troops, interfered. Sanchez having been elected, a general revolution broke out, which was aggravated by inroads of the ever-hostile Indians. Alatorre resigned in disgust. The state executive was powerless to restore order; and in view of the prevailing anarchy Colonel Cueto, in command of the union forces, proclaimed martial law, June 19th, to the indignation of the state government and

[9] A convention had been entered into with the government at Mérida, May 3d, by which the territorial division was defined. The state of Campeche was to include the districts of El Cármen, Seibaplaya, Campeche, Hecelchacan, and Hopelchen. Copies of documents in *Barbachano, Mem. Campeche*, April, 120-42. In art. 2 of the state constitution, which was formed and published in 1861, the districts into which the territory was divided were given as El Cármen, Champoton, Campeche, Hecelchacan, and Bolonchenticul, together with the coast line comprising the salt lands known as El Real, La Herradura, and Las Desconocidas. *Campeche, Constitut. Polit.*, pp. 14, 11.

of the legislature of Hidalgo, which protested, considering the sovereign rights of Yucatan attacked. In August General Palomino was sent to take command of the federal troops, and several engagements occurred. But it was no easy matter to restore order. There was so much knavery and intrigue in the December elections that when the legislature met it was found impossible to declare who was governor or vice-governor, and new elections were held, Castellanos Sanchez being chosen governor. But this did not put an end to the political confusion. Further difficulties followed. Two electoral districts declared that the members representing them in the legislature were not the legitimate ones, and others were substituted in their places. The ejected deputies, in conjunction with other discontented members, and supported by a strong armed force, constituted themselves into a legislature and appointed Arcadio Escobedo governor. Thus in 1874 two governors and two legislatures were struggling for supremacy. In October 1874 Sanchez resigned and left the state; but it was not until November 1875 that the rebellion was suppressed and tranquillity restored in distracted Yucatan.[10]

Of a different nature was the uprising which took place in Michoacan in 1874. Instigated by the priesthood, which was furious in its denunciations against the reform laws, the Indian population in many portions of the state rose in rebellion, and a revolution of a religious rather than a political character followed. The insurgents, divided into numerous bands, headed by guerrilla chiefs, carried on a desultory warfare, which extended over the whole state. The condition of Michoacan became deplorable. Banditti infested the different districts, and all kinds of atrocities were committed by them and by religious fanatics. During 1875 numerous encounters took place, without

[10] For further details regarding affairs in Coahuila and Yucatan, consult *Riva Palacio, Hist. Admin. Lerdo*, 257–8, 288–90, 297–300, 350–1, 391–404, 412–13, 422–3; *El Federalista*, 1873, 1874, 1875, passim; *El Monitor Rep.*, *El Diario Oficial*, and *La Voz de Méj.*, for the same years.

the government making much headway. The trouble, however, did not extend beyond the state, and in December General Escobedo was sent to take command of the federal forces. The work of pacification was slow, requiring as it did the suppression of a multitude of scattered bands; but he succeeded in time in reducing Michoacan to comparative tranquillity.[11]

In the beginning of 1874 an attempt at rebellion was again made in Tepic; but though this district was for some time more or less subject to spasmodic uprisings, these efforts were insignificant in effect, and in November 1875 the return to obedience of a number of refractory chiefs held out prospects of permanent peace.[12] About the middle of this year a military revolution occurred in the territory of Lower California, which resulted in the capture and deposal of the legal governor, General Dávalos, and the provisional appointment of Emiliano Ibarra as military and political chief pending the decision of the central government. Dávalos capitulated with the insurgents by resigning, and the affair ended without any serious consequences.

Although this period compared with previous years may be considered one of peace, hardly a month passed without bloodshed in some part of the union. Scarcely a single state escaped trouble, generally arising from intrigues of the federal government, and frauds or unfair pressure at elections. Banditti, also, and lawless guerrilla bands, infested the country,[13] while the

[11] Besides the *Diario Oficial* for these two years, consult *La Voz de Méj.*, passim. This was the catholic organ, and consequently represents the action of the government as unfavorably as the law allowed. The original subtitle of this latter paper was: *Diario político, religioso, científico, y literario de la Sociedad Católica.* I notice that after the 18th of Feb. the words 'de la Sociedad Católica' are suppressed, and in the following number—Feb. 19th —the public is informed that the paper had never been subsidized by the archbishop of Mexico.

[12] Telegraph despatch from commander Tolentino to the war office in *Diario Oficial*, Nov. 16, 1875.

[13] The law of 1872 for the trial and punishment of highwaymen and kidnappers was extended to May 1874; and in May 1875 a decree was passed depriving them of all citizens' rights in the civil courts, and declaring them outlaws. *Id.*, May 6, 1875.

northern states and frontier suffered from Indian raids; and much indignation was aroused in those parts by the withdrawal in 1874 of the subsidies made by the federal government to those states to assist them in their defence against these inroads.[14]

One of the effects of the reform laws was the influx into Mexico of protestant missionaries of various denominations. It could not be expected that the introducers of the new doctrines preached would meet with the tolerance which the constitution prescribed, and they encountered no little persecution. In January 1874 protestants were assaulted in Toluca; and on May 2d John Stephens, an American protestant minister, was killed at Ahualulco, Jalisco, by a crowd of fanatics, who raised the cry of Viva el cura![15] In June of the following year a protestant church in Guerrero was attacked during service, and some lives were lost. Nevertheless the foreign sects made considerable progress; and I find that in November 1875 there were no fewer than 125 protestant congregations in the republic, with eleven churches and ninety-nine meeting halls where service was held.[16] Among others, the Mormons made an attempt at proselytism. In 1875 select portions of the book of Mormon were published at Salt Lake City in a duodecimo pamphlet of 96 pages, for circulation in Spanish-speaking countries. Copies of this work were distributed in Mexico.[17] In 1876 their missionaries were in Chihuahua.

The tranquillity in which the government was left

[14] Consult *Discursos pronunciados ante el Congreso de la Union en las Sesiones del 16, 18, y 19 de Mayo de 1874*, Mexico, 1874, 8°, pp. 113; which is a collection of speeches delivered before congress by members for Chihuahua, Sonora, and Durango, protesting against the measure.

[15] Full particulars in *Méx., Mem. Ofic. Mayor Gob.*, 1874, 39–41, and *Doc.*, 7–8; *Méx., Mem. Relac.*, 1875, 30–4; *El Federalista*, May 8, 1874.

[16] There were also 28 free protestant schools, and 22 of a higher class. The protestants possessed two printing-presses and published six periodicals. Their church property was worth $139,000 and their annual expenses amounted to $100,000. *Diario Oficial*, Nov. 15, 1875.

[17] See *Mormon, Trozos Selectos*, in *Pap. Var.*, vol. 219, No. 7; also *Hist. Utah*, this series.

in 1874 and 1875 afforded an opportunity to devote its attention to the duties of administration, and various constitutional changes were effected. Besides the passage of the reform laws already mentioned, a bill for the establishment of the chamber of senators was brought before the house, and passed November 6, 1874, to take effect September 16, 1875.[18] On December 1, 1874, a stamp-act was passed, substituting the use of stamps for the 'papel sellado,' the rates of which, while they increased the revenue, were burdensome to the people. This act was amended, with some relief to the public, in March 1876.[19]

In 1874, also, diplomatic relations were renewed with European powers, and ambassadors were sent to Paris and to the courts at Madrid and Berlin. Friendly relations with Great Britain were still interrupted, previous differences being further aggravated by the belief that the inroads of Indians into Yucatan, if not instigated by the authorities at Belize, were to a great extent owing to the unfriendly attitude of the British colony. During the commencement of this year a treaty was entered into with Italy for the extradition of criminals.

Owing to the religious uprising in Michoacan and the disturbed state of Querétaro, Guanajuato, and Jalisco, the president, in April 1875, asked congress to invest him with extraordinary powers in matters

[18] *Diario Debates*, 7° Cong., iii. 505–14. The legislatures of the states had been called upon in Oct. to declare their opinions relative to this reform. The result was that the legislatures of 18 states were in favor of it; namely, Aguascalientes, Campeche, Chiapas, Colima, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Guerrero, Guanajuato, Mexico, Michoacan, Morelos, Nuevo Leon, Querétaro, Tabasco, Tamaulipas, Tlascala, Vera Cruz, and Zacatecas. The remaining states did not vote; at the same time they did not oppose the reform. In congress the bill passed with 118 ayes against 13 noes *Riva Palacio*, ut sup., 424.

[19] All kinds of documents had to bear corresponding stamps. The account-books of all business men, the diplomas of professors, engineers, dentists, lawyers, and physicians, were all taxed by this law. Even agriculturists' and master workmen's certificates were required to bear a stamp of the value of $5. A lawyer's or doctor's stamp cost $20. The respective tariffs of 1874 and 1876 will be found in *Méx.*, *Ley del Timbre*, 1874, and *Méx.*, *Ley del Timbre reformada en 28 de Marzo de 1876*.

of war and finance. After some deliberation a decree was passed, May 26th, to that effect.[20]

On the 18th of May, a decree was passed declaring that the electoral colleges only could decide upon the legitimacy of popular elections. This was a direct blow at the supreme court. The design was obvious. Lerdo feared that that tribunal, with its existing powers, would counteract his electoral intrigues, and restricted its faculties by this measure, which his majority in congress enabled him to push through. José María Iglesias, the president of the court,[21] immediately resigned, considering that the constitutional prerogatives of the supreme court were assailed.[22] Lerdo, however, was unwilling that Iglesias should retire under such circumstances, and declined to accept his resignation. He had several interviews with him, and Iglesias finally withdrew his resignation; but entered a strong protest against the new law, and declared that he would not submit to it.[23]

At the time of Lerdo's elevation to the presidency, it would not have been a difficult matter for him to break down the barrier of differences between the rival parties, who were then in a mood to coalesce on broad principles. Had he effected this, he would have surrounded himself with a large circle of stanch supporters, to which only the feeblest opposition could have been offered. But his popularity, as we have

[20] This decree, which declared those of December 2, 1871, and May 14, 1872, to be in force, authorized the executive to proclaim martial law in the disaffected districts; to apprehend suspected persons; to search private dwellings; to raise forces and incur all necessary expenses. *Diario Debates*, 7° Cong., iv. 418–25, 551–86; *Méx., Inic. Ejec.*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, n° 9. These powers were to last till one month after the reassembling of congress, that is, till Oct. 17th.

[21] When the presidency became vacant in 1872 by the elevation of Lerdo to the chief magistracy, the most popular candidates for the position were Iglesias and Riva Palacio. The former was elected and proclaimed by congressional decree of May 15, 1873. *Diario Debates*, 6° Cong., iv. 432–4, 444–63; *El Federalista*, Nov. 28, 1872, May 17, 1873; *Estado de Sin.*, May 15, 1873; *El Monitor Rep.*, May 17, 20, 1873.

[22] 'Atacaba á mi juicio, de una manera incuestionable, las facultades constitucionales de la corte.' *Iglesias, Recuerdos Polít.*, MS., 1.

[23] 'Convine en sustituir á la renuncia una enérgica protesta oficial contra la ley de 18 de Mayo de 1875, á la que declaré que no me someteria.' *Id.*, 2.

seen, was rapidly declining; and by his neglect to adopt a judicious and impartial course with respect to administrative appointments, by his persistent enmity to the Porfiristas, and his disregard of the old Lerdistas, he only aggravated the rivalry existing between the latter faction and the Juaristas in their struggle for political interests, and rendered more bitterly hostile the Porfiristas. If Lerdo had exercised that political acumen with which at first he was credited, he could not have failed to foresee the coming storm. But he was strangely wanting in certain qualities. His confidence in his great talents seems to have dulled his power of perception and ability to recognize the magnitude of the troubles he was brewing for himself and his country. One of Lerdo's most conspicuous opponents was General Vicente Riva Palacio, who as editor of the *Ahuizote* persistently assailed him in that periodical. In February 1875 the president thought best to banish him from the capital, and appointed San Juan del Rio as his place of residence; whereupon Riva Palacio sent in his commission, and requested leave to retire altogether from the army. His resignation was accepted;[24] and on April 2d he laid before congress an accusation against the president, charging him with violation of the constitution in divers of its articles. Though the accusation was dismissed May 19th by a large majority,[25] it ought to have been a warning to Lerdo of the change in public opinion; but to public opinion he seemed indifferent. He took no notice of the repeated denunciations of his line of conduct by the press, or its ominous predictions. The interference of the central executive in the settlement of the political troubles in Coahuila, Yucatan, and elsewhere, was regarded as an encroachment upon the sovereignty

[24] Copy of official correspondence, in *La Voz de Méj.*, March 7, 1875.

[25] By 128 votes against 10. *Diario Debates*, 7° Cong., iv. 403-17. Lerdo was accused of violating articles 7, 13, 14, 20, 21, 29, 50, and 128 of the constitution. The accusation was read in secret session, and passed to the grand jury to report upon. *La Voz de Méj.*, April 4, 1875.

and independence of the states; the prerogatives of the judicial courts were curtailed; the influence brought to bear on the elections nullified the popular wish; and the acquisition of the extraordinary powers, of which I have just made mention, was so distasteful that General Mirafuentes—a contributor to the *Ahuizote*—was bold enough to assert that the government had promoted the revolution for the purpose of obtaining them.[26] As the year advanced political persecutions followed. In September General Manuel Gonzalez was placed under espionage of the secret police; on the 9th and 10th of the same month generals Chacon and Mirafuentes were arrested and imprisoned, and on the 16th of October were sent out of the country. An initiative step was taken to reform the 78th article of the constitution on the 24th of October. It was proposed to congress that in future the president might be once reëlected, but after this second term a period of at least four years must elapse before he could again become eligible. The bill passed to a second reading, and a day was fixed for its discussion. This, however, did not take place, and the question remained for the time undecided. But the motion was significant, and pregnant with civil war. The advocates of non-reëlection were more than ever numerous, and they did not intend to submit passively to the operation of such a law, even if it were pushed through congress.

Lerdo's action, indeed, from first to last was directed to a gradual absorption of the states' rights, and a systematic usurpation of power. During the latter part of 1875 he stood on a political volcano, which was ready at any moment for eruption. The Lerdista and Juarista parties were each intriguing in congress in the local governments, and around the president, to gain the upper hand before the next elections. The

[26] 'Para llegar á la situacion presente, necesitaba el gobierno el pretesto de la revolucion, y por eso ha puesto en juego todos los medios posil les para producirla. La revolucion es obra del gobierno.' Mirafuentes' article copied from the *Ahuizote*, in *Id.*, May 29, 1875.

Porfiristas, kept underfoot by these two factions, which united against the common enemy, were secretly preparing for revolution. Porfirio Diaz, though restored to his military rank,[27] had kept aloof from politics, and had been apparently inactive. But all the time he had been laying his plans; and having made his preparations for revolt in Oajaca, he left Mexico at the beginning of December 1875, and proceeded to the United States, selecting Brownsville, Texas, opposite to Matamoros, as his place of residence. Manuel Gonzalez also left on the same steamer with him.[28]

Lerdo might still have avoided the disgrace of defeat and an ignominious flight had he renounced his reëlection schemes. But he gave no sign of doing so; and the smouldering fire broke out. On the 15th of January, 1876, General Fidencio Hernandez, in Oajaca, pronounced against the government, and issued the plan of Tuxtepec at the town of that name. He then marched against the capital of the state at the head of 2,000 badly armed Indians. On the 27th he encountered and defeated an inferior force of federal troops and national guards at San Felipe del Agua, about half a league from the city, and taking advantage of the panic which followed, entered Oajaca the same day without opposition. The troops stationed there surrendered without striking a blow, and were incorporated into his ranks, many of the officers also joining him. No less than 2,000 Enfield and 500 Remington rifles, with 500,000 rounds of ammunition, fell into his possession. Having destroyed all telegraphic communication, he proclaimed himself governor of Oajaca, and published the plan of Tuxtepec,[29]

[27] The proposal was laid before congress Oct. 8, 1874, and passed to the military committee for decision thereon. *Diario Debates*, 7° Cong., iii. 232.

[28] An English vessel named the *Corsica*. *La Voz de Méj.*, Dec. 5, 1876; *Diario Oficial*, Jan. 3, 1876.

[29] Esperon, governor of the state, was absent at this time in the district of Miahuatlan. *La Voz de Méj.*, Feb. 6, 1876. The plan of Tuxtepec was afterward reformed by Porfirio Diaz. Its principal items will be mentioned later.

denouncing Lerdo and his government, and proclaiming Porfirio Diaz general-in-chief of the revolutionary army.

Thus initiated, the revolution burst into blaze all over the republic. In the beginning of February, generals Donato Guerra and Galvan adopted the plan in Jalisco; Mendez, Bonilla, and Carrillo raised the standard of revolt in Puebla; at Jalapa Colonel Garcia made captive the governor of Vera Cruz; Treviño and Naranjo in Nuevo Leon, Canto in Yucatan, Rocha in San Luis Potosí, and Couttolenne in Guerrero, took up arms. The storm which had been raised was furious and far-reaching. The nation was thoroughly aroused, and by the end of March there was not a state that did not show disaffection. The government exerted itself to the utmost to suppress the rebellion. In Oajaca, Jalisco, Vera Cruz, and many other states, martial law was proclaimed, and numerous engagements took place, with varied success, though at first the advantage was on the side of the federal arms. Escobedo succeeded in subduing for a time the insurrection in Michoacan, and the insurgents sustained defeats in several other states. In Oajaca General Alatorre attacked the rebels at the Cerro del Jazmin, but was repulsed, and retired to Yanhuitlan, about a league distant, where another sanguinary engagement took place, in which the federal troops were victorious.[30]

On the 28th of May, the same general defeated the revolutionary leaders, Hernandez, Teran, and Couttolenne at Epatlan, the second being made captive and sent to the city of Mexico, where he was submitted to trial, and confined in prison till the downfall of Lerdo.[31]

[30] At Jazmin the insurgent cavalry charged the enemy's artillery three times with great bravery. At the last charge one of the guns was captured, and the federals were compelled to retire, but only 80 combatants remained of the 600 cavalrymen who charged the guns. In this day's combats 900 insurgents and 600 of the government troops were left dead on the field. The number of wounded is not known. *Diario Oficial*, Feb. 29 and March 17, 1876; *La Voz de Méj.*, Feb. 29 and April 11, 1876.

[31] *Mier y Teran, Apunt. Biog.*, 54–65.

On the 22d of March, General Diaz crossed the Rio Grande with General Gonzalez and forty followers. This number was quickly increased to four hundred, and approaching Matamoros on the 31st, he published at Palo Blanco, a few leagues to the south of that city, the plan of Tuxtepec in a reformed shape.

The preamble of the plan, almost a verbatim copy of that proclaimed at Tuxtepec, set forth that the Mexican republic was being ruled by a government that had created a political system subversive of the laws and institutions of the nation; that the right of suffrage had been reduced to a farce, as the elections were entirely controlled by the president and his adherents; that the sovereignty of the states had been repeatedly infringed by the deposal of governors and the appointment of creatures of Lerdo as rulers, especially in the cases of Coahuila, Oajaca, Yucatan, Nuevo Leon, and Jalisco, to weaken which last state, Lerdo had segregated and made a military canton of Tepic; that he had squandered the public funds in personal amusements; that the courts of justice had been made subservient to him; that municipal authority was destroyed, as the members of ayuntamientos were simply dependents of the government; that the stamp act was an extortion; that the commercial and agricultural interests of the nation were sacrificed by the concessions granted to the English railway company and the scandalous convenio de las tarifas; that by the monopoly of that line, the establishment of other railroads was prevented; that Lerdo had agreed to recognize the debt to English bond-holders for the consideration of $2,000,000, and that he contemplated making an arrangement with the United States for the assumption of that debt by the latter, which was equivalent to selling the country to the neighboring republic; and that, owing to his acquirement of extraordinary faculties and the suspension of the guaranties of personal rights, a remedy of these abuses could only be sought by an appeal to arms. The pro-

gramme of the original plan had not given satisfaction to many of the prominent leaders of the revolution, who regarded it with suspicion. It was too narrow in its conception. While proclaiming the supremacy of the constitution, the free suffrage of the people, and non-reëlection, it left these organic principles exposed to military oppression. It denounced the administration of Lerdo as an exhibition of usurpation and assumption of dictatorial powers, ruinous alike to the liberty and interests of the nation. But while seeking to overthrow one despotic government by a national exertion, it paved the way for the establishment of another of similar character. Had it not been for the unpopularity of Lerdo, the revolution, under such a programme, would have perished in its infancy. But the main and determined intention of the discontented was to get rid of Lerdo, and they did not wait to examine too closely and demur against the plan under which they commenced action. It could be rectified when the leading object was attained.

By the plan of Tuxtepec, Lerdo was no longer recognized as the executive power, nor any of his ministers or officials in their positions. Only such governors of states as accepted the plan would be recognized, and substitutes would be appointed by the general-in-chief of the revolutionary forces. The governors thus established were to appoint a provisional executive; and as Diaz was declared the general-in-chief by the tenth article, and could appoint the substitute governors, it was obvious that he would become the president ad interim, with the means at his command of supporting his intentions by military force if he chose. Diaz soon perceived the objections to which this plan was exposed, and the dislike with which it was regarded. The leaders in the northern provinces suggested that Iglesias, the president of the supreme court—and by virtue of that position the vice-president of the republic—should be called upon to assume the executive power, and in the reformed plan this

was done. But the reformed plan, or plan of Palo Blanco, as it was called, was but the original one in another form. Iglesias was required to recognize it in toto, otherwise the general-in-chief would be invested with the executive power.[32] As Iglesias, the president of the supreme court, the legitimate successor of a deposed executive, was a strong constitutionalist, he would not entertain the revolutionary proposals,[33] and rejected the plan.

Favored by the defection of the troops and garrison at Matamoros, Diaz entered that city April 2d, after a slight engagement with the cavalry which sallied out against him. The surrendered forces, amounting to 400 infantry and over 300 cavalry, were set at liberty. Escobedo, however, was already on the march to the frontier with 6,000 men in different columns, and on his approach Diaz, though he had been joined by Treviño and Naranjo, and his forces were daily increasing, was obliged to evacuate Matamoros, and directed his course with the cavalry toward Monterey, while Gonzalez with the infantry marched southward through the Huasteca. It was the intention of Diaz

[32] The following is a synopsis of the reformed plan: Art. 1st. The constitution of 1857, the reform act of Sept. 25, 1873, and the law of Dec. 14, 1874, are the supreme laws of the republic. 2d. Non-reëlection of the president of the republic and governors of the states shall be a supreme law until it be legally made a constitutional reform. 3d. Lerdo de Tejada, and all functionaries appointed by him, are no longer recognized, nor the elections of July 1875. 4th. Governors of states who accept this plan will be recognized. Where this is not the case, the general-in-chief will appoint a provisional governor. 5th. The elections for the supreme powers of the union will be held two months after the occupation of the capital, and conducted in conformity with the electoral laws of Feb. 12, 1857, and Dec. 23, 1872. 6th. The executive power, with only administrative faculties, will reside in the president of the supreme court, provided that he accept this plan in all its parts, and publish his recognition of it within one month after the publication of the plan in the journals of the capital. In case of his refusal, the general-in-chief will be invested with the executive power. 7th. On the assembling of the eighth constitutional congress, the object of their first labors will be the constitutional reform which guarantees the independence of municipalities, and the law conferring a political organization on the federal district and Lower California. 8th. Generals, chiefs, and officers who support this plan will be retained in their positions. *Diario Debates*, 8° Cong., i. 3–5. Consult also *Velasco, Planes de Tuxtepec y Palo Blanco*, 8–11; *La Voz de Méj.*, Apr. 8, 1876.

[33] See his letter, published in *Diario Oficial*, Apr. 8, 1876, and *Tagle, Circular Exped.*, 4.

to penetrate into the interior, but recognizing that the northern regions with their sparse population would afford little support to the cause, he decided to return to Oajaca, by way of Vera Cruz, and crossing Texas and Louisiana he took passage in June from New Orleans for that port, on board the steamer *City of Habana*, disguised as a Cuban doctor. His voyage was an adventurous one. No suspicion of his personality was entertained until the vessel touched at Tampico, where the same troops which he had released at Matamoros were taken on board. His detection soon followed, and the officers took steps to secure him on arrival at Vera Cruz. Though the vessel lay more than four miles from land, Diaz, in the evening of the 21st, made a desperate attempt to swim ashore. He was discovered and a boat sent after him. He was picked up at nightfall in an exhausted condition. On being brought back to the vessel he was befriended by the purser, who managed to secrete him till their arrival at Vera Cruz, where, disguised in the dress of a Mexican sailor, he succeeded in getting ashore on a launch loaded with cargo from the steamer.[34] From Vera Cruz he hastened to Oajaca, at which city he arrived in the beginning of July, after several narrow escapes from falling into the hands of federal troops. Meanwhile Gonzalez, after a toilsome march, advanced into Hidalgo and Tlascala.

As the time approached for the election of the president, it became evident that Lerdo would accept the candidateship for reëlection, and in that case the popular suffrage would be sacrificed to electoral intrigues; and indeed, the machinations of his party were so notorious that a large number of electors, influenced by the opposition press, refrained from voting.[35] In June and July the elections took place, and

[34] *Diaz, Datos Biog.*, MS., 363–79; *La Voz de Méj.*, July 2, 1876.

[35] According to art. 14 of the organic electoral law, in order to become president the successful candidate was required to obtain a majority of the total number of electoral votes. The electors in the republic at this date numbered 18,075, apportioned to the 227 electoral districts of the republic. Conse-

on the 31st of August, Lerdo, with the undoubted design of forcing his reëlection through congress, changed his cabinet. Manuel Romero Rubio was appointed minister of relations; General Escobedo took the place of Mejía as minister of war; Juan José Baz became minister of government; the portfolio of the fomento department was given to Antonino Tagle; that of the treasury to Francisco Mejía; and that of justice to José Diaz Covarrubias. This change had the desired result. An electoral commission was appointed, composed of a majority in Lerdo's favor; and on the 26th of October congress, by virtue of a dictámen, pronounced him reëlected.[36]

Meantime, Inglesias, in anticipation of the fraudulent elections being maintained, had secretly left the capital and entered into communications with various prominent men, advancing the view that at the termination of Lerdo's term, November 30th, he was the legitimate provisional executive pending the holding of legal elections. Proceeding to Salamanca in Guanajuato, he found the governor, Antillon, and the legislature of that state, ready to support him. Generals Rocha and Berriozábal also declared themselves in favor of his design to assume the presidency. When Lerdo's reëlection was published, Iglesias proceeded to act. He immediately addressed from Salamanca a manifesto to the nation, formally protesting against the illegality of the reëlection, declaring it his intention to oppose it, and calling upon the nation to support him.[37] This step precipitated matters. It was in fact a new

quently, the total number of votes required by the law for the election of the president was half the above number; and one more for each district, that is, 9,265. In the ensuing elections, only 7,899 electors voted; and it was consequently claimed that no legal election had been held. In the states of Coahuila, Chiapas, Chihuahua, Morelos, Oajaca, Tabasco, and Zacatecas no elections were held on this occasion, and in certain districts of many other states there were no quorums. *Gallardo, Cuad. Estad.*, 1876; *Id.*, 1877, p. 3.

[36] Consult *Iglesias, Recuerdos Polit.*, MS., 3–23; *Diario Debates*, 8 Constit. Legis., ii. 234, iii. 315–331, 433; *Diario Ofic.*, Sept. 15, 1876. Extraordinary powers were also again granted the president Oct. 14th. *Id.*, Oct. 15, 1876; *Diario Debates*, 8 Constit. Legis., iii. 91–3, 140–55, 170–337, 280.

[37] Full copy of the protest is found in *Diario Ofic.*, Oct. 31, 1876.

revolutionary movement.[38] A programme of government was drawn up, and ministers were appointed. The plan of Salamanca, as it was called, was submitted to the legislature of Guanajuato by Antillon, and approved. Lerdo's position as president of the republic was no longer recognized, and the president of the supreme court assumed the executive office, supported by a strong force which was daily increasing. Proceeding to Guanajuato, October 31st, with two of his newly appointed ministers, Guillermo Prieto and Berriozábal,[39] Iglesias made a triumphal entry into that city, being received with all the honors due to the president of the republic. The enthusiasm was great, and extended throughout the state.

Lerdo's position was now a serious one. He had not only to contend with this new combination, but with the original revolutionists, who were being organized by Diaz in Oajaca, and by Gonzalez, who had already advanced into Tlascala. On November 4th, the latter was joined at Tlaxco by General Tolentino, who abandoned the Lerdista cause with his command.[40] Diaz was now advancing from Oajaca, having left that city at the end of October with 4,000 men and fourteen rifled cannon of medium size. Alatorre was at that time at Teotitlan, about fifteen leagues inside the boundary line of that state. As Diaz approached, he gradually fell back toward Tehuacan and Puebla, and might successfully have decided the question in

[38] In the *Diario Ofic.*, April 8, 1876, Iglesias published a letter with reference to the 6th article of the plan of Palo Blanco. See note 32, this chapter. In it he uses these words: 'No acepto, ni he de aceptar, plan alguno revolucionario; y que seguirá siendo mi regla invariable de conducta, la extricta observancia de la constitucion.'

[39] Three of the portfolios were offered to Joaquin Ruiz, Francisco Gomez del Palacio, and Francisco de Landero y Cos. Pending their acceptation, a provisional government was organized, composed of two ministers—Guillermo Prieto of government, and Felipe Berriozábal of war—and three oficiales mayores, namely, Emilio Velasco, Manuel Sanchez Mármol, and Eduardo Garay, who respectively represented the departments of the treasury, justice, and internal improvements. *Iglesias, Recuerdos Polít.*, MS., 25–6.

[40] Though it is asserted in the *Diario Ofic.*, Nov. 6, 1876, that the officers and soldiers under Tolentino were betrayed by him to Gonzalez, and imprisoned for refusing to serve with the revolutionists, the defection seems to have been general.

that neighborhood, as Diaz' army, owing to his laborious march, was greatly reduced in numbers. But the latter evaded him, and hastened to Huamantla in order to unite his forces with those of Gonzalez, Mendez, Carrillo, and other leaders who had taken up positions in the adjacent sierras. Alatorre gave chase, and Diaz took up a position at Tecoac, to the north of Huamantla. On the evening of November 15th, the opposing armies bivouacked almost within cannon-range of each other; and on the following morning, Alatorre, believing the forces in front of him were the same which he had seen on the previous evening, attacked with great confidence.[41] But the revolutionary leaders stationed in the sierras, with the exception of Gonzalez, had joined Diaz during the night, and greatly increased his strength. The battle was sanguinary, and was maintained for several hours. Diaz was on the point of defeat when the opportune arrival of Gonzalez, who unexpectedly fell on Alatorre's right flank, decided the day.[42] The rout of the Lerdistas, or reëlectionists, as they were called, was crushing. Many died on the field, and 3,000 prisoners were taken; while all their artillery, baggage, and war material fell into the hands of the victors.[43]

When the news of this disaster reached the capital, panic seized the government. The members were not sufficiently of accord to devise any scheme in the emergency, various plans being discussed only to be rejected. Finally, it was decided to leave the capital; and on the night of the 20th, Lerdo, accompanied by Escobedo, Baz, Francisco Mejía, and Romero Rubio,

[41] Diaz states that he had only 1,360 men when Alatorre pursued him. *Datos Biog.*, MS., 385.

[42] Alatorre's surprise was complete. He believed that the approaching troops of Gonzalez were a reënforcement coming to his assistance, having previously ordered up 3,000 more men. *Voz de Méj.*, Nov. 24, 1876.

[43] It is stated that of Alatorre's army, 1,900 were killed and 800 wounded. Among the prisoners, numbering 1,564, was Gen. Topete. The revolutionists lost 857 killed and 656 wounded, among the latter being Gonzalez. These figures are doubtless greatly exaggerated. Diaz states that 3,000 prisoners were taken, but says nothing about the number of killed and wounded. *Datos Biog.*, MS., 388.

members of his cabinet, a number of deputies, and other partisans betook himself to flight, escorted by a strong cavalry force, and taking with him a large supply of the public funds.[44] The last act of his government was to surrender the city to the Porfiristas, General Loaeza being left in charge of the garrison, and Protasio Tagle of the civil government. On the following day Teran was released from prison and sent to inform Porfirio Diaz of the state of affairs.[45] Lerdo pursued his way without molestation toward Acapulco, where, after a toilsome journey through the south of Michoacan and across Guerrero, he arrived about the middle of December. Thence he embarked January 25th for the United States, and took up his residence in New York.

Thus terminated the political career of the successor of Juarez. Since the date of the independence no man had obtained the chief magistracy of the Mexican republic with more wide-spread popularity, or was driven from it by more general discontent. Called to the head of the government by a people which hailed him with joy as its future liberator from encroachments upon its sovereign rights, but which, still angry at the assumption of dictatorial powers by Juarez, could easily be roused to indignation, he pursued the most aggravating course that he could have adopted. Instead of healing wounds, he irritated them; instead of holding out the hand of friendship, he threw down the gauntlet. With an ambitious rival in the field, ever on the watch to turn mistakes to account, he committed unpardonable errors; none more so than his system of exciting by intrigue local revolutions for the purpose of throwing out obnoxious

[44] 'É iba bien provisto de fondos, sacados en la misma noche de la Tesoreria general.' *Iglesias, Recuerdos Polit.*, MS., 36. Before leaving he took $5,000 from the montepio fund. *Voz de Méj.*, Nov. 22, 1876. His escort amounted to 1,000 cavalrymen, with a train of 25 wagons, besides about 50 mules loaded with money amounting, it was calculated, to over $200,000. The wagons were also supposed to contain treasure. *Id.*, Nov. 25, 1876.

[45] *Iglesias, Recuerdos Polit.*, MS., 36; *Mier y Teran, Apunt. Biog.*, 64–5; *Diario Ofic.*, 7 Dic., 1876.

governors of states by federal interference. Hereby he made for himself innumerable enemies. His foreign policy, too, caused great dissatisfaction. While he encouraged European enterprises, he was strongly opposed to promoting American ones. Though this partiality may have proceeded from a fear that by the introduction of United States interests on a large scale into Mexico difficulties might arise, the policy was too narrow even for the Mexican people.

During the month of October Iglesias, before he had proclaimed himself provisional president, opened negotiations with Diaz for the purpose of ascertaining whether the latter would support him in his projected design, as being the most constitutional way of proceeding. Diaz consented to do so, provided Iglesias would recognize the plan of Palo Blanco, and agree to other conditions, one of which was that he should select his ministers from among the partisans of the revolution. This, with any degree of consistency, Iglesias could not do. Nevertheless, negotiations were continued into November, after the assumption on the part of Diaz of the provisional presidency, by Joaquin M. Alcalde, who on the 6th of that month entered into an agreement at Acatlan with Diaz, the terms of which Alcalde considered so reasonable that he pledged his own and Iglesias' word of honor that they would be accepted.[46] But this agreement contained points similar to the previous conditions, and were equally objectionable to Iglesias, whose firmness was regarded by the opposite side as an intention to exclude the revolutionists under the plan of Tuxtepec from having any influence in the

[46] Alcalde seems to have acted too confidently in the matter, as he was not commissioned by Iglesias, who says: 'Expontáneamente se dirigió al campo del Sr Diaz, animado de patriótico deseo de unir los esfuerzos de los enemigos comunes del golpe de Estado.' *Manifiesto*, Dec. 1, 1876. See also *Tagle, Circular Expedida*, Nov. 29, 1876. These two pamphlets contain all particulars and correspondence relative to these negotiations. Copy of the latter will be found in *Voz de Méj.*, Dec. 6, 1876.

government. After a few telegraphic exchanges, on November 27th the conferences terminated.

After the victory at Tecoac Diaz was for a moment embarrassed as to his immediate movements, owing to his want of ammunition for the Remington rifles with which the prisoners that had been taken, and now incorporated into his force, were armed. Alatorre had fled to Puebla; and at a council of war held by Diaz it was discussed whether that city, Mexico, or Orizaba should be first attacked. But Diaz soon decided to make the capital his objective point. He encountered no difficulty in his progress. Almost at the commencement of his march he was met by a commission from the governor and legislature of Tlascala, announcing their espousal of his cause, and placed at his disposal 400 men and 40,000 Remington cartridges. Before his arrival at Apizaco he was met by another commission from Altamirano, in command at Puebla, which had been abandoned by Alatorre, informing him that this general placed himself under his orders. Whereupon Diaz turned his course toward that city; and as General Alonso with his column happened to be temporarily stationed there, Diaz secured his person and won over his troops. Thus Puebla, garrisoned by 3,000 men and supplied with immense war stores, was occupied without opposition. Then followed the submission of Ibarra, in command of Orizaba, and of Márcos Carrillo of Vera Cruz, the former with 2,000 men, and the latter with 3,000 stationed in different towns. These submissions were received on the same day that Diaz entered Puebla; and having left a small garrison there under Couttolenne, whom he appointed military governor of the state, he proceeded without delay to the capital, at the head of a well-organized and thoroughly equipped army of 12,000 men. On his march thither he was met by Teran, who informed him of the flight of Lerdo, and the position of affairs in the city. On the 23d

he made his entrance into the capital, and five days afterward, negotiations with Iglesias having terminated, Porfirio Diaz assumed the executive power [47] He proceeded at once to reorganize the different government departments, and formed his cabinet as follows: minister of relations, Ignacio Vallarta; of the treasury, Justo Benitez; of fomento, Vicente Riva Palacio; of government, Protasio Tagle; of war, Pedro Ogazon; and of justice, Ignacio Ramirez.[48] Thus at this juncture there were no less than three persons claiming the presidency of the Mexican republic. Lerdo, though practically out of the fight, was still protesting.[49] Iglesias claimed to be the legitimate president ad interim according to the existing constitution. But this was not Diaz' view under the circumstances. So during the first week in December 10,000 of his best troops with 50 cannon were put in motion for Guanajuato. Placing Mendez in charge of the executive,[50] Diaz left the capital on the 8th.

Iglesias was at this time at Celaya. After his entrance into Guanajuato and the establishment of his government there, he was recognized in a large portion of the country. Querétaro, San Luis Potosí, Zacatecas, and Aguascalientes all declared in his favor, the troops of Lerdo in those states for the most part proclaiming him under their respective commanders. Ceballos, general of the 4th division, which occupied Jalisco, placed the whole of his command at the disposal of Iglesias, whose progress during the month of

[47] By decree of Nov. 28th, as given in *Diario Ofic.*, Dec. 4, 1876.

[48] These ministers made the necessary protestation on the 29th. *Voz de Méj.*, Nov. 30, 1876; *Méx., Anal. Minist. Foment.*, Feb. 1, 1877, 5–6; *Diario Debates, Constit. Legisl.*, ii. 525. Diaz also effected a loan of $500,000 from wealthy proprietors, payable during the following year from the proceeds of the custom-houses. *Voz de Méj.*, Nov. 28, 1876.

[49] Lerdo on his departure from the capital addressed a communication to the foreign representatives, informing them that, though circumstances necessitated his leaving the capital, his government was the legitimate one, and would continue to act. *Id.*, Nov. 25, 1876. During his flight also he still maintained that he had not resigned.

[50] By decree of Dec. 6th. *Diario Ofic.*, Dec. 7, 1876. Mendez had been appointed by Diaz his second in command, Nov. 19th, while at Puebla. *Id.*, Dec. 6, 1876.

November was rapid, full of promise, and bloodless. At the beginning of December his forces probably amounted to 20,000 veteran troops, well armed and equipped. As soon as the negotiations which had been carried on with Diaz were closed, he made every effort to concentrate them at Celaya, whither he proceeded with several members of his government to organize a plan of campaign.[51] But notwithstanding all this, it soon became evident that he would not be able to cope with Diaz. The extraordinary success of the latter was not without its effect upon the followers of Iglesias, and during December the defection of his troops and supporters was alarming. But a still more fatal effect was the want of resources. Iglesias had a minister of the treasury; but the treasury was empty, and there were no means of filling it. Apart from all consideration of pay, he could not provide for the common wants of an army in the field.

Meanwhile Diaz advanced with his well-appointed army to Querétaro, which he entered December 20th, having met with no opposition on his march. In the hope of adjusting matters, Iglesias had expressed the desire to have an interview with him, and on the 21st they held a conference at the hacienda de la Capilla, about a league from Querétaro. But they could come to no arrangement. Iglesias, urging his constitutional right, claimed that for the good of the country he ought to be recognized as the provisional president, at the same time consenting to accept a cabinet organized by Diaz. But the latter was in no mood to make concessions. He replied by reminding Iglesias that in their telegraphic communications he had positively refused to accept the reformed plan of Tuxtepec, and had closed the negotiations. Diaz added that there-

[51] Here he received replies from Ruiz and Landero, to whom he had offered portfolios. They declined, and others were appointed. His cabinet was now composed of minister of relations, Francisco Gomez Palacio; of fomento, Joaquin Alcalde; of justice, Alfonso Lancaster Jones; Guillermo Prieto of government; of the treasury, Emilio Velasco; and Gen. Berriozábal, of war. *Iglesias, Recuerdos Polit.*, MS., 25–6, 53; *Altamirano*, in *Alm. Hist.*, 70.

upon he had himself shouldered the responsibility of government, and should continue to act in that position.[52] After some further argument the conference ended, and Iglesias returned to Celaya. He thence proceeded to Silao, where he held a council of war with his ministers and generals of division, at which the impossibility of opposing Diaz was admitted. But Iglesias would never resign his just right, and he departed for Guadalajara, where he arrived on the 30th. Here another council was held, with similar result. The states which a few weeks before had declared in his favor now recognized Diaz in quick succession. Only two alternatives were left—exile or submission. But the stanch constitutionalist preferred self-banishment to the recognition of a revolutionist; and having issued another manifesto to the nation January 2, 1877, he left Guadalajara on the 5th for Manzanillo, at which port he arrived on the 13th. On the 17th he embarked on the steamer *Granada*, and landed at San Francisco, California, on the 25th of the same month.

Porfirio Diaz, after the conference at La Capilla, experienced no difficulty. The different divisions of Iglesias' army successively recognized him. Marching rapidly through the states which had proclaimed for Iglesias, he reorganized their governments without opposition, and after a bloodless campaign of two months, Diaz returned to the capital, which he entered February 11th, reassuming the provisional presidency on the 15th.[53] Meantime Mendez had issued the convocatoria for the congressional and presidential elections.[54]

[52] *Diaz, Datos Biog.*, MS., 399–402; *Iglesias, Recuerdos Polít.*, MS., 55.

[53] *Diaz, Datos Biog.*, MS., 402; *La Voz de Méj.*, Feb. 13, 1877; *Diario Ofic.*, Feb. 16, 1877.

[54] On Dec. 23d. By it all who during the last four years had been guilty of falsifying electoral votes, or had aided Lerdo in his illegal proceedings, were declared excluded from candidateship. *Diario Ofic.*, Dec. 25, 1876. Copy of convocatoria in *La Voz de Méj.*, Dec. 26, 1876, and *Diario Debates*, 8° Cong., i. 5–7.

Vicente Riva Palacio—Historia de la Administracion de D. Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada. Mexico, 1875, 8°, pp. 496, with portraits. This book

contains a history of Lerdo de Tejada's administration, with a description of his policy and of the men by whom he was surrounded. The laws he enacted and the railroad contracts he made with foreign companies are also discussed. The work was planned by Riva Palacio, who intended to divide it into books, each having a special title; but after having written 80 pages of it, circumstances of a private nature compelled him to desist. His publisher was, however, compromised, and at his request Palacio consented that another should carry it on to its conclusion, provided that his political creed and sentiments were not interfered with. The work was accordingly concluded by an anonymous writer, and Ireneo Paz, the editor, assures the reader that the ideas contained in it are strictly those of Riva Palacio, to whom the manuscript was submitted, and to which he offered not a single objection. For this reason his name appears on the title-page as that of the author. The original plan of the work was not carried out. With regard to the language employed, it is generally measured, but occasionally the writer, who was evidently no friend of Lerdo, indulges in virulent expressions and hard words. Judging from the temper of the work, the author appears prejudiced against Lerdo; but at the same time he draws a correct picture of the president's administration, and the causes which led to his downfall. The fact that such an exposé was published while Lerdo was still in power is a proof of the immense unpopularity he had acquired.

José María Iglesias—Recuerdos Políticos. Mexico, 1884, MS., 8°, pp. 89. This is an original manuscript, setting forth the causes that prompted the author, in 1876, to assume the duties of president ad interim of Mexico, and describing his efforts to consolidate a constitutional government, which was rendered impossible by the acts of Porfirio Diaz. Iglesias, having left the country, recognizes the collapse of the constitutional party and the uselessness of any further effort to restore it. Whereupon, he shortly afterward returned to Mexico with his companions in exile.

Ildefonso Estrada y Zenea—Manual de Gobernadores y Jefes Políticos. Mexico, 1878, 4°, pp. 314. Portraits. A work containing information for the guidance of governors of states in the discharge of their duties. It is divided into three parts, in the first of which the personal qualifications which a governor ought to possess are treated of, the questions of the education and moral qualities requisite for such a position being discussed. In the 2d part the principal duties in different branches of government are pointed out and explained. Part iii. contains extracts from the federal constitution of 1857, and from the constitutions of most of the states. The portraits in this manual are those of Porfirio Diaz and his ministers, of the governors of states, the jefe político of Lower California, and the comandante militar of Tepic. Estrada y Zenea was a member of the Sociedad Mexicana de Geografia y Estadistica, and several other scientific and literary societies.

CHAPTER XIX.

DIAZ, GONZALEZ, AND DIAZ.

1877–1887.

POLITICAL PROGRAMME OF DIAZ—INSTALLATION OF CONGRESS—DIAZ ELECTED PRESIDENT—OPPOSITION TO HIS GOVERNMENT—MUTINY OF THE CREW OF 'LA TRINIDAD'—FOREIGN RELATIONS—DIFFICULTIES WITH THE UNITED STATES—JOINT COMMISSION ON CLAIMS—ADJUSTMENT OF CLAIMS—THE NORTHERN BORDER TROUBLES—THEIR SETTLEMENT—ATTEMPTS AT REËLECTION DEFEATED—ADMINISTRATION OF DIAZ REVIEWED—PRESIDENT GONZALEZ' BIOGRAPHY—GUATEMALA'S CLAIM TO CHIAPAS—ADJUSTMENT OF DISPUTE—FOREIGN RELATIONS—INTERNAL AFFAIRS—PROGRESS OF MEXICO—GONZALEZ AS AN ADMINISTRATOR—THE MODIFIED STAMP ACT—RECOGNITION OF DEBT TO BRITISH BOND-HOLDERS—DIAZ AGAIN ELECTED PRESIDENT.

WHILE Diaz was absent much anxiety had been caused in the capital by the action of the press and certain ill-balanced individuals, who sought to divert the revolution from its true progressive course by inculcating reactionary principles. In order to counteract the effect of such doctrines, Diaz on February 16th issued a circular,[1] in which he set forth that it was his intention to restore constitutional order as soon as possible, and firmly carry out the promises of the plan of Palo Blanco with regard to constitutional reorganization, the security of personal guaranties, and the reforms prescribed therein. The revolution, he stated, was not reactionary or retrogressive, but liberal and progressive in its principles. In conclusion, he wished to impress upon the nation that the present executive was not exclusive in his views of govern-

[1] See *Diario Debates*, 8° Cong., i. 142; and *La Voz de Méj.*, Feb. 20, 1877, in which a copy of the circular will be found.

ment. It was his wish to govern with the liberal national party, without distinction of cliques, and he invited the intelligent of all factions to coöperate with him in the work of constitutional reconstruction. Thus the policy of Diaz, from the first, was the reverse of that of Lerdo; and by his impartial regard for the liberal-minded partisans of all cliques he made his administration successful.

The day appointed for the primary elections was January 28, 1877, while the secondary or electoral votes of the districts for the members of congress and the president were to be cast on the 11th and 12th respectively of February following. Congress was to be installed on the 12th of March.[2] It was found necessary, however, in the case of the more distant states, to extend this time, and it was not until April 1st that a number of deputies sufficient to constitute a quorum could be assembled. On that day congress formally opened its sessions, and Diaz, still in the character of provisional president, delivered the customary address to the house. He stated that although the relations of the government with foreign powers were for the present abnormal, the diplomatic agents resident in the capital had manifested so friendly a spirit that he did not doubt that the nations they represented would shortly recognize the new government. Alluding to the elections, he said that the popular suffrage had been entirely free; that though in some cases abuses had occurred, they were attributable to the practices inaugurated by the late administration, and he called the attention of congress to this evil, in order that by reforms of the electoral laws and the punishment of violators of them, it might be put a stop to. He then touched upon the measures that had been taken for the internal improvement of

[2] This was in conformity with the plan of Palo Blanco, which provided that the elections of the supreme powers should take place two months after the occupation of the capital by the revolutionists, and that congress should assemble one month after the elections. See the convocatoria in *Diario Debates*, 8° Cong., i. 5–10.

the country. The rural police had been increased for the suppression of brigandage; initiatory steps had been taken to effect reforms in the courts of justice; improvements had been begun for the advancement of public instruction; and attention had been given to the development of telegraphic and railroad systems. He then spoke of the lamentable condition of the treasury, and informed congress that the minister of that department would lay before it the budget for the ensuing financial year, in which efforts had been made to reduce expenditures to the ordinary income of the federal government without burdening the nation with fresh imposts. The president of the congress in his reply congratulated Diaz on the success of the revolution, and the nation on the prospects of peace and progress held out by his programme. Congress, he said, would accept the circular of February 16th as a part of the programme of the government, setting forth, as it did, the spirit and principles of the revolution.

It was not till May 2d that congress was able to declare the result of the presidential elections, and on that day it pronounced Diaz elected constitutional president. His election had been almost unanimous, 10,500 votes out of 10,878, cast in 181 districts, being in his favor. On the 5th he made the necessary protestation. His term of office was to expire November 30, 1880.

Porfirio Diaz, whose previous public career is already before the reader, was born September 15, 1830, in the city of Oajaca, and was educated in the clerical and scientific institutes established there. He began a course of studies for the bar, which, after long interruption, he completed later in the city of Mexico. From early youth his career was a military one, having, while still quite young, joined the movement against Santa Anna. In 1857 he gave in his adherence to the reform party, and fought bravely during the ensuing war. Throughout the French

invasion he was conspicuous for his opposition to the establishment of a monarchy, and his brilliant achievements raised him to the foremost rank of military leaders. His administrative ability was signally shown in the successive positions which he occupied as chief of a district, governor of a state, and virtually civil, military, and financial ruler of the territory to the south of the linea del Oriente. Accomplished, and in personal intercourse agreeable, Diaz displays in his conversation decision and military abruptness. With dignity of deportment, he unites a manner marked by simplicity. His will is indomitable. When the rebellion against Lerdo broke out, Diaz was generally disliked by foreigners, who feared the revolutionary projects of a military leader. They would have preferred the unprogressive but quiet administration of Lerdo to the disturbance of a revolution which entailed risk to their private interests. But these feelings in time died out under his firm and progressive policy.

Although, owing to the exigencies of his position, Diaz surrounded himself at first by his particular partisans, he soon began to display a more inclusive policy, and in time the prominent men of all parties were drawn within the circle of his supporters. Neither civil nor military positions were closed to Inglesistas, Juaristas, or Lerdistas; and though the latter long held aloof and refused to accept his government, before the completion of his term he had won them over and opened a way for their entrance into political life during the time of his successor.

Some opposition was, nevertheless, offered to his government. General Álvarez, governor of Guerrero, rose against Jimenez, the military governor sent by Diaz, and the state was more or less disturbed during the first half of 1877, Jimenez being finally driven out of it. In July, however, an arrangement was made between Álvarez and General Cuellar, by which the

former recognized the authority of Diaz[3] More troublesome were demonstrations made on the northern border from the territory of the United States in favor of Lerdo, as they complicated matters pending with the neighboring republic.[4] Escobedo, in the latter part of 1877, organized a force in Texas for the invasion of Mexico, and entered Coahuila. José María Amador made a similar movement into Tamaulipas. In 1878 several engagements took place, but with no success to the Lerdistas. On June 3d Escobedo was defeated by Nuncio, and captured shortly after at Cuatro Ciénagas, whence he was taken to Mexico city, where he was released on parol September 13th.[5] Amador was not so fortunate. After a series of ill successes he was routed August 24th at the Rancho de Guadalupe, five leagues from the Villa de Mendez, and slain with his brother Albino and brother-in-law José María Cisneros.

Apart from these hostile movements directed against the federal government, there were others of a local character, for the most part stirred up by revolutionary malecontents. During the years 1878 to 1880 inclusive, Vera Cruz, Jalisco, Puebla, San Luis Potosí, Oajaca, Yucatan, and Campeche were more or less afflicted by such disturbances, while the most troublesome one occurred in Sinaloa. They were all, however, suppressed; and where the intervention of the federal troops was necessary no very serious exertion on the part of the government was required. The government of Diaz, in fact, may be regarded as hav-

[3] *U. S. Ex. Doc.*, For. Rel., 1877–1878, i. 406, 425–6; *La Voz de Méj.*, May 10 and Aug. 2, 1877.

[4] Lerdo issued a manifesto from New York Feb. 24, 1877, claiming to be the constitutional president. Iglesias did the same from New Orleans on March 16th. Copies will be found in *Id.*, March 26, 27, 1877. The latter returned to Mexico about the middle of Oct. He took no further part in public affairs, but retired to private life without molestation on the part of the government. *Iglesias, Recuerdos*, MS., 87–8.

[5] Particulars of Escobedo's operations will be gathered from *La Voz de Méj.*, July 24, 26, 28, Aug. 8, 15, Nov. 20, Dec. 1, 14, 15, 1877; *Id.*, June 17, 19, 21, Sept. 14, Nov. 7, 1878; *Diario Ofic.*, Nov. 30, Dec. 15, 1877, and June 14, 17, 18, 20, 28, July 2, 25, 27, 31, and Aug. 2, 14, 16, 1878.

ing enjoyed unusual freedom from trouble, considering the discordant elements from which it sprung.

Special mention must be made of a mutiny in 1879 at Tlacotalpan, on the Alvarado River, which gave occasion to a most unfortunate event, causing great excitement at Vera Cruz. A portion of the crew of the war-steamer *Trinidad*, taking advantage of the absence of the commander, and led by the commanding officer of the artillery, Francisco A. Navarro, who was in concert with some of the inhabitants of Alvarado, seized the vessel and put out to sea in the direction of El Cármen, Campeche. When this was known at Vera Cruz, Luis Mier y Teran, the governor,[6] caused some suspected persons residing in the city to be seized, shot, and buried the same night without form of trial. This gave rise to a storm of indignation. The report sent to the government was to the effect that a mutiny in concert with that on board the *Trinidad* had taken place at the barracks in Vera Cruz, and that the victims, nine in number, had fallen in the attack. But the relatives of the deceased denied this, and clamored for justice; the press was loud in its denunciations; and the government was compelled to issue orders for the exhumation of the bodies, that they might be submitted to medical examination. Teran interposed every obstacle to delay this action; nor did the government show much more alacrity. On July 13th, however, the corpses were disinterred, and bore undeniable evidence that the victims had been put to death by military execution.[7] Proceedings were instituted against Teran, who was tried before the grand jury, which on May 18, 1880, declared itself incompetent to pass judgment in the case; It was then referred to the chamber of deputies, which

[6] Teran had been elected governor June 1, 1877. *Mier y Teran, Apunt. Biog.*, 72.

[7] All the bodies had six gun-shot wounds, representing the regulation number, five of a firing platoon and a coup de grace. It is, moreover, stated that on four of the bodies the cords with which they had been bound while alive were still remaining. *La Voz de Méj.*, July 18, 20, 1879.

on November 14, 1881, pronounced itself likewise incapable of rendering a decision.[8]

With regard to the *Trinidad*, the mutineers having proceeded to the Isla del Cármen seized $4,000 of the public funds, and Navarro with a part of the crew having remained on shore, a counter-mutiny was promoted by the boatswain, who retook the ship and brought her back to Vera Cruz, June 30th. Navarro and those with him were apprehended later, in the plaza of Campeche, having with them over $2,500 of the stolen money.[9]

During the administration of Diaz the relations of Mexico with foreign countries were greatly extended. The aim of both his foreign and domestic policy was to insure the progress and increase the prosperity of the republic. By the middle of 1877 Diaz had been recognized by Spain, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, and most of the Central and South American republics. In 1879 relations were again entered into with Portugal and Belgium, and finally with France, in October 1880, after several years of negotiation.[10]

While new treaties of amity and commerce were thus being formed, the diplomatic and consular services were enlarged in the interest, and consequent expansion of trade. Nor was Diaz blind to the disadvantages under which Mexico lay with regard to certain existing treaties, and the proper notifications were given for their annulment in order to procure others more favorable.[11] The relations between Mex-

[8] *Diario Debates*, 10° Cong., iii. 591–5; *La Voz de Méj.*, May 20, 1880.

[9] *Méx., Mem. Guerra y Marina*, 1881, 5; *Diario Ofic.*, July 4, 10, 11, 1879. Consult, further, *Id.*, July 24, 1879, et seq.; *La Voz de Méj.*, June 27, July 30, 1879, passim.

[10] See *Méx. Correspond. Dipl.*, i. 155–75; ii. 175–88; *Diario Ofic.*, Dec. 1879. Emilio Velasco was appointed minister to France and Baron Boissy d'Anglas as French minister to Mexico. The oficial reception of the latter took place Nov. 29th, the day before the expiration of Diaz' term of office. *Id.*, Oct. 5, 14, 29, 30, and Nov. 29, 1880.

[11] The United States, Germany, and Italy were notified that the commercial treatises with Mexico would cease to be in force in accordance with the agreements therein. Those with the former nations would thus become

ico and the United States require more than a passing notice, and I shall consequently enter somewhat more into details regarding them.

Soon after the ratification of the Guadalupe treaty in 1848, mutual complaints began to arise on the part of Mexican and United States citizens against the respective authorities, on account of injuries to their persons or property. When the Gadsden treaty, in 1854, released the United States government from the obligations contained in the eleventh article by which that government solemnly agreed to restrain by force Indian incursions into Mexico from United States territory, the complaints of Mexican citizens increased, owing to the incessant depredations committed on the frontier by Indians and lawless desperadoes, who crossed the border from the neighboring republic. Still more numerous and more urgently pressed were the claims made against Mexico by United States citizens, many of whom had suffered severe grievances during the troublous times of that nation. Such a multitude of claims against the Mexican government, demanding compensation for forced loans, for losses incurred by military operations, for appropriation of private property, and for compulsory military service, was laid before Secretary Seward, that he proposed, in March 1867, to Romero, the Mexican minister at Washington, that in order to avoid difficulties which might lead to a rupture, a treaty should be made, by which United States citizens should be exempted from forced loans or contributions of any kind, and from military service. Romero reported the matter to his government The result was a convention entered into by the two governments in 1868, by which it was agreed that a mixed commission, composed of two members respectively representing the two nations, should be appointed to

null one year after the respective dates of notification, and that of Italy July 14, 1882. *Diaz, Informe*, 1880, 8.

adjust the claims.[12] The commission was to appoint an arbiter and hold its sessions in Washington. Gomez Palacio was appointed by the Mexican government, and William H. Wadsworth by that of the United States. These commissioners began their labors in August 1869.

To enter into particulars connected with this joint commission, whose labors extended over a period of seven years, would be tedious. Its abrupt termination several times seemed imminent, threatening a rupture between the two nations, and it was frequently prorogued. In 1870, Doctor Lieber, after much wrangling, was appointed arbiter, and on his death, which took place October 1, 1872, Sir Edward Thornton, the British minister at Washington, was made umpire in October 1873. There were further frequent interruptions. Twice the Mexican commissioner was changed. In 1871 Palacio was appointed Mexico minister to the United States, and Leon Guzman succeeded him as member of the joint commission in April 1872. Guzman and Wadsworth, however, could not work amicably together, and the former resigned in December, the labors of the commission being again interrupted till the arrival, in July 1873, of his successor, Manuel María Zamacona. Henceforth more cordiality existed between the commissioners; and on the 31st of January, 1876, their labors terminated. The time allowed the commission for the adjustment of their claims had been on several occasions extended by special conventions, and when the cases which still remained undecided were submitted to the umpire, who was required to send in his decisions within six months after the closing of the commission, it was also found necessary to extend that time to November 20th, on which day the adjustment was finally concluded.

The result of this lengthy investigation, which cost

[12] Copy of convention in Spanish and English is supplied in *Mex. Sinop. Hist. Reclam.*, 14–19.

over $300,000, was that awards were made against Mexico in favor of United States citizens to the amount of $4,125,622, while $150,498 was awarded to Mexican claimants, the latter sum to be deducted from Mexico's liability, which was to be paid by yearly instalments of $300,000, to begin January 31, 1877.[13]

With regard to the 2,000 claims that were laid before the commission, representing the sum of $556,788,600,[14] the greater portion of them were fictitious, and the legitimate ones exorbitant. The joint commission opened a field for speculation to every class of rascals. Every device was practised to rob one government or the other, the claimants hesitating not at all at perjury and forgery. Before the convention of 1868 the claims filed by American citizens against Mexico amounted to 330; but this number, after the commission was installed, was swelled to over 1,000. Out of 1,017 American claims examined by the commissioners, 831 were rejected, and out of 998 Mexican claims only 167 received awards.[15]

Notwithstanding this settlement of claims, there were still other matters threatening a rupture between the two countries. There was the refusal of Mexico to exempt United States citizens from the payment of forced loans—by doing which she claimed that she would be surrendering her sovereign right to exact contributions in times of emergency from residents in the country; and the refusal to permit American

[13] Consult *U. S. House Misc. Doc.* 39, 44th cong. 2d sess. For full particulars about the commission, see report of the Mexican agent in *Méx., Mem. Relac. Exter.*, 1876–1877, pp. xii.–xvi., with doc. 7, letter A to G inclu.; *Méx. Sinop. Hist. Reclam.*, 1866; *Guzman, Dictámen del Comis.; U. S. Foreign Rel.*, 43d cong. 2d sess., i. p. lxvii.–ix.; *Id.*, ii. p. lix.–lxi., 836–984; *U. S. Sen. Jour.*, 44th cong. 2d sess., 525.

[14] The claims against Mexico amounted to $470,126,613, and those against the U. S. to $86,661,891. *Méx. Mem. Relac Exter.*, 1866–1869, p. xiii.

[15] Grant's message of Dec. 5, 1876, in *U. S. Foreign Rel.*, 44th cong. 2d sess., p. vii. The Mexican government regarded several of the awards as unfair, especially those given to Benjamin Weil and the La Abra Mining Co., respectively in the sums of $487,810 and $681,041. It was held that these claims were supported by false statements. The Mexican government made representations showing their fraudulent character. The first instalment was paid, though the government was compelled to have recourse to a forced loan. *Méx. Mem. Relac. Exter.*, 1876–1877, pp. xiv., xv.

troops to enter Mexican territory in pursuit of marauders.

As early as January 1871, Nelson, United States minister in Mexico, asked that the latter concession might be granted, and repeated the request in April following. On both occasions he was refused; and in April 1875 Secretary Fish, in order to satisfy the Mexican government on the point of international honor, proposed to Minister Mariscal that an agreement should be made by which the troops of both nations might cross the boundary line in pursuit of savages, bandits, and desperadoes. Such a mutual concession would have been derogatory to the dignity of neither republic, and there is little doubt that Lerdo, during the peaceful years of his administration, could have taken measures that would have satisfied the expectations of the United States. But this he neglected to do, and when the revolution broke out it was beyond his power. Consequently the depredations on the frontier became more frequent and irritating. Somewhat later during the last-named year the United States minister, John W. Foster, again called the government's attention to this matter, and receiving no satisfactory reply, finally informed the minister of foreign affairs that if Mexico would not afford the necessary protection the United States would assume the responsibility of doing so. Affairs thus remained till 1877, during which the representations to the Mexican government were frequent and more urgent. It is not surprising, however, that in the distracted condition of Mexico during this period they met with no immediate attention. But the excitement in Texas had become threatening. The demands of that state for redress and the application of self-protection were so clamorous that on June 1, 1877, orders were issued from Washington instructing General Ord to cross the Mexican frontier in pursuit of marauders on United States soil. He was, however, charged to request the coöperation of the authorities.

This elicited a protest on the part of the Mexican agent at Washington, on the ground that such a step was contrary to treaty and international law, and Diaz instructed General Treviño to oppose by force any such invasion.[16]

Matters at this time were still further complicated by the fact that the United States, opposed to revolutionary principles, did not recognize Diaz as the head of the government, while the question of annexation of the northern states was animatedly discussed. War in fact seemed imminent. There is little doubt that Foster would have fomented hostilities if he could, and President Hayes did not seem adverse to such a course. Nevertheless, the action of Diaz while maintaining the national dignity was energetic, and at the same time not marked by unfriendliness. An adequate force was sent to the frontier, with great effect in suppressing depredations; and the first and second instalments of the joint commission's awards were punctually paid. In view of this conciliatory line of action, and of the firm establishment of Diaz as executive, the government at Washington recognized him as president in April 1878; and though occasional encroachments were made on Mexican territory, leading to official correspondence, peaceful relations continued. On May 9th following Manuel María de Zamacona was appointed minister plenipotentiary to the United States.[17]

In September 1880 the government at Washington asked for a formal permission on the part of Mexico

[16] *Méx., Mem. Guerra y Mar.*, 1876–1877, vi., with doc. A, B, C. It is believed, however, that secret instructions were issued to avoid collision. *Frisbie's Reminis.*, MS., 11.

[17] For details regarding these questions of dispute, consult *Méx., Mem. Guerra y Marin.*, 1876–1877; *Méx., Mem. Notas Relac.*, 1877, pp. 45; *Id., Relac. Exter.*, 1878; *Mex., Comments U. S. Leg.; Frisbie's Reminiscences*, MS., 10–23; *Méx., Territorio Invasiones*, 1873–1877, pp. 94; *U. S. H. Ex. Doc.*, i. 376–429, 45th cong. 2d sess.; *Clarke's Mex.*, MS., 4–11; Romero's reply to Foster's Report, in *Diario Ofic.*, Jan. 15, 1879, et seq.; *La Voz de Méj.*, Aug. 1, 1877; *Id.*, Oct. 18, 1877. Foster, who had been appointed by Grant in 1872, was transferred to St Petersburg in March 1880, and was succeeded by Morgan as minister to Mexico. *Diario Ofic.*, March 24, 25, and April 21, 1880; *Skilton's Statements*, MS.

to allow United States troops to cross the boundary line. The executive laid the matter before congress, which finally expressed its willingness to grant the concession under certain conditions. The result was, that on the 29th of July, 1882, a convention was signed, by which it was agreed that the federal troops of both republics might reciprocally cross the frontier in pursuit of savage Indians.[18] On July 29th of the following year a treaty was entered into, by which it was agreed that each nation should appoint a surveying party, to form when combined an International Boundary Commission. The duty of this commission was to mark out afresh the dividing line, which, owing to the destruction of monuments, was giving rise to difficulties.[19]

On the 1st of November, 1877, congress approved the non-reëlection law, and on May 5th of the following year a congressional decree amending the federal constitution to that effect was published.[20] Nevertheless, as the elections drew near, several of the states, especially Morelos, proposed that Diaz should again be eligible to the presidency, provided that he obtained

[18] The districts into which the pursuit could be conducted were defined as unpopulated or desert, having no points within two leagues of an encampment or town. The pursuing party was to give the earliest possible notice of the invasion to the authorities of the territory invaded, and immediately to retire as soon as it had effected its purpose, or had lost the enemy's trail. Provisions were also made to meet cases of outrage committed by the troops of either nation. Copy of the convention will be found in *Diario Ofic.*, Aug. 25, 1882, and *La Voz de Méj.*, Aug. 27, 1882.

[19] Reconnoissance parties were to be first sent out and report the condition of the existing boundary monuments; the number of those destroyed or displaced; the places settled or capable of settlement, where it might be advisable to set monuments closer together on the line; and the character of the new monuments required, whether of stone or iron, and their approximate number in each case. The two governments agreed that the convention should be regarded as continuing in force until the conclusion of the work, provided that the time did not exceed four years and four months from the date of the exchange of ratifications. The ratifications were exchanged in Washington, March 3, 1883. *Mex., Boundary Line Treaty with U. S.*

[20] The amendment also provided that the governors of states could not be reëlected. No president or governor could be eligible till after a lapse of four years from the cessation of his functions. *La Voz de Méj.*, Nov. 3, 1877, May 8, 1878; *Diario Debates*, 8° Cong., iii. 112-232; *Diario Ofic.*, May 7, 1878.

two thirds of the electoral votes.[21] In most of the states, however, the plan was disapproved; nor was Diaz so imprudent as to favor a movement directly opposed to the plan of Tuxtepec, to which he was pledged. He recognized that such an action might destroy confidence in his good faith, both at home and abroad, and he consequently instructed his friends to desist from their efforts to procure his reëlection.[22]

The candidates for the presidential chair were Manuel Gonzalez, Justo Benitez, García de la Cadena, Ignacio Mejía, and Manuel M. de Zamacona. By decree of September 25th congress declared Gonzalez elected,[23] and on December 1, 1880, he assumed the executive office.

The administration of Diaz was essentially progressive, and a consequent general amelioration in the condition of the people was observable in both a social and material point of view. Owing to the excellent condition into which the urban rural police was brought, never had the security of the public been so well provided for. Relations between the federal government and the states were cordial; and although the president retained extraordinary powers, he never resorted to declarations of martial law in districts that required federal interposition.[24] Great impetus was given to education. The establishment of numerous agricultural schools and of scientific observatories was contemplated, together with the repair of roads, causeways, and bridges, as well as several improvements in the ports of the republic. But the difficulties the government had to contend with, having

[21] The legislature of Morelos adopted such a plan in 1879, and proposed it to those of the other states, and to the diputacion permanente.

[22] *Diaz, Datos Biog.*, MS., 407–9.

[23] *Diario Ofic.*, Sept. 27, 1880. He obtained 11,528 electoral votes—*La Voz de Méj.*, Oct. 3, 1880—a very large majority, due to the fact that he was supported by Diaz.

[24] Sinaloa was, in the early part of Diaz' administration, declared in a state of siege without his authorization. It was immediately released from it as soon as he became aware of the fact. *Diaz, Informe*, 1880, 12.

as yet to quell the turbulent spirit which still prevailed even after the crushing out of a general revolution, were in the way, and hindered it from carrying out most of its progressive plans. It may be said that under Diaz' rule the chief material improvements introduced were the establishment of two observatories, astronomical and meteorological. The government took in hand the railway problem, making liberal grants to several companies that were disposed to engage in the construction of railroad lines, both international and local. It should be born, in mind that in adopting this progressive policy the president had to contend with the opposition existing in his own cabinet, brought about by the establishment of railway communication between Mexico and the United States. The only minister who openly upheld the railway scheme without exhibiting any fear of undue American influence was General Gonzalez, minister of war, who later became the successor of General Diaz in the executive office, and efficaciously aided him in removing the prejudices of his colleagues.

The financial condition of Diaz' government was truly a painful one. The consequences of the revolution which had just triumphed had caused a great disturbance in treasury affairs. Moreover, the army had been considerably increased with the triumphant revolutionary troops, and the treasury was unable to meet the enormous expenses of so large an armed force. The government was under the absolute necessity of introducing economy on a large scale, involving a considerable reduction of the army and the suppression of many civil offices. Notwithstanding this saving, the treasury continued in great strait; there were years when one fourth of the salaries were left unpaid, and during the whole of that time public officers and the army had to submit to the loss of a percentage of their pay. When Diaz surrendered the executive chair the treasury was exhausted, and burdened with

obligations to the amount of about three million dollars, which had to be met at once.[25]

In strong contrast with Lerdo's stagnation policy, during the administration of Diaz frequent changes in his cabinet occurred. I have alre dy called attention to his non-exclusive principle in regard to political appointments, and this was well illustrated in January 1880 by his nomination of General Berriozábal as minister of government.[26] On November 15th the members of Diaz' cabinet sent in their resignations, in order to leave the new president at liberty to form his own ministry. Gonzalez had already consulted Diaz with regard to his selection of ministers, and requested him to accept the portfolio of public works. The new cabinet, therefore, was thus composed: minister of foreign affairs, Ignacio Mariscal; of government, Cárlos Diez Gutierrez; of justice, Ezequiel Montes; of fomento, Porfirio Diaz; of war, Gerónimo Treviño; and of the treasury, Francisco Landero y Cos.[27]

Gonzalez' history, like that of the greater number of political men now figuring in Mexico, is highly romantic. Born in obscurity, he rose through every difficulty and danger to the highest office of the nation. Neither the death-potential bullet nor the assassin's hand could stop his onward career.[28] At Puebla he lost his right arm, and at Tecoac he was again severely wounded on the stump by a bullet, besides being struck on the thigh. His body bears the scars of a dozen wounds received in combats with the French or in civil war. On his left cheek a long gash has

[25] *Memoria de Gonzalez.*

[26] Berriozábal had been Iglesias' minister of war.

[27] *Diario Ofic.*, Dec. 1, 1880; *Diaz, Datos Biog.*, MS., 409. Diaz accepted the resignation of his ministers with the understanding that they should continue to exercise their functions until Dec. 1st, when the new ministry would enter office. *Diario Ofic.*, Nov. 29, 1880. He resigned his portfolio May 20, 1881, and on the 27th of June following Gonzalez nominated Cárlos Pacheco ministro de fomento. *Id.*, July 1, 1881. At this time Diaz was elected governor of Oajaca. *Id.*, June 28, 1881.

[28] Two attempts were made to assassinate him during his presidential canvass or immediately afterward. *Diaz, Misc.*, no. 56.

left its cicatrice. When he became a candidate for the presidency, his opponents said that he was a Spaniard, and therefore ineligible. The opposition press raised the cry, and the credulous masses believed it. It was necessary to bring his origin to light, and his baptismal certificate was published. It appears that he was christened in Matamoros on the 18th of June, 1833, as a legitimate son of Fernando Gonzalez and Eusebia Flores, both native-born Mexicans. The names given him at the baptismal font were José Manuel del Refugio. He was born in that city, and spent his early years in the Moquete rancho, situated five leagues from the town. Upon attaining manhood, he became the chief clerk of a mixed store and bakery in Matamoros, kept by an uncle-in-law of his, named Campuzano. At the age of nineteen he enlisted as a soldier, and from that day his military career was never interrupted. In a few years, and solely by his courage and meritorious services, he attained the highest rank in the army. His record shows that every promotion awarded him was due to a brave deed or to a wound received on the battle-field.

Gonzalez is of low stature and stalwart build. His complexion is somewhat ruddy, and shows the effects of exposure during his long military life. He wears a heavy black mustache; his beard is partially gray; his hair abundant and inclined to curl.

Gonzalez assumed the presidential office at the very time that the government was experiencing the financial difficulties above alluded to; and although the country was at peace, and his efforts were mainly directed to an administrative organization, the task was an arduous one. In regard to international policy, there were only two questions pending, but they were of the highest import, and difficult ones to solve. One of them was that arising from troubles on the frontier of the United States; the other was the boundary dispute with Guatemala.

After the separation of Central America from the

Mexican federation in 1824, and the decision of Chiapas to cast her lot with Mexico, the Central American federation still laid claim to Soconusco,[29] which was a department of Chiapas. Instigated by agents and partisans of the Central American government, the discontented portion of the inhabitants of Soconusco pronounced at Tapachula July 24, 1824, against annexation of the department to Mexico, and the Central American congress thereupon passed a decree incorporating it into that republic. In March 1825 the Mexican government firmly proclaimed against this encroachment, on the ground that Soconusco, being an integral part of Chiapas, was a portion of the Mexican federation. The pronunciamiento of Tapachula was, in fact, nothing less than a revolutionary demonstration against the local government of Chiapas and the federal government, and Mexico had a right to interfere by force of arms to suppress the revolt. The federal executive, however, refrained from doing so, and the Central American government occupied Tapachula with troops. As the protest of Mexico was disregarded, a few months later a brigade under General Anaya was sent to Chiapas, but it did not advance beyond that city. When Mexico assumed this threatening attitude, negotiations were opened by Juan de Dios Mayorga, minister plenipotentiary of the united provinces of Central America, who proposed that the question should be decided by the congress of Panamá. This the minister of relations, Lúcas Alaman, refused to agree to, on the ground that such assent would be an admission of a doubt as to Mexico's right to the department. Mayorga then suggested that the question of the boundary should be settled by a joint commission, which proposal Alaman accepted, without in any way renouncing Mexico's right to Soconusco. An agreement was entered into by which both governments were pledged to withdraw their troops, and the inhabitants of Soco-

[29] See *Hist. Mex.*, vol. v. 23–4, and *Hist. Cent. Am.*, vol. iii., this series.

nusco were not to be called upon by either for contributions of men or money, and left to be governed by their own municipal authorities until the question was settled. That this agreement was weak on the part of Mexico is obvious. Consenting not to exercise authority in a portion of a state which had annexed itself to Mexico by popular vote strengthened the claim of Central America. And this was really all that was done by these early negotiations; half a century passed before any joint commission was appointed. The position of Soconusco for the next seventeen years was anomalous. It was virtually independent, without the capability of self-government. Its political condition bordered on anarchy, and its moral condition on savagism. The department became the headquarters of marauders and the asylum of criminals and malefactors, while from time to time it was invaded by Central American troops, whose conduct did not mend matters.

Affairs remained thus till 1842, when Santa Anna, in consequence of representations of the authorities and citizens, decreed September 11, 1842, that Soconusco was an inalienable part of Chiapas, and consequently of the Mexican nation. The district was formed into a prefectura of Chiapas, and Tapachula, which was raised to the rank of a city, was designated as the capital. Guatemala, the dissolution of the Central American federation being already forecast, protested, and some correspondence followed; but the internal troubles of both countries caused the matter to be dropped until 1853, when Santa Anna appointed Juan Nepomuceno de Pereda minister plenipotentiary to Guatemala, now an independent republic, and laying claim to Chiapas and Soconusco. Guatemala's claim was still more far-fetched than that of the Central American federation. It was based on the ground that Chiapas had belonged to the captaincy-general of Guatemala, the Guatemalan government ignoring the fact that Chiapas had acquired its independence of Spain and Spain's government. As well might Guate-

mala have laid claim to Nicaragua or Costa Rica, since both those countries formed provinces of the extinguished captaincy-general. Pareda's mission was to effect a treaty for the determination of the boundary, and the settlement of pending disputes, and he submitted a project to Pavon, the Guatemalan minister. But his efforts were of no avail. A new aspect was given to Guatemala's demands. Pavon put in a claim against Mexico for nearly half a million of dollars, known as the deuda de Chiapas.[30] In 1858 Pereda was recalled, and for fifteen years the matter remained in abeyance.

In August 1874 Ramon Uriarte, Guatemalan envoy extraordinary to Mexico, presented a memorandum to Lafragua, the minister of relations, in which he again brought forward the boundary question, and proposed to make the project of the treaty discussed by Perada and Pavon in 1854 the starting-point. Negotiations were carried on for some time without interruption; a convention was signed December 7, 1877, and a joint commission appointed. Nevertheless, matters did not go on smoothly; the labors of the commission were several times stopped, and at one time the danger of hostilities breaking out was imminent. During the years 1879 and 1880 several irruptions into Soconusco were made by bands of armed men, proceeding from Guatemalan territory; and in December of the latter year Tuxtla Chico was attacked by a force 200 strong, commanded by the jefe político of San Márcos, a department of Guatemala. Mexico grew angry, began to contemplate war, and sent a strong force into Chiapas. But milder measures prevailed; and on September 27, 1882, a treaty

[30] The grounds for this claim were as follows: When independence was proclaimed the united provinces of Central America assumed the public debt of the extinguished captaincy-general, and when the union was dissolved in 1847, to each of the Central American republics its corresponding quota was assigned. Guatemala claimed that Mexico, having appropriated Chiapas, ought to pay that state's quota, amounting to $458,060. *Martinez, Cuestion Mex. y Guat.*, 103–7.

was signed by which Guatemala renounced forever her pretended rights to Chiapas and Soconusco, as well as all claims for indemnity, and the boundary line between the two republics was defined in perpetuity.[31]

The new commercial treaties with Germany, Italy, and Belgium, initiated under the former administration, as well as an extradition treaty with Spain, were concluded by Gonzalez and ratified in 1883. The long-interrupted relations with Great Britain were renewed by Gonzalez, and it should be remembered that Mexico had not made the first advance toward reconciliation. Sir Spencer St John arrived in Mexico in July 1883, as the representative of the British government, and as a result of the negotiations held, friendly relations were formally restored between the two countries, and Ignacio Mariscal was in that year accredited as the minister of Mexico near the British government.

In the arrangements of a new treaty with the United States, some little delay occurred. The first project was disapproved by the senate at Washington in November 1882, and another on the reciprocity principle was drawn up. A treaty of this nature was finally agreed to, and ratified by the Mexican senate May 14, 1884.

Comparing Gonzalez' administration with the preceding ones, so greatly disturbed, we may well say that peace reigned during its whole period, and that there was no local trouble to lament. This period of Mexican history was marked by internal progress and

[31] The treaty was duly ratified by both governments, and exchanged in the city of Mexico May 1, 1883. *Mex. Tratado entre Estad. Un. Mex. y Guat.* In addition to official organs of the press and other periodicals, the following authorities on this subject have been consulted: *Larrainzar, Notic. Hist. Soconusco,* Mexico, 1843; *Id., Chiapas y Soconusco, con motivo de la cuestion de limites entre Mexico y Guatemala,* Mexico, 1875; *Martinez, Cuestion entre Mexico y Guatemala,* Mexico, 1882; *Mex., Cuestion de limites entre Mex. y Guat.; Mex. y Guat., Cuestion de limites,* Mexico, 1875; *Uriarte, Convencion de 7 Dec.,* 1877; *Chiapas, Manig. de los Poderes,* Mexico, 1882; *Mex., Correspond. Diplom.,* ii. 429–48, 469–634; *Méx., Mem. Relac. Exter.,* 1878, 43–5, with App. 1–3; *Id.,* 1881, 13–19.

prosperity. The advance of the republic was rapid, and of that stable nature which indicates the forward march of civilization. The railway undertakings subsidized by Diaz were carried into effect during the rule of Gonzalez, who, notwithstanding the poverty of the treasury, provided the money required to pay the heavy instalments; and it is a remarkable fact that under his government no company was ever left unpaid.

Trade and industry were considerably encouraged; the army was reorganized and provided with the best arms and artillery known in the world; there were constructed bridges, causeways, wharves, and other necessary works at the ports; public buildings, well deserving of special mention, were erected, such as the custom-house at Mexico; the telegraph service was extended, and public education zealously developed by the government. The moral tone of the people was gradually becoming more elevated.[32] Owing to the excellent organization of the rural police, malefactors, formerly rendering the highways unsafe, were done away with, and crime notably decreased.

In order to meet the great expenditure called for by so many material improvements, Gonzalez devoted his attention particularly to the reorganization of the public treasury. During the first three years of his administration, the financial condition of the country was very much improved, with an increase of several millions of revenue. As to the point of order in the management of funds, the most perfect system was established; indeed, it was during Gonzalez' term that the treasury for the first time had a perfect system of accounting.

Notwithstanding all these improvements which the country received the benefit of under the government of Gonzalez, giving him a right to be enrolled among its most liberal rulers, his administration experienced a period of adversity, which was in its last year. The

[32] *Memorias of Fomento y Guerra and Hacienda.*

immense expenditures incurred, both in the construction of railways and in the improvement of every branch of the public administration, naturally kept the treasury in an exhausted condition. The public revenue, far from being diminished in 1884 had become increased; but the task of introducing progress in a country, and of causing it to live according to modern ideas and ways, is bound to be a difficult and costly one, and the treasury of Mexico did not possess the means to meet at the same time the necessary expenses of the administration as well as those of material development.

Gonzalez found himself placed on the horns of a dilemma; he must either pay the public employés their salaries, neglecting to meet the obligations agreed upon by his predecessor with the companies engaged in building the railways, or solely look after the interests of the latter to the prejudice of the civil list. He hesitated not. Being convinced that the credit of the nation and her future progress were intimately connected with the payment of her debts, contracted to secure the material improvements already realized, he applied the public revenue to the payment of those debts, leaving the government officials without their pay. This policy caused an outcry against the president from that class of the community living on the public revenue, and from his enemies; and that class of politicians who entertained the belief that the best means to gain the good-will of the coming ruler lay in running down the credit of the present one, worked their points, spreading innumerable calumnies against the president, whom they represented as a monster of iniquity. Not one of those calumnies has been substantiated to such a degree as to even give it the semblance of truth. It was said that the source of his fortune, which has been grossly exaggerated, was due to peculation; when the fact is, that at a time of such material development as Mexico derived from the administration of Gonzalez, it was an easy matter for

any intelligent and shrewd man to acquire wealth in enterprises of recognized utility to the country, as was done by many others, some of whom were not at all friendly to the president. It was also reported that he was steeped in vice, when it is a well-known fact that Gonzalez is one of the few political men of Mexico who have never failed to maintain the respectability of their position.

The seed of slander against the president having been sown, it was not long in growing, and every financial measure adopted by the government, both to do away with the existing difficulties, and to pave the way for the next administration, which was to assume power in a few months, was construed by the public—ill advised by the enemies of Gonzalez—as a scheme to acquire large pecuniary means, to be divided between the president and his favorites. The main causes of disturbance were two; namely, the modifications introduced in the stamp law, and the convention entered into for the payment of the sums due the British bondholders. The nickel question, which had been a source of speculation on the part of a few money-grabbers, and with which the government had had no concern whatever, gave rise to a petty popular commotion in the city of Mexico.

In March 1884, with the view of augmenting the public revenue, and providing resources for the next administration, orders were given to carry into effect a law decreed by the national congress, under which a number of articles were added to the list of those subject to the payment of stamp dues. The merchants became highly indignant; and in order to deceive and excite the populace, they spread the report that the stamp-tax was intended to enrich the president; the fact being that Gonzalez would have no hand in its collection, but left it to his successor. A few commercial houses of the city of Mexico were closed two or three days; but the firm attitude of the government prevailed, and after making a few light

concessions to the merchants, the law went into effect. The government of Diaz has made it imperative to the present time, and its observance is undisputed.

Much deeper was the excitement caused by the recognition of the British debt, and the plan of converting the Mexican bond in London into others, entitled the Consolidated debt of Mexico in London. Some intriguing persons, who had entertained the idea of themselves entering into arrangements with the bondholders, under the belief that they would be well compensated by the latter, endeavored to hinder Gonzalez from so doing, imagining that when the next administration came into power they would be appointed the agents to complete the negotiation. The terms of the convention were that the debt should nominally represent £17,200,000. Of this sum there would be recognized to the bondholders only £14,448,000; the by no means insignificant difference, £2,752,000, was to be set aside by the Mexican government to meet the expenses of conversion. What Gonzalez had in view was that this large sum, which his successor, and not himself, was to receive —as his administration would terminate in fifteen days—should be applied, one part to meet the expenses of conversion, and the other to place the next administration in funds to pay the bondholders the first coupons, thus protecting the credit of the government, and paving the way for it to raise a loan in London, and facilitate the development of internal works. But that sum, under the name of *gastos*, became the touchstone of scandal, which the enemies of Gonzalez made the most of to charge him with the intent of using it to his own advantage, while it was impossible for him to do, in view of the fact that he had but a few more hours to wield the executive authority. Through the agency of paid agitators and of a few deluded students, they incited the rabble of the city of Mexico to revolt at the moment the chamber of deputies was discussing the clauses of the con-

vention, and approving them in the main. Gonzalez in this matter had acted with his usual prudence, inasmuch as, being authorized by congress to make the arrangement himself, as was done by Diaz later, on the 22d of June, 1885, he declined to act without the sanction of the legislative authority, preferring that the discussion should be postponed until the new president should go into power, and not to spill blood by employing the armed force of the government to put down the mob. These scenes occurred in the last days of November 1884, and the new president was inaugurated on the 1st of December of the same year.

The presidential election, which took place in September, favored Porfirio Diaz, who obtained a large majority, the count showing that he had received 15,999 out of the 16,462 electoral votes. The enemies of Gonzalez spread the slanderous report that he had attempted to murder and poison Diaz in order that the latter should not assume the executive office; and to that effect took advantage of an accident which occurred to the train of the Irolo railway, on which the president-elect was journeying. But plain common sense suffices to destroy this calumny; for in a country like Mexico, where elections are effected under the absolute control of the government, with but little regard to the popular will, President Gonzalez had no need of Diaz' death to keep him out of office. All he need do would be to cause the election of some one else. Diaz was chosen because Gonzalez favored his election.

On the 30th of November, 1884, Gonzalez surrendered the executive office. In spite of the financial difficulties of his last year, of the efforts made by his enemies to destroy his prestige, he did not forfeit, as would have been the case with many another ruler, the respect and esteem of the people. During the stormy days of the British Debt Convention, when the armed mob of Mexico was engaged in rioting, President

Gonzalez, unaccompanied, walked the streets, day or night, among the crowds, by whom he was constantly cheered as a homage to his reckless courage. He retired to his own house only upon the day that he retired from the national palace.

His administration will ever be a memorable one in the history of Mexico. Though it is true that he left the treasury heavily burdened, the fact stands that he caused the execution of a number of public works which completely changed the face of the country. The debt he incurred represents the progress of Mexico, and continued the reorganization of every branch of the administration before begun.

Among the persons most efficiently coöperating in the labors of the administration of Gonzalez, especial credit should be given to Carlos Rivas, who, for his intelligent and successful discharge of commissions intrusted to him, obtained the respect and consideration of the president, and of all his fellow-citizens.

Diaz, succeeding Gonzalez, found himself at first in a most difficult position financially, because the treasury was exhausted, owing to the large obligations contracted by the former ruler. He issued the decree of June 22, 1885, suspending the payment, not only of the floating debt, but also of the subsidies which he had himself granted during his former term to railway companies and others, he consolidated the internal and external debts into bonds of the treasury, and paid with regularity the salaries of public officials, less a discount of twenty-five and later ten per cent.

Peace for the most part followed, though there were communistic uprisings in Mexico and Córdoba in 1885, and a revolutionary movement in Nuevo Leon and Coahuila, and later similar revolts elsewhere. Then there was the Yaqui war in Sonora, the arrogant chief Cajeme being the cause. Lareta Molina, with twenty-two Yaquis, endeavored to suppress him, but the federal government was at length

obliged to send a large force against Cajeme, who raised fortifications at various points. In March 1886, three columns, each about 1,200 strong, were set in motion against his positions,[33] while every town or point of importance around the Yaqui Valley was sufficiently fortified and garrisoned to resist any hostile demonstration on the part of the Indians. The Yaquis were thus hemmed in on all sides. It was a well-planned campaign, and completely successful. The Indians were driven successively from stronghold to stronghold, till all were taken possession of by the Mexican troops. Cajeme, however, baffled all efforts to capture him, though several of his principal men were caught and executed.

In connection with the Yaqui war, mention must be made of outrages committed by the Apaches in Chihuahua and Sonora during 1885–6. To enumerate in the briefest manner all the murders and atrocities committed by these savages in that short space of time would require a chapter; suffice it to say that, by the combined efforts of the Mexican and United States troops,[34] the scourge has been to a great extent wiped out.

A hope seems to have been entertained by certain schemers in the United States that the acquisition of the northern portion of Mexico by purchase would not be impracticable under the present administration, considering the financial straits in which Mexico found herself when Diaz entered office. The project, however, is a vain one. No people are more opposed to the dismemberment of their national domain than the Mexicans, and any administration that should pro-

[33] One under generals Leiva and Carillo, with 2 mitrailleuse from the west; another under Gen. Camano, with 2 howitzers from the south-east; a heavy body of cavalry was also moved from the town of Buena Vista on the north-east; while Gen. Martinez, the commandant, with his headquarters at Barojica, directed his attention to the occupation of Torin, which was the key to the situation.

[34] A momentary cloud cast its shadow over the friendly relations between the two nations, occasioned by an unfortunate collision which occurred in 1886 between a Mexican detachment and a body of U. S. troops under Capt. Crawford, who lost his life in the scrimmage.

pose the sale of a portion of their territory would be liable to overthrow. It is true that in the northern states the holders of great tracts of land, and no few of the wealthier class, are favorably disposed to annexation to the United States, but they form but a small proportion of the mass of the population. The imaginary necessity, too, for the sale of territory, has disappeared under the able financial reforms effected by Diaz, and it is to be hoped that the day may never arrive when the counsels of unprincipled men shall prevail. Under such administrations as the present one, the yearly increasing intercourse between the two nations, and the mutual commercial advantages to be derived by peace and reciprocal comity, jealousy and apprehension will cease on the one side, and arrogant pretensions on the other.[35]

[35]The principal authorities used in writing the five preceding chapters are government documents and official papers, and the works of Mexican writers of the period. Of the latter, notice must be made of—

Derecho Internacional Mexicano, Mex., 1878–9, 4°, 3 pts, i. p. vii. and 707; ii. 408 pp.; iii. 1174 pp. A compilation made by José Fernandez, chief clerk of the department of relations of Mexico, and approved by the executive, of all treaties and conventions entered into by Mexico with other powers from 1821 to 1878. In the first part are those concluded and ratified by the contracting parties; annexed to the respective ones are important documents, such as conferences and treaties of Spain with other nations affecting Mexico. In the 2d part are treaties made but not ratified by the Mexican republic, with an appendix containing several important documents. The appendix includes, among other papers, several treaties entered into by Maximilian, the ratifications of which were never exchanged; and like all acts emanating from the empire, they were declared null by the legitimate government of Mexico. The 3d part contains laws and regulations on matters of a general nature; viz., commercial agents, admiralty, antiquities, archives, national arms, public lands, bulls, naturalization and citizenship, foreign relations, ceremonials, penal code, colonization, foreign debt, and many other subjects of more or less interest to foreigners. The typographical work is very fair.

Correspondencia Diplomática cambiada entre el gobierno de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos y los de varias potencias extranjeras. Mexico, 1882, l. 4°, 2 vol., i. 993 pp., 5 l; ii. 726 pp., 3 l. Contains all the diplomatic correspondence that occurred between the government of Mexico and the governments of foreign powers from July 1, 1878, to June 30, 1881, with annexes, some of which are of earlier dates. A part of the correspondence appearing in many of the affairs contained in the work is not, properly speaking, of a diplomatic nature, but internal, having taken place between authorities of Mexico; but the compiler, José Fernandez, chief clerk of the department of relations, thought proper to insert it for the reason that much of the matter in it refers to a critical period of Mexican international relations.

Datos Biográficos del General de Division C. Porfirio Diaz con Acopio de Documentos Históricos. Mexico, 1884. Fol., p. 247, with portrait. This work contains data for the biography of General Diaz from his birth to the

end of his presidency in 1880. The data are not very extensive; indeed, for his early life, they are very scanty; but after he entered public life the information is abundant, and accompanied with official documents of high importance. In giving to the public this life of Diaz, it became also necessary to relate the historical events of his country for the period embraced. The whole will be found important in writing the history of Mexico.

Agustin R. Gonzalez, Historia del Estado de Aguascalientes. Mexico, 1881. Sm. 4°, 518 pp., 1 l., 2 maps. A comprehensive history of the state of Aguascalientes from the earliest days of the foundation to 1875, followed by general information on her literature, the customs of the inhabitants, agriculture and mines, manufactures, and other industries, and terminating with remarks on various matters connected with the state to date of publication.

Plácido Vega, Documentos de la Comision Confidencial. 1863–8. Fol., 15 vol. MSS. This collection consists of the correspondence, documents, accounts, vouchers, etc., connected with Gen. Vega's commission to procure funds, arms, and munitions of war at San Francisco, California, for the republican government of Mexico during the French intervention and imperial régime in that country. The correspondence shows the difficulties met with by the commissioner, and how he overcame them. It also furnishes many important facts on the war between the republicans and imperialists, on President Juarez' policy, etc. The whole is a valuable contribution to the history of that eventful period.

The following list contains an enumeration of a large number of the authorities that have been consulted. Those of an official character are: *Mex., Diario de los Debates,* 1869, and succeeding volumes; reports of the government officials, notably those of the secretaries of state for the treasury, government, war, foreign relations, and fomento departments, and decrees and treaties during the period; *Mex., Col. Ley., Dec. y Cir.,* ii. 275–6; iii. 129–330, passim; *Id., Bol. Ley.,* 1863, passim; *Id., Recop Leyes,* etc., i. 1867, and succeeding volumes; *Id., Sinop. Hist. Reclam.,* 1868–76, passim; *Id., Correspond. Diplom.,* i.–ii., 1877–1882, passim; *Id., Informe de la Com. Pesquis.,* 1874; *Id., Derecho Intern. Mex.,* 1878, passim; *Id., Codigo Reforma,* 1860, 1861; *Id., Iniciativas...Hac.,* 1869; *Id., Ley de Timbre,* 1876, 81; 1880, 48; *Id., Estat. Cuerpo Estado Mayor,* 1879; *Discurso pronun. por el Presidente,* 1881, 1882, 1883; *Diaz, Informe,* 1880, 54 pp.; *Mex., Diario Ofic.,* 1837, and following years; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.,* v. 414–51, 596–7, 727–8; viii. 156–67, 218, 255–60, 305–6, 547–8, 571–8; ix. 8, 259–65; x.–xi., passim; *Discursos pronunciados ante el Congreso de la Union en las Sesiones del 16, 18, 19 de Mayo de 1874,* Mexico, 1874, 113 pp.; U. S. government documents covering this period; notably, *Sen. Doc.; Sen. Misc.; Sen. Journal; For. Rel.; House Journal; H. Com. Reports; H. Ex. Doc.; H. Misc.;* and *Commer. Rel.;* to the respective indices of which the reader is referred for Mexican affairs, as well as to those of the *Cong. Globe* and *Hansard's Parl. Debates.* The Mexican and other writers and collectors that have been consulted are: *Riva Palacio, Hist. Admin. Lerdo; Tovar, Hist. Parl.,* i.–iv., passim; *Arrangoiz, Mej.,* iv., passim; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa,* iv.; *Romero, Circulares y otras Publicaciones hechas por la Legacion Mexicana en Washington durante la Guerra de Intervencion,* Mexico, 1868, 507 pp.; *Id., Refut.,* 49–51, 85–6; *Rivera, Gob. de Mex.,* ii. 674 et seq.; *Niox, Expéd. du Mex.,* 705–16; *Navarro, Informe sobre fr. Revol.; Rivera, Mex. Pint.,* i., passim; *Domenech, Hist. du Mex.,* 438–40; *Romero, Diaz,* passim; *Diaz, Misc.,* nos. 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 12, 15, 16, 18–20, 27, 41–3, 45, 55–7, 59–62; *Id., Biog.,* MS., 1–471; *Id., Datos Biog.,* 92–232, passim; *Quevedo, El General Gonzalez,* Mexico, 1884; *Iglesias, Recuerd. Polit.,* 1884, 89, MS.; *Id., Manifiesto,* 1876, 20; *Id., Estud. Constit. Justic.,* Mex., 1874, 84; *Hamilton's Mex. Laws; Frisbie's Reminis.,* MS., 40; *Vega, Docs,* MS., iii. 304, 427–8, 672–3; *Id., Rep. Méj.,* in *Pap. Var.,* 104, no. 9; *D'Héric, Maxim.,* 185–410; *Hall's Mex. Law,* 317; *Hayes' Scraps, Ariz.,* v. 126–7, 135; *Id., Baja Cal.,* ix. 62; *Querétaro, Col. de Ley y Dec.,* 1869, 31; *Salm-Salm's Diary,* ii., passim; *Soc. Mex. Geog.,* 2d Ep., iv. 570–85, 748; *Id.,* 3d Ep., i. 306; *Sheldon's Letters,* 1–26; *Busto, Estad. Rep. Mex.,* i., p. xc.–xci.; ii., 5th pt, 420; *Id., Impuest. Fed.,* 1877–8, v.–viii. 3–18, 489–607; *Bancroft's Notes on Mex.,* MS., 1–

116; *Ober's Travels in Mex.*, S. F., 1884, 672; *Estrada y Zenéa, Man. Gob. Jef. Pol.*, Mex., 1878, pp. 314, 3 l.; *Evans, Sister Rep.*, passim; *Brocklehurst's Mexico To-day*, London, 1883, pp. 250, 56 plates; *Bishop's Old Mex.*, 18–21, 139–48, 269–89; *Bonilla, Informe*, Mex., 1880, 133; *Bustamante, contra Arzobispo de Mex.*, 1877, 34; *Peza, Maxim.*, 109–74; *Perez, Dic. Geog.*, i. 327, 333–5, 345–54; ii. 313–23; iii. 589–600; *Perez, J. S., Alm. Estadist.*, 77, 104–31, 172, 181–8, 212; *Price, Brief*, 22–58, passim; *Mex., Rept Border Commis.*, 1864–73; *Id., Conven. entre Mex. y Belgica*, 1882, 23; *Mex., Scraps*, i.–ii., passim; *Maillefert, Direct.*, 66–70, 209–70; *Mexia, Coment. á la Constit.*, Mex., 1878, 19 series of pamphlets; *Martinez, Cuest. de Mex. y Guat.*, Mex., 1882, 279; *Manero's Guide*, 25–40; *Montiel y Duarte, Estad. Garant. Indio*, 310–12, 540–69; *Hernandez, Geog. Son.*, no. ii. 85–95; *Vallarta, Votos*, Mex., 1883, 603; *Cadena, Contestacion*, Mex., 1880, 48; *Carrington, Affairs in Mex.*, MS., 1–12; *Mier y Teran, Apunt. Biog.*, 30–73; *Caballero, Hist. Alm.*, passim; *Marquez de Leon, Mem. Post.*, MS., 312 et seq.; *Id., Fé Perdida*, 55 et seq.; *Clarke's U. S. and Mex. Rel.*, MS., 1–33; *Mata, Anuario Univ.*, 1881, passim; *Pap. Var.*, 104, no. 7; *Id.*, 120, no. 2; *Id.*, 227, no. 9; *Romero, Apunt. Estad.*, Mex., 1883, 52; *Morgan's U. S. and Mex.*, MS., 1–9; *Robertson's Handbook*, 1–14; *Toma de Tampico*, Mex., 1871, 29; *Tayle, Circ. Exped. Iglesias*, 1876, 27; *Nayarit, Los Pueb. del Estad.*, 1–24; *Manero, Doc. Interes.*, 1874–8, 83; *Aspiroz, Cod. Extran.*, 190–214; *Anderson, Mex. St. P.*, 126–41; *Juarez, Col. Artic.*, Mex., 1871, 69; *Abbot's Mex. and U. S.*, 363–8; *Groso*, MS., no. viii.; *Gonzalez, Hist. Estado Aguasc.*, Mex., 1881, 518; *Guzman, Systema de Dos Camaras*, Mex., 1870, 88; *Id., Dictamen del Comis.*, 1872, 71; *Jal. Mem. Ejec.*, 1875–9, 1–65; *Gomez, Reclam. Depred. Ind.*, Mex., 1872, 172; *Id., Informe*, 1874, 7; *Garcia, Esp. y los Españ. en Mex.*, Mex., 1877, 33; *Gallardo, Cuad. Compar. Elec. Presid.*, Mex., 1872, 7; *Id., Sob. de los Estados*, Mex., 1874, 40; *Id., Cuad. Estad. Elec. Presid.*, Mex., 1877, 8; *Wadsworth, Dict. Reclam. Mex.*, Mex., 1873, 94; *Rodriguez, Com. Mex. Reclam.*, Mex., 1873, pp. 67, ll. 2; *Conkling's Guide*, N. Y., 1884, 378; *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 1832–75, nos. 3, 9. A great quantity of other publications, from a pamphlet of a single sheet to works of several hundred pages, far too numerous to specify, have also been examined, as well as a great number of files of newspapers covering the period, some partially and others entirely. The principal ones are *El Monitor; El Siglo XIX.; El Federalista; El Boletin Oficial del Estado de Sinaloa; El Boletin Republicano; La Estrella de Occidente; El Constitucional; El Diario de Avisos; El Publicista; El Occidental; La Nacion; El Nacional; Amigo del Pueblo; El Arco Iris; La Voz de Mejico; El Fenix; El Derecho; El Defensor de la Reforma; El Correo del Pacífico; El Estado de Sinaloa; El Eco de Occidente; La Era Nueva; La Regeneracion de Sinaloa; El Porvenir de Nicaragua; Gaceta de Nicaragua; El Mensagero; Gaceta Oficial de Salvador; El Pueblo de Sonora; El Susurro; El Fronterizo*, published in Tucson; *La Crónica*, published in Los Angeles, Cal.; *Panamá Star and Herald; Panamá Mercantile Chronicle; The Mexican Financier*, published in the city of Mexico in English and Spanish, alternate columns. Without enumerating a number of Californian and other local newspapers, mention must be made of *The Morning Call; The Chronicle; The Evening Bulletin; The Evening Post; The Alta California; The Daily Examiner;* and *The Evening Report*, all published in San Francisco, and the *Sacramento Union*, issued at the capital of the state. The Mexican correspondents of these papers furnish news of events, and express the views of political parties and the feelings of the people as regarded from an outside standpoint. Such communications are valuable to the historian, since they afford him an opportunity of drawing a balance between extremes.

CHAPTER XX.

GOVERNMENT, FINANCES, AND MILITARY.

1800–1887.

PARTY SPIRIT—STRUGGLES FOR SUPREMACY—ARMY INFLUENCE AND REVOLUTIONS—CENTRALISM, IMPERIALISM, AND FEDERALISM—CONSTITUTIONS AND REFORMS—CONGRESS AND THE EXECUTIVE—POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT—CABINET—ADMINISTRATIVE DUTIES AND REFORMS—TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS—STATE GOVERNMENT—MUNICIPALITIES—SUFFRAGE—LAWS—JUDICIARY—POLICE—FOREIGN RELATIONS—NATURALIZATION—COLONIZATION—FINANCES—ARMY AND NAVY.

NATIONAL independence was achieved by the revolution of Hidalgo, but it was not the ideal freedom pictured by the patriot leaders. Still present were many of the chains riveted by centuries of oppression. One war over, another began, the fight being between the old order of things and the new; between champions of popular rights and sticklers for class privileges and tradition. But they played the game with dangerous weapons. Most of them were blind with ignorance, and inefficient from lack of experience, acting sometimes perhaps too rashly in discarding their leading-strings. Some, dazzled by military display, overlooked the dictates of duty and the blessings of peace, and betook themselves to war for personal aggrandizement. The division of a united country into semi-independent states loosened the bond which had hitherto united them, and fostered anarchy; so that the liberty of which they boasted was too often a debasing license.

Hence for a long time the tendency of political affairs was to foster a bitter party spirit, and still hold to caste distinctions, tribal differences, and the sec-

tional nature of the warfare begun in 1810. The aristocratic element, the wealthy and office-holding classes in church and state, accustomed to control, sought to regain the power seized by the people. Old influences and old feelings were not wholly dead; there was still strength in the Spanish constitution of 1812, due to a liberal clique among the officers of the army, and which found representation in Mexico among the escoseses, so named from a masonic lodge with Scotch rites.[1] True, their aim had gradually turned toward independence. Foreseeing the inevitable, the threatened clergy rose in behalf of their privileges, and skilfully manœuvred into existence, with Bourbon aid, an empire under Iturbide, to forestall the radicals. But republicanism had already acquired strength, and the escoseses availed themselves of it to overthrow the empire, seeking as an aristocratic body to establish a dominant central government. The provincials, however, had scented the sweets of state independence under a federation, and regardless of anything save party interests, the imperialists joined them in large force to overwhelm the escoseses. Here again the aristocratic element acquired the upper hand, notably in the control of offices, to the disappointment of the hungry radicals, who thereupon combined under the term of yorkinos, from another masonic lodge, to strive for a share of spoils. The mere prospect was enough to revive the crushed party, and unite the rich and influential classes to retain the exclusive possession.

These two formed the great factions, as we have elsewhere seen, which for decades kept the country in tumult, with or without principles, though never lacking war-cries, with subdivisions and branches, and with an occasional partial coalescence. Both appealed to the people with empty promises and doubtful

[1] Concerning the masonic influence on Mexican politics, see *Alaman, Mej.*, v. 24–5, 58, 409; *Id., Defensa*, pp. ix.–xv.; *Pap. Var.*, cxlvi. pt x.; lxxiii. pt ix.; and in the English of *Robinson's Mex. Mil. Heroes*, 145–8.

concessions, the former under the name of conservatives. Although known at different times also as partido del órden, novenarios, gentes decentes, hombres de bien, aristocratas, retrogrados, monarchistas, and centralistas, yet the radicals, being of the people, displayed a growing sympathy for them, and sought to uphold more and more their assumed title of progressists.[2] This effort becoming recognized, the masses were induced to support their champions and decide the issue, in favor of a federal and liberal system, as against a central and aristocratic one. Meanwhile the army, as possessing the readiest means for revolution, was the alternate instrument and arbiter in the struggle; sustaining anarchy or military despotism, as strikingly evidenced by the fact that during the time between 1821 and 1857 the country had more than half a dozen forms of government, under imperial and republican regencies, empire and federal, central and dictatorial rules, of varying shades, and over 50 different administrations, for which fully 250 revolutions were undertaken.[3]

Revolution became so common that it was often treated more as a joke than as something to be hanged for, and captured conspirators were elegantly entertained and afterward pardoned. A man did not know,

[2] Known also as liberals, puros, anarquistas, canallas, de los cambios, federalistas, democratas. In later times, the victorious liberals generally assumed the leader's name, as Lerdistas, Porfiristas.

[3] Some, like Domenech, *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 370, counts 240 between 1821–67; but others swell the figure far beyond by close, and not very arbitrary, reckoning. And so we find enumerations of 55 administrations within 40 years, some provisional, and of a few days' duration. See ready instances in *Cortés, Diar. Sen.*, i. 63; *Cal. Man. y Guia*, 1852, 294–300. Comments on development of parties, and causes of revolution, in *Arrangoiz, Mej.*, iii., ap. 3–15, etc.; *Agras, Reflex.*, 1–33; *Godoy, Discurso*, 1–32; *Pap. Var.*, xlii. pt 7, xcv. pt 3; *Repub. Mex., Reseña*, 1–80; *Cuevas, Porvenir*, 161–560, passim; *Lozada, Cuestion*, 1–5; *Ortiz, Mex. Indep.*, 50–97, with a more philosophic aspect in *Martinez, Sinopsis, Rev.*, 1–286. German views are given in *Richthofen, Rep. Mex.*, 7, etc. *Ratzel, Aus Mex.*, 1–4; *Mühlenpfordt, Mej.*, i. 383 et seq.; *Wappäus, Mex.*, 127, 139. For French opinions, I refer to the chapters on the intervention. Americans have expressed themselves in *Thompson's Recoll.*, 58, 180, 243–51; *Gwin's Mem.*, MS., 205–6; *Robertson's Mex.*, ii. 15–150, passim. The first step in a revolution is the pronunciamiento, to pronounce for a certain principle or man, followed generally by a plan or declaration of object and principles, and attended by the grito, or war-cry.

being himself in power to-day, when his time to be shot would come. Although it was often apparently a lucky turn to a day's doings that sent one to the palace instead of to the gallows; and not infrequently there was a bloody settlement of accounts after a battle, yet it has evidently been the policy of the government not to drive the defeated to desperation, but by every means possible to restore confidence and maintain peace.

The government, installed by a momentarily victorious faction, found it often necessary to purchase its continuance by leniency and bribery of opponents, and it was generally powerless to undertake the reforms with which the people had been deluded, or too short-lived to carry out those that might be attempted. This weakness encouraged revolutions also by individuals for gain of office promotion and notoriety, or to cover defalcations; and so corporals sprang quickly by a series of bloodless outbreaks, or intimidations, to be generals and governors.

As in the early days of the United States republic, the first federal officials of Mexico were exceedingly simple in their habits and surroundings, trained as they had been midst hardships of field and camp, and mountain fastnesses. They were easy of approach, and prompt in the execution of their duties. During part of the French revolution, the newly made powers were likewise gracious. Says a visitor to Mexico in 1828: "I was introduced to the president, went through his dining-room, where was a table-cloth on the end of a coarse table with three plain covers on it, passed from that to his bed-chamber, which was very plainly furnished with a mattress laid on a bedstead without any curtains, and thence passed to his audience-chamber, as frugally furnished as the others." Such were the simple surroundings of the man who occupied the palace where the Aztec emperors once held sway; and after them the viceroys from Spain, in imitation of their royal master, clothed them-

selves with imperial luxury and pomp. Gradually, however, this primitive simplicity on the part of officials wore away, and business became burdened with more forms and technicalities.

Of the two leading forms of government in republican times, centralist and federalist, the former embodied a central administration at Mexico for the whole country, in one strong hand, supported by the clergy and property holders, in managing the revenue and promoting advancement, the states being accordingly reduced to mere departments under governors appointed by and subject to the authority at the capital, congressmen being limited in number and power, and franchise being further contracted by property restrictions and official and military supervision. It was argued in favor of this system that the masses were unfit for equal rights, or a share in the government; that the division into states was a special source of danger to a nation so heterogeneous in composition, and that the church must be upheld as a bond of safety between the races. All this might have been reasonable but for the selfish aim to maintain the people in ignorance and subjection.

The empire under Maximilian was the final effort of the conservatives, since centralism had failed. The idea was regarded as acceptable, especially to the Indians, and with a permanent head there would be greater prospects of maintaining peace, controlling factions, and unfolding prosperity, partly by means of a reorganized army, by obviating the excitement and danger of elections, and the strife for leadership and spoils. A native ruler being apt to rouse jealousy, a foreign prince was called, with the prestige of royalty and talents.

The federalists adopted for a model the adjoining northern United States, which stood commended by success, and copied the main features of their organic law in the constitution of 1824, though failing to ob-

serve its spirit, as they had so many other wise ordinances. This fundamental law has practically survived till our day, in that of 1857, with its amendments and additions, some of which are on the face at least a step in advance on the other. It proclaimed the rights of man by granting free speech, a free press, and liberty of education; permitted no passports or restriction of personal freedom; forbade the infliction of the lash or other indignities, or confiscation of property; recognized no hereditary honors, nobility, or prerogatives; and abolished all special tribunals save for military discipline. No corporation could hold real estate beyond what was required for direct use, and no monopolies might exist except in patents. The legislative power was restricted to one house with increased representation, election being by secret ballot, with intervention of an electoral college. The executive power was vested in a president elected for four years, with temporary succession of the president of the supreme court. Supreme judges were elected for six years.[4]

[4] All honest Mexicans above the age of 18 if married, above 21 if unmarried, were declared citizens, with a vote and right to candidacy, and obligation to join the national guard. Amendments to the constitution required a two-thirds vote of congress, and approval by a majority of state legislatures. The law differed from that of 1824 by abolition of the senate, by a numerical increase of the other chamber, and notably by divesting the church of its many privileges. Mexican constitutions had their beginning in the Spanish organic law of 1812, which admitted colonies to a share in national affairs through the córtes, and to elect legislatures and municipalities among themselves, Indians being raised to citizenship, but not African admixtures. This law gave impulse to the first republican constitution issued in 1814 at Apatzingan, which extended citizenship to all, and vested the supreme power in an elected congress, limited to one member for each of the 17 provinces. Congress appointed the triple alternating executive, the judges, and the military chiefs. Throughout prevailed an aristocratic spirit which seemed to promise well for the limited-monarchy programme issued at Iguala by Iturbide. Regarding the country as immature for republican rule, he revived the empire of Montezuma among the resuscitated Mexican nation, while conceding to it the privileges of the improved constitution of 1812, as issued in 1820, with an elective congress.

The federalists gained the upper hand, however, and the constitution of the adjoining United States was introduced with a few French and Spanish modifications. The representation in the lower house of congress was one for every 80,000, elected every second year; the senate was formed of two members from every state, chosen by the legislatures, one for two years, the other for four. One regular session was to be held yearly, with a congress deputation during the recess acting as government council. The executive power

The main feature of the document was the blow aimed at the church by no longer declaring the Roman catholic to be the state religion, by embodying the famous laws of Juarez and Lerdo, which withdrew the fuero privileges of the clergy, and their power to hold property, subjecting them to the supervision of the government, by taking from them the control of education, dispersed monastic bodies, and granted a liberty of speech and of the press, which left them exposed to levelling criticism. Their effort to resist these encroachments led to the long war of reform, and subsequently to the moderate, hereditary monarchy under Maximilian, unhampered by popular representation.[5] Favored by success, the republican

was vested in a president elected for four years, with a vice-president. Confiscation of property was forbidden. States enjoyed independent internal government, under legislative, executive, and judicial heads; but had to report annually on their condition. The clause excluding other religions than the Roman catholic was omitted in several state constitutions. Indeed, tolerance, need for jury system, longer terms for congressmen, restriction of congressional power, more direct election, control of land and militia by the republic, were among the questions speedily brought into agitation. See *Mora, Rev.*, i. 323–42; *Richthofen, Rep. Mex.*, for comments. Alaman, *Hist. Mex.*, iv. 173, prefers the aristocratic Apatzingan law. In 1835 the conservatives gained control, and issued a centralist constitution, under which the states were reduced to departments, ruled by governors, with subordinate prefects, appointed by and subject to the government at Mexico, yet assisted by elected councils. Towns with over 8,000 inhabitants could alone elect a municipality. The representation in the lower house was reduced to one member for every 150,000 inhabitants, elected for four years; the senate was limited to 24 members chosen for six years by the departmental councils from the triple nominees of the three supreme powers. Two sessions were designated yearly, with a diputacion of seven members during recess. The president was chosen for eight years by the departmental councils, from three nominees selected by the lower house from the triple number presented by government council and ministry, senate, and court. He was assisted by a council of thirteen picked from 39 congress nominees, one third being men from the church and army. Judges were perpetual, the supreme judge being selected like the president. A supremo poder conservador of five persons was placed to watch over the acts of the three supreme powers. In this constitution were many commendable features, but as usual it was infringed and disregarded. A reformed issue of it in 1843 increased the congressional representation, and gave more power to the president, to departmental assemblies, and to electors, while restricting the franchise to incomes of not less than $200 a year. In 1846 the federal constitution of 1824 was reestablished, with amendments, which abolished the vice-presidency, increased congressional representation, and modified the electoral method. For full text of the different constitutions, see *Mex. Constit.*, i.–ii., and *Col. Constit.*, i.–iii., passim; *Mex., Leyes Fund.*, 1–379; *Dublan y Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, i. 326–50, 433–51, 547–50; v. 155, 238, 256; viii. 169, 384, 409.

[5] Guided by nine ministers and a council of state, of his own selection. The empire was divided into eight comisario sections, and 50 departments.

sought to ensnare it by several amendments, first by proclaiming tolerance and separating church and state, by declaring marriage a civil contract, by substituting for the religious oath a simple promise to speak the truth, by forbidding alienation of personal liberty by vow or contract.[6] A senate was added in 1874,[7] and later came the amendment brought about by Diaz' revolution, which forbade the reëlection of a president or governor for a consecutive term.[8]

Congress consists of two houses, one of deputies, and one of senators, both elected by indirect popular vote, the former for two years, in the proportion of one for every 40,000 inhabitants. The senate is composed of two members for every state, renewable every second year by half. It has the exclusive faculty to approve treaties, decide for cases of interference with states, and confirm appointments of ministers, diplomatic agents, and superior military and financial officers. Two sessions are held yearly, the

The latter ruled by prefects appointed by the emperor, and guided by a council of their joint selection. Towns of over 3,000 inhabitants obtained popularly elected ayuntamientos. Superior judges were perpetual. *Mex., Col. Leyes Imp.*, i.–viii.

[6] This was passed on Sept. 25, 1873, and amplified on Dec. 10, 1874. All religions might be practised as long as laws were not infringed, but the government retained control over their meetings to enforce order, and also over cemetries. Religious feast days were abolished, Sunday being regarded as a day of rest, and religious rites and teaching were forbidden outside of temples, and consequently in schools, where general morality alone could be inculcated. Religious ministers could receive no legacy, nor any gifts in real estate or obligations. While marriage was a civil contract, a full divorce could not be granted.

[7] *El Publicista*, ii. 175 et seq.

[8] A president accordingly cannot be a candidate until four years after the close of his term. Amendment issued May 5, 1878. For text of amendments, with debate and comments, I refer to *Rivera, Hist. Jal.*, iv. 663–87, where the need of a senate is advocated. *Zarco, Hist. Cong.*, i. 100–876; ii. 5–1031; debate on 1857 constitution, *Archivo, Mex.*, iii. 1008–11, vi. 210; *Mex., Mem. Gob.*, 1875, 13–20; *Zaremba, Merchant*, 6; *Rivera, Palacio, Hist. Lerdo*, 423–42, 486–93; *Diar. Debates*, Cong. 7, i. 193–203, 630, 825, 1268, etc., ii. 12–20, iii. 16, 102–886; *Diar. Ofic.*, Apr. 9, 10, 23, June 4, 1877, Oct. 24, 1881, with proposed amendments. Attacks upon them in Munguia's elaborate works, in his *Opusc.*, vi. 1–28; *Crimenes Demagog.*, 5; *Bustamante, Ensayo*, 142; *Pinart, Coll., Relig. y Independ.*, 1–23. Comments in connection with monarchic views, in *Chivalier, Exped.*, 42; *Estrada, Mex. y Archiduque*, 31; *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 1831–75, pt 4. Also by *Domenech, Masseras*, and others, and pamphlets in *Pap. Var.*, xxv. pts v.–vi., lxxxii. pt ii., ciii. pt i., cx. pt iv., cxii. pt viii. 16.

second, beginning April 1st, being preferable, devoted to financial questions. A deputation of 15 deputies and 14 senators sits during the recess.[9]

The executive power is vested in the president, elected by popular indirect vote, and holding office from December 1st for four years.[10] His substitute in case of temporary or final vacancy is the president of the supreme court, provisionally, until elections can be held.[11] The president can appoint civil and military officers of a certain grade, and remove diplomatic agents and financial chiefs, but those of a superior rank can be submitted only in nomination to the senate.[12] Juarez set an example of extreme unobtrusiveness in connection with public proceedings, acting even

[9] At the close of the first session, which lasts from Sept. 16th till Dec. 15th, must be presented the budget for consideration of the committee during recess. The second session ends May 31st. Each session may be prorogued for 30 and 15 days, respectively, which must be dedicated to the object which caused the prorogation. Bills, if rejected by one or both houses, cannot be presented again during the same session. A simple majority in congress suffices to pass them over a presidential veto. Deputies must be 25 years of age, senators 30. They cannot belong to the ecclesiastic profession, and must not accept federal office with pay. Of the former, any number over one half the total constitutes a quorum; of the latter, two thirds. Suplentes or substitutes are elected for cases of absence or vacancy. The federal district received two senators. The profusion of titles of former days has been set aside. They have shifted from the national palace to different sites, the lower house occupying lately the old Iturbide theatre, and the senate a modest hall elsewhere. The representation has varied for deputies, as we have seen. Under the central constitution of 1836, it fell to one for 150,000 inhabitants, while the senate consisted of only 24 members. There used to be a property qualification, which in 1824 amounted to $8,000, or an income of $1,000. The term has ranged between 2 and 4 years for deputies, and 2 to 6 years for senators. For rules during the middle period, see *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1828–50; *Mex., Legis.*, 1852 et seq.; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, ii–xi., passim; *Mex., Col. Ley.*, 1853 et seq. In 1877 a bill was presented for abolishing the senate, in conformity with the revolutionary plan of 1876, *Diar. Debates*, Cong. 8, i. 470–1, 488, but it failed to pass. It was created only in 1874 under the new constitution. It is not the first time that its abolition has been urged and moreover effected.

[10] Some favor a longer period, to permit the carrying out of reform plans, and to avoid the disorder of too close election agitation. *Biog.*, MS., 450–1. He must be not less than 35 years of age, and cannot leave the capital without permit from the congress.

[11] The vice-presidency was not admitted into the present constitution, and has been abolished on former occasions, as needless and as the cause for intrigue and differences.

[12] As shown in a previous note. He of course chooses his own ministers. The appointment of inferior officials is determined by law. The pardon of persons convicted by federal courts lies with him. See previous statement about senators concerning treaties and army movements.

as the plain magistrate. The inauguration of Diaz was unattended by any of the imposing ceremonies and pageantry introduced by earlier rulers, even by Juarez. For a time Diaz lived in a retired dwelling of modest size, and used the palace purely for the transaction of business and for certain receptions.[13]

With extraordinary powers to make appointments, especially in the army, which looks above all to him, and with a controlling influence in the many states, owing to concessions, swayed elections and installations of leading officials, the power of a president in Mexico is immense, the more so as parties in and out of the congress can be so readily won over, manœuvred, or split. It requires, therefore, a high sense of duty and patriotism to abstain from arbitrary acts.[14] As a means to lessen intrigues on the part of the government for promoting the reëlection of its powerful chief, and to leave the people at greater liberty to manifest its choice, President Diaz introduced the no-reëlection amendment. Nevertheless, it is easy for the party in office to secure the election of its choice, and so perpetuate authority within certain hands. This oligarchy is insured by duly propitiating influential men and leaders with offices or means for gain.

The administrative duties are divided among six

[13] In *Dublan y Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, vi. 8–11, ix. 246, *Mex., Col. Ley.*, 1853, 208, 318–19, etc., *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1833, 1–10, 1849–50, 293–4, and previous volumes, are instances of rules for ceremonies connected with business, inaugurations, and funerals. By decree of May 24, 1838, the salary assigned to the pres. was $30,000; to a prov. pres., $1,500 monthly, and a like sum to the pres. of the council; secretaries of state and councillors, $6,000 and $4,000, respectively; the salary of a senator was fixed at $3,500, and that of a deputy at $3,000 a year, to commence from the day on which they entered upon their duties. *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, iii. 409. These salaries were reduced temporarily by Diaz, Dec. 1884. The president's titles have ranged from Excellency to Most Serene Highness, the latter assumed by Santa Anna during his last dictatorship. At present no other title is recognized other than Citizen President. While pomp ruled high under Santa Anna, Maximilian excelled in punctilious regulations for office and court, and promised to extend etiquette and rank notably by the creation and revival of orders and patents of nobility, with their rules for dress, precedence, and titles, concerning which I refer the reader to the earlier chapters in this volume, and to *Mex., Col. Ley. Imp.*, ii. 5–26.

[14] Lerdo did not scruple to foment a revolution in order to obtain extraordinary powers for interference in the affairs of states and other designs. Some pertinent comments on this power are made by Clarke, *Mex.*, MS., 32–6.

cabinet secretaries, for foreign affairs, justice and public instruction, interior, treasury, and public credit, war and navy, and public works,[15] freely selected by the president, yet responsible for their acts. The first named embraces the premiership, with possession of the great seal, and attends to official publications and ceremonials. With the department of justice was generally connected ecclesiastic affairs, but since the separation of church and state the supervision is merely of a magisterial character. The interior ministry, known as gobernacion, divides with the public works department, a later creation known as fomento, the home affairs not designated by the titles of the other portfolios, the fomento secretary attending to matters connected directly with trade, industries and colonization, buildings, roads, lands, and scientific subjects.[16] Each minister must countersign orders connected with his department, and present an annual report to congress.[17]

The cabinet has been subject to even greater vicissitudes than the presidency, as may be understood from the long political turmoil. The chronic malady having been the lack of funds, the finance ministry

[15] The offices are called secretaría del despacho, secretariat for the despatch of foreign affairs. Their number has varied from two under Hidalgo, in 1811, to nine under Maximilian, embracing ministers for the imperial household, state, foreign affairs, and navy, interior, justice, public instruction and worship, war, public works, and treasury. Between these two there were usually four departments, interior and foreign, embracing public works, the other three being justice and public instruction, treasury, and war, yet all with several subdivisions, especially the first. The holders have mostly been lawyers, with military men for war affairs, and a sprinkling of merchants for finance.

[16] The secretary of the interior attends to the important branch of elections, to relations with the states to government of federal district, to tranquillity, national guard, police, amnesty, registration, festivals, health, benevolence, entertainments, the public press, and mails. The maritime mail service pertains to the treasury. When the national guard is in federal service, the war office takes control.

[17] The expenses of the different departments for the fiscal year 1883–4 were: the executive, $44,750, including president's salary of $30,000; the supreme court, $314,764, of which $188,981 was expended on the district courts; of gobernacion, $1,434,999, of which $418,100 was paid the rural police, $260,787 the urban police, and $404,249 on the mail service; justice and public instruction, $748,360; fomento, $5,243,753, $2,904,295 being spent in developing railroads; the treasury, $4,484,510; war and navy, $9,480,241. *Mex., Mem. Hac.*, 1884, xxi.–xxiii.

has changed most of all, over a hundred times during the period 1821–54. The premiership follows, while the war minister, from his greater intimacy with the presidential interests, and his influence with the army, has proved the firmest. The constant change gave no opportunity for introducing or establishing order or reforms, and the confusion naturally affected general interests.[18]

Juarez and Lerdo sought to remedy the abuse, but lacked the necessary energy and thoroughness, hampered as they allowed themselves to be by factions. Diaz, on the other hand, proved true to his promise by a sweeping reorganization of the departments, first by removing the host of useless officials who added to the disorder and swelled the expenses for selfish purposes; next, by introducing system and encouraging zeal and honesty, selecting capable men and rewarding merit. Indeed, peculation and other abuses were rigorously looked after, although allowed, no doubt, under certain circumstances for politic ends. In the matter of spoliation, there is a difference between Mexico and the United States. In the northern republic, the people being the power, and on the watch,

[18] The foreign office, depending greatly on international law, had more definite principles. Its fourscore changes between 1821–55 brought in over 40 new men, of whom fully half ranked as lawyers. Some of the offices open in the afternoon as late as 6 P. M. This branch of the govt is divided into four depts, the American, the European, the cancillería, and the national archive office. In the cancillería, foreigners are registered, and their certificates; letters of naturalization are extended; passports issued, and despatches from different branches of the government registered. Signatures are affirmed, and the births, marriages, and deaths of foreigners registered. The expenses of the foreign office for the fiscal year 1883–4 was $335,868, the diplomatic and consular abroad costing $255,583. *Mex., Mem. Hac.*, 1884, p. xxi.; *Id., Mem. Relac. Ext.*, 1881. For earlier times, *Mex., Col. Ley.*, i. 205–9; iv. 49–51, 72–5, 292–3, 329–31, 342–4; xiii. 52–4; *Mex., Legis.*, 1851, 18–34; 1852, 244–55, 329–41; 1853, 5–7, 13–14, 91–4; 1854, 104–9, 274–5; 1855, 580–9, 621–2; 1856, 349; *Archivo Mex.*, i. 691; v. 63–5, 430–5, 683–96; vi. 230–1, 581–6; *Codigo Reforma*, 292–5; *Mex., Bol. Ley.*, 1863, 63–6, 79–90; *Mex., Col. Ley. Imp.*, i.–vii., passim; *Dublan y Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, vii. 327, 607–11, 627; viii. 462; ix. 81, 88, 139, 235, 337; x. 28–31, 37, 166, and other volumes and pages of preceding collections. *Buenrostro, Secund. Cong.*, i. 120–1; *Diar. Debates*, Cong. 10, xiii. 431–9, 876–7; *Diaz, Miscel.*, nos. 17, 56; *Siliceo, Mem. Fom.*, 119–24; *Thompson's Recol.*, 180–6. Under centralist and imperial régime, the council of state formed an important body, which during federal times has been replaced by the congress diputation of the recess. The occasional junta de notables also acted as such.

will not permit the higher officials to steal to any great extent, so that the more extensive robberies are committed by the smaller officials, local boards, legislators, and other tools of the millionaires and monopolists, while in Mexico the chief rulers have not been in the habit of leaving much for their subordinates and inferiors. Indeed, it is the customary thing, and wholly to be expected, not only to take all there is to take, but to anticipate future revenue, to draw wealth, without much concealment or reproach, both from the inside and the outside.

"I will give you five thousand dollars to pass this measure for me, and hold the transaction a strict secret between ourselves," said a New Yorker, who prided himself in his skill in the art of bribery, to a Mexican governor. "Make it ten thousand," replied the governor, "and you may tell all the world."

This state of affairs applies more to former days, however, when, for instance between 1841 and 1844, about 12,000 military commissions alone appear to have been issued to please adherents and win opponents. It was this extreme abuse that gave the pretext for most revolutions, for greed and jealousy were ever the prominent characteristics of statesmen.[19]

The great official centre in the city of Mexico is the palace, formerly occupied by viceroys and presidents, now surrendered almost entirely to the administrative departments, to archives, treasury, post-office, scientific institutions, council and reception halls, some furnished in rich style, others bare.[20]

[19] A certain class of officials managed to retain their position, not alone through favor or intimidation, but because their experience and ability were valuable. More than once academies were opened to train men for the civil service, *Mex., Col. Ley.*, 1854, 79–81, and inspectors supervised federal offices, only to succumb to the common vice. *Carbajal, Discurso sobre Empleos*, 1–52; *Rep. Mex., Consid. Polit.*, 38–41; *Pap. Var.*, lxxxviii. pt 9, cliv. pt 17, form instances of the numerous tirade against corruption. See also *Villalobo, Regla. Regimen, Calend.*, 1850, 37–8.

[20] For a description of this venerable, two-story edifice, with its art and other treasures, I refer to *Rivera, Mex. Pint.*, i. 23 et seq.; also *Brocklehurst's Mex.*, 44–6, and other late descriptive books.

The federal spirit has not been fostered by race and caste distinctions, by the frequent sectional attitude during civil wars, and by the encroachment on state rights of a corrupt general government; but with the now prolonged peace, with unfolding resources promoting close communication by means of roads and railways, and with the growing number and control on the part of the mestizos, the national feeling is surely strengthening. The distant northern states, so long neglected under savage raids as to seriously consider secession, are becoming more valued as a frontier bulwark and promising region for colonization.[21]

The municipal power, while amplified under a liberal government, has in another sense been brought under better control. The lack of pay for local offices, together with the indifference of the masses, threw them generally into the hands of wealthy or designing men, who used their positions as stepping-stones to greater influence, wielding their power with great effect against a weak government, and against peace and advancement, while sustaining a retrogressive unequality of classes. They sought to impose on the poorer people; using the Indian merely for their own purposes as a prey and tool, they deprived him of the benefits of a paternal cololonial régime, giving him in return only the empty title of citizen, for the privileges connected therewith were retained for themselves. The communal land system of the pueblos has operated against the formation of homes, with their lofty incentives, and fostered improvidence. The ownership of land in general, monopolized as it is by a small number, needs reform in order to promote the welfare of the people, and this can be effected sufficiently by a judicious imposition of taxes.[22]

[21] Yucatan, which once proved most turbulent and aimed at independence, has become reconciled, partly under the stress of Indian uprisings, partly by a division of the peninsula into two states. The secession of the northern states was frequently agitated by political leaders from the second decade of the independence, the title Sierra Gorda among others being considered, even during the last decade.

[22] For municipal regulations under different govts, see *Mex. Legis.*, 1852,

The 12 intencias and 3 provincias of the colonial days appeared in the constitution of 1824 as 19 states and 5 territories. Party triumphs assisted several to admission, and despite the loss of about half the soil to the northern republic, so far a comparatively useless border waste, the country now embraces 28 states and 2 territories.[23]

217–23; 1854, 204–36; 1855, 100–46, 440–1; *Mex., Col. Ley.*, i. 116–17; iv. 34–44, 56–60, 76, 285, 348–56; viii. 228–30; *Dublan y Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, vi. 385–99, 455, 563, 604; ix. 180–8; *Mex. Bol. Leg.*, 1863, 107–15. Also, with comments on mismanagement, *Paz, Ley Inst.; Sagazeta, Acus.*, 1–15; *Mex., Reg. Junta*, 1–12; *Mex. Ordenanzas Municip.*, 1843; *Mex. Ayunt.*, 1844, 1–72; *Berasueta al Síndico San Miguel*, 1–36; *Pap. Var.*, li. pt 3; lxxx. pt 20; lxxxiii. pts 1–3; lxxxiv. pt 10; cxlv. pt 1; clxxxiii. pt 2; *Mex., Col. Ley. Imp.*, vi. passim.

[23] The following alphabetical table supplies their respective areas, populations, and capitals, according to the latest statistics:

States.	Area in Sq. Leagues.	Population.	Capitals.
Aguascalientes	411	140,430	Aguascalientes.
Campeche	3,810	116,000	Campeche.
Chiapas	2,367	200,000	San Cristóbal de las Casas
Chihuahua	12,352	250,000	Chihuahua.
Coahuila	7,506	145,000	Saltillo.
Colima	552	65,827	Colima.
Durango	6,270	200,000	Durango.
Guanajuato	1,683	898,072	Guanajuato.
Guerrero	5,621	327,050	Tixtla.
Hidalgo	1,204	500,000	Pachuca.
Jalisco	5,777	1,012,117	Guadalajara.
Méjico	1,156	752,893	Toluca.
Michoacan	3,497	784,108	Morelia.
Morelos	262	150,000	Cuernavaca.
Nuevo Leon	3,486	223,017	Monterey.
Oajaca	4,953	754,468	Ojaca.
Puebla	1,773	784,470	Puebla.
Querétaro	473	192,317	Querétaro.
San Luis Potosí	4,056	550,000	San Luis Potosí.
Sinaloa	5,339	201,918	Culiacan.
Sonora	11,650	141,000	Hermosillo.
Tabasco	1,748	110,093	San Juan Bautista.
Tamaulipas	4,458	141,000	Ciudad Victoria.
Tlascala	239	153,269	Tlascala.
Vera Cruz	3,869	611,586	Vera Cruz.
Yucatan	8,160	500,000	Mérida.
Zacatecas	3,392	470,000	Zacatecas.
Valle de Méjico	68	400,000	Méjico.
Territories—			
Lower California	9,080	30,000	La Paz.
Tepic		121,742	Tepic.
		11,026,377	

Their constitution and form of government differ in many features from one another. Some have one chamber, others two; at times with a fixed number of representatives, at others with varied proportions and terms, and so with regard to number, length, and dates of the sessions. The gubernatorial term is mostly for four years, sometimes with a designated substitute; the secretaries of state are frequently only one or two in number, and the number of courts and judges vary.[24] Departments or districts, corresponding to counties, are ruled according to some constitutions by prefects appointed by and subject to the state government, elsewhere by jefes políticos elected by direct popular vote. In some states, every municipality has an ayuntamiento, or local board, composed of from two to twelve regidores, at the rate of about one to 1,000 inhabitants, with an alcalde or president, and one or two síndicos,[25] all elected usually every year. In other states, small villages have merely a municipal council with less legislative power. Ayuntamientos are also restricted to municipalities of not less than say 3,000 inhabitants, and in the smaller places rule lieutenants appointed by the government, and subprefects controlling partidos. Extraordinary measures and expenditures by ayuntamientos require state government approval.[26]

The limitation of suffrage can scarcely be considered

The federal district was raised into the state of the valley of Mexico in 1885, while the territory of Tepic was segregated from Jalisco in 1884. Morelos was made a state in 1864. *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, x. 570; *Peñafiel, Estad. Gen.*, num. i., passim; *Garcia Cubas, Atlas*, 9; *Id., Rep. Mex.*, 9–10; *Caballero, Prim. Alm.*, 221–78, passim. The limit for admission is now fixed at a population of 120,000, and approval is required from two thirds of congressmen and legislatures. During centralist rule, the states were reduced to departments, and so under Maximilian, when they were divided into 50. Names in *Gran, Almanaque*, 1867, 43; *Arrangoiz, Mej.*, iii. 274–6.

[24] Certain states, like Chiapas, have sought to uphold the Roman catholic as the state religion; others, like Puebla, to exclude illiterate persons from citizenship after a certain period.

[25] These terms have been explained in other volumes of the work. See index.

[26] The prefect system, without legislative power, savors of centralist times, when ayuntamientos were limited to large towns, often with justices of the peace as the sole rulers in minor places.

a hardship, in view of the indifference manifested toward exercising the privilege. To assume that one tenth of the qualified voters participated in the most popular of late presidential elections is a liberal estimate; hence the ease with which officials can influence or decide the result, especially as regulations for the polls and ballots are little observed or understood by the great mass of Indian and cognate castes.

The Mexican system of elections is divided into primaries and secondaries. According to the organic law of 1857, each governor of a state divides his political territory into electoral districts containing 40,000 inhabitants each,[27] and designates the town where the electoral junta is to assemble. The municipalities in each district next divide their jurisdictions into sections containing 500 inhabitants each, and one elector for each section is chosen by popular vote. These are the primary elections. On an appointed day, the electors chosen met at the town selected by the governor, and having appointed a president, two examiners and counters of votes, and a secretary, these constitute a junta electoral, or electoral college. The votes having been counted, the junta's first duty is to pronounce upon the legality or illegality of the elections in the case of each member. For this purpose, a committee is appointed to examine the credentials with which the electors are furnished by the officers of the primaries. Its report is submitted to the junta, which approves or disapproves of the findings by taking a general vote on each. The junta then proceeds on the second Sunday in July to the election of one deputy to the general congress, and one suplente.[28] On the following day the elections of the presidents of the republic and of the supreme court take place; and on the third day those of the magistrates of the

[27] A fractional portion containing over 20,000 inhabitants forms a district nevertheless; when less than that number, it is united with the nearest district.

[28] A candidate for congress must be a citizen of the state in which the district which he wishes to represent lies, and a layman of 25 years of age.

supreme court. These are the secondary elections. The returns are sent to the general congress, which, having erected itself into an electoral college, declares who have been elected. The primary elections are held on the last Sunday in June, and the secondaries commence on the second Sunday in July of each election year.[29]

The administration of justice has ever been in a sad condition, owing to frequent change of constitutions and administrations, with consequent variations in the judicial system, and of judges, who were at one time perpetual, at another appointed by dictatorial authority or elected for brief terms, and with the selection of persons often worthless in character or unacquainted with law. With none to check or hold them responsible midst the shifting of power, they fell more readily into the general corruption, until justice became a mockery, and at the free disposal of the bidder or the bully. Since the reign of the new constitution greater order has prevailed.[30]

The laws are based on those established during the colonial period,[31] modified to suit republican and progressive times, largely after the Code Napoléon, and published in a series of special collections;[32] but the

[29] Copy of the electoral organic law in *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, viii. 409–18. By referring to the population column in the preceding statistical table, an approximate idea will be arrived at of the number of deputies sent to congress by each state. For earlier election rules, see *Hernandez y Dávalos, Col.*, ii. 307–8; *Guerra, Rev.*, p. xl.–iii.; *Mex., Col. Dec. y Ord.*, 55, 85; *Mex., Col. Ley.*, 1841, 110–11; *Dublan y Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, iii. et seq.; *Mex., Ley. Elect.*, 1848, 1–34. Comments on neglect and fraud in *Clarke's Mex.*, MS., 30–2; *Diaz' Miscel.*, No. 56; *Pap. Var.*, lxxxviii. pt 2. There have been property limits to the exercise of franchise, of from $100 to $200.

[30] There have been marked reforms by Diaz. Instance the report in his *Informe*, 1880, 16–17, and the suppression of highway robbery and crime generally, as elsewhere shown.

[31] Which date back to the first recorded code, *El Fuero Juzgo* of about 690, developed in the *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso the Wise, and the *Recopilaciones*, and extended with special reference to the colonies in the *Recopilacion de Indias*, together with special *ordenanzos* and *decretos*, as shown in *Mex. Law*, MS., 1 et seq., and as explained in previous volumes of this work.

[32] As Galvan's, which extends to 1829 and even beyond, Arrillaga's till 1837 and partly later, Lara's, Navarro's, the several sets issued during the reform war, during th French and imperial periods, besides odd publications, and the compilation of Dublan and Lozano, which has nearly reached our decade.

confusion is great, and a revised code is needed to eliminate the mass of odd, feudal, and mediæval hasty and contradictory enactments. Those concerning the administration of justice rest on the decree of October 9, 1812, though subjected to many changes, especially after 1857. The special privileges under the fuero tribunals of the clergy, army, and guilds are abolished yet the custom thus inculcated has done some good in promoting arbitration methods. There is no imprisonment for civil debt, and no detention as prisoner beyond three days, without justifiable proofs, to which end the *amparo* law[33] may be invoked; yet numbers languish in waiting for delayed trials. Counsel is provided for those in need thereof. Criminal cases are limited to three instances, and a defective jury system extends only to certain cases.[34] State codes differ greatly.

The present form of tribunals does not vary much from that ordained by the constitution of 1824. There are three grades of federal courts, suprem , circuit, and district, with original jurisdiction in affairs of state, and as courts of appeal or final instance. The eleven supreme judges are elected for six years [35] There are eight circuit courts,[36] and one district court

All of them have been frequently quoted in my pages generally as *Mex., Col. Ley.* and *Col. Legis.* Several special abridged sets have been issued in the United States by Halleck, Hamilton, Hall, and others, the latter appearing at S. F. in 1885 with an 840-page volume. The growing intercourse will bring forth more. Besides codes of procedure, as by Chavez, the different laws appear with collections of enactments, and *códigos.* Note allusions to reformed issues, in *Diar. Debates,* Cong. 6, i 648–57; ii. 51, 179–86; *Mex., Mem. Just.,* for different years. *Código Civil Imp.,* 1–46, is a specimen of Maximilian's efforts.

[33] Introducing writ of protection and suspension of protested acts, of greater scope than the habeas corpus act.

[34] It was not established until some time after the federal constitution, and met with a temporary check in the sixth decade. For decrees concerning, see *Rivera, Hist. Jal.,* iv. 690–1; *Dublan y Lozano, Leg. Mex.,* x. 525, 537–43, 658–65; *Mex., Mem. Just.,* 1869, 5, 72–9; *S. Luis Pot., Jurados,* 1–9. Adverse comments, in *Chavez, Cod. Proced. Penal,* 8; *Mc clure, Opinions,* i. 413. It was extended to the army.

[35] In the same manner as the president. Their presiding judge being temporary successor to the chief magistrate. The court is divided into three salas, or halls, the first with five judges. Four supernumeraries, one fiscal, and one procurador general are attached.

[36] Each covering two or more states, the three northern and that of Mérida having a wide circuit.

or each state, except two, which have more; appeals go from these to the other two courts. The federal district and Lower California have special federal courts. Tribunals of common jurisdiction, not counting the supreme court of the nation, are of three grades, superior tribunals in the capitals of states and territories, courts of first instance, and the courts of local judges, including alcaldes, justices of the peace, and conciliadores or inferior justices. The first vary in composition, with usually three salas, five elected judges, one fiscal, and one agent. The second correspond very nearly to prefect districts, as may be found necessary;[37] they consider appeals, and among other procedures hold verbal trials for cases involving amounts between $100 and $300. Amounts below this pertain to the local judges, elected or appointed.[38]

The legal profession is the favorite in Mexico, as shown by the number of law students;[39] but with the departed strictness of Spanish times, a host of inefficient men crept in to help the corrupt and irresponsible judges in distorting still further the defective laws, and the irregular mode of procedure, too often conducted in secret, and with interminable pro-

[37] When two or more in number, the judges divide the civil and criminal jurisdiction exclusively. In some places they are elected, in others appointed.

[38] According to the laws of the state. Even the jueces menores, or inferior justices, must have practised as lawyers for four years. Elected alcaldes have their legal advisers. Local judges take cognizance also in written procedures involving amounts below $300. Further details in *Mex. Laws*, MS., et seq; *Chavez, Cod.*, i.–iii.; *Bárcena, Foro, Id., Manual de Practica; Pallares, Poder Judicial.* For earlier tribunal regulations and procedures, see *Decreto Cortés Tribunales*, 1–12; *Mex., Col. Dec. y Ord.*, 35–58, 121–30, 165; *Cortés, Diario*, viii. 40; *Mex., Col. Ley.*, i. 11–14, 156–76, 234–6, 351–2, 619–20; *Id., y Dec.*, 1841, 65–6, 97–109; *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1827–37, passim; *Archivo Mex.*, ii. 739, etc.; *Mex. Legis.*, 1851, 317–29, etc.; *Mex., Col. Ley. Imp.*, vii., passim. Debate on criminal law of procedure, in *Diar. Debates*, i. 119–545, 29; *Mex., Mem. Just.*, 1849, 1–23; 1868, 41–55; 1876–7, 3–16; 1878–81, pt 1. et seq. and docs.; *Bustamante, Gabinete Mex.*, iii. MS., i. 58–9, 215; *Buenostro, Hist. Prim. y Sec. Cong.*, nos. 48–75; *Mex., Dictamen. Just.*, 3–27; *Ramirez, Col. Dec.*, 333, etc. Foreign comments, in *Mayer, Mex. Aztec*, i. 147–50; *Fossey Mex.*, 262–4; *Domenech, Hist. Mex.*, iii. 250–3. Peculiar instances and complaints. *Alaman, Conducta*, 1–20; *Contest.*, 1–15; *Pap. Var.*, lxxiii. pts 10–11; *Angulo, Import. Cuest.*, 4; *Bustamante, Ensayo*, 118–34. For state rules, see *S. Luis Pot., Arreglo Trib.*, 1–29; *Id., Arancel*, 1–48.

[39] The academy of colonial times still lives, *Hernandez y Dávalos, Col. Doc.*, v. 218–38, and the fraternity have a strong organization. For noted names, see *Gagern, Apel.*, 64–75; *Sosa, Biog.*, passim; *Pap. Var.*, cviii., pt i. 64; *D. Miguel, Mex.*, i. 180–7. Notarial duties. *Derecho*, ii. 326–44.

traction, especially in civil suits. This state of affairs has been greatly fostered by national indolence and excessive good-nature, which hold citizens from aiding in the arrest or prosecution of criminals. Fear of vengeance affect both judges and witnesses. This leniency has fostered crime, for which inducements may be found in race feeling and caste distinctions, with the degraded condition of many classes; in the pernicious church absolutions; in the civil wars and official corruption which encouraged smuggling and gave impulse to what the Spanish government termed an innate propensity for highway robbery; and in the rooted inclination for gambling. The prevalence of robbery has been proclaimed by all travellers. Even Mexicans at times became roused to protest, and to impel the government to spasmodic steps.[40]

President Diaz recognized the need for swift and strict justice, and his efforts have procured for the country a security never before attained. The former general use of arms, and employment of combinations and escorts for even short journeys, are fast disappearing. The decrease of crime is immense, greater than indicated by statistics of convictions, which with early administrations formed a mere percentage.[41] This has

[40] The reëstablishment was several times urged of the colonial acordada, or vigilance tribunal. *Bustamante, Diar.*, MS., xlv. 3–11. For other measures, see *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1849–50, 134; *Mex., Col. Ley.*, 1848, 176–8; *Id.*, 1863–67, 261–3; *Dublan y Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, viii. 311–19; *Diar. Debates*, Cong. 6, iv. 310–12.

[41] The increasing application of justice, and its effect on the diminution of crime, will be apparent from the following statistics: During the first nine months of 1875, the total number of persons taken to the city prison, including 218 dead, killed by wounds or accident, was 33,368, of whom 32,819 were at once dismissed or released after short detention; 212 were sentenced; and the cases of 119 were still pending. During the same period, the corresponding figures for the national prison at Me ico, the dead being 201, were 14,325, 13,148, 604, and 372. *Mex., Mem. Ofic. Mayor Gob.*, 1875, 129–31, Doc. 37 and 38. In the first six months of 1881, the number of persons imprisoned in the federal district was 7,605. In addition, 583 wounded by design or accident were conveyed thither, and 178 dead bodies. The charges against 1,679 were dismissed, and 178 were released after different terms of imprisonment, thus showing the apparent number of criminals to be 5,748. During the period from Sept. 15, 1880, to Aug. 30, 1881, 15,675 arrests were made in the same district, the cases of 8,047 being dismissed. Proceedings were instituted against 9,109, and 4,060 sentences passed. The number of persons arrested for minor offences was 3,456, and for grave crimes 681, on 7 of whom the death sentence was passed. *Mex., Mem. Justicia*, 1881, Doc. 101 and 102.

been accomplished partly by the tribunal reforms already noticed, together with an improved penitentiary system,[42] and a more unflinching enforcement of penalty, especially upon highway robbers, whom local judges and military commanders were instructed to shoot on sight or execute without delay. At the same time a more judicious gradation of punishments was recommended to the courts, and the intention is to speedily abolish executions.[43] No confiscation, lash, or mutilation is permitted.[44] The police force has been greatly improved,[45] and the admirable security of the country roads is mainly due to the rural guard,[46] a select body of men, assisted by converted robbers, on the principle of setting a thief to catch a thief.

The republic has not stood on the best footing with foreign powers, owing to the anarchic state of affairs, and her disregard for obligations and international usages. At first Europe held aloof out of respect for Spain, Colombia being the first to establish official relations, although no intimacy resulted. Indeed, Mexico was a main cause for the failure of the pro-

[42] Slowly being adopted. It was advocated by Bustamante, *Ensayo*, 184–6, and was partly introduced at Guanajuato during the last decade. *Guan., Mem. Gob.*, 1873, 33–9; *Mex., Mem. Gob.*, 1873, 177–81. Report on new European system for adoption. *Bárcena, Estud. Cres.* 306; *Medina, Projecto Penit nc.* 1–186; Diaz' Informe Guadalajara has so far the most complete system. *Cal., Mem. Ejec.*, 1875–9, 1–44. See also *S. Luis Pot., Penitenc.*, 1–1 . Lenient treatment of prisoners is still excessive.

[43] As expressed already in art. 23 of the constitution, which prohibits them for political offences, etc. For efforts in states to that end see *Tovar Hist. Parl.*, iii. 189 387, 394, 456, 536, et seq.; *Diar. Debates*, Co . 5, iii. 151–2 0, passim, 707; *Monitor*, Ju e 10, Nov. 25, 1869; *Estrella ccid.* Sept. 2, 1870. It has been the custom to enroll criminals in the army s recommended even by law. *Colima, Leyes*, no. 35.

[44] According to the constitution. The administrative power can impose only a correction not exceeding a month's imprisonment or a fine of $500.

[45] They carry lanterns, which, placed in the middle of the street, often forms the only illumination. Electric lights are being introduced. Regulations of the force. *Chavez, Cod. Penal*, 19–24; *Mex., Mem. Gob.*, 1873, 9–85, and later dates; *Policia, Regla.*, 1–8.

[46] 'Al principio esta guardia era compuesta de bandidos que se arrepentian.' *Diaz, Biog.*, MS., 485. Its beginning lies in Juarez decree of 1857, *Mex., Ley. Guardia Seguridad*, 1–27, which lacked due enforcement. Report on later efficient steps. *Mex., Mem. Gob.*, 1877–8 29–31 and later dates. The police signal and assist at fires. Regular fire departments are forming, the neglect thereof so far being due to the rarity of large fires owing to the general use of adobe and stone for buildings. *Groso*, MS., 2–3.

ject to form an Hispano-American confederacy for defence, moved as she was by jealousy of Bolivar's supremacy; subsequently came indifference. England effected a commercial treaty in 1826, which served as a model for others, as Prussia and other German states, Holland, Denmark, Switzerland, Austria, the United States, and Italy, several of them advantageously revised by Diaz.[47] The neighboring northern republic was looked upon as model and ally with the achievement of independence, but the incidents of 1846–8 changed admiration to suspicion; yet the effective attitude of the United States during the French intervention should not be forgotten, and with rapidly growing trade and intercourse intimate connections will follow.

The strained relations with several powers at different times, and the grasping disposition of foreign residents, have not promoted the best of feelings toward the latter, and they have consequently suffered much annoyance and loss, although indemnity has, as a rule, been exacted for the latter. Naturalization, which according to the constitution can be acquired by

[47] In 1883 diplomatic relations were maintained with the U. S., Cent. Am., France, Germany, Belgium, Spain, and Italy. Relations with Eng. were interrupted for many years in consequence of the attitude of Gt Britain during the French intervention. In 1884 they were partially renewed, without either side making advances toward reconciliation, by the arrival in the capital of Spencer St John on a mission connected with British claims. In the following year this man was formally recognized by the Mexican government, and diplomatic relations renewed. There are resident in the Mexican capital, besides representatives of the above-mentioned nations—Cent. Am. excepted—envoys extraordinary from Guatamala, Salvador, and Honduras. Mexican consul and consular agents reside in most of the principal cities and ports of the following countries: the U. S., Bolivia, Ecuador, U. S. of Colombia, U. S. of Venezuela, Costa Rica, and Honduras, in America; in Europe, Gt Britain, Germany, France, Denmark, Belgium, Spain, Italy, Portugal, and Switzerland. There is also a consul at Honolulu. All the above-named countries, except the Hawaiian Islands, have consular representation in Mexico, and also Holland, Norway and Sweeden, the Argentine Republic, and Chile. *Mex., Mem. Rel. Ext.*, 1881, 93–103; *Diaz, Miscel.*, no. 17, p. 3; *St John, Gt Britain and Mex.*, MS. Few consuls received regular pay, yet several enjoyed large fees. Diaz reorganized the service, and retained enough of the fees to cover nearly the entire cost of foreign agents. Preceding rules, in *Derecho Intern.*, iii. 107–99, 504–22; *Mex. Legis.*, 1856, 45–8; *Arch. Mex.*, ii. 392–4; *Mex., Col. Ley. Imp.*, ii. 125 et seq.; *Mex., Regla. Consular*, 1871, 1–23; *Pap. Var.*, xccix. pt ii. Mexicans possess fine diplomatic instincts, and their ministers are, as a rule, men of high culture, though not always well sustained.

merely holding real estate or having Mexican children, has until lately been little sought for, owing to the prevalent disorder and insecurity. Foreigners found themselves safer under their own flag, which protected them against seizures, arbitrary contributions, and other ills afflicting citizens. Residents can now enjoy unmolested their property, though subject to restriction on land holdings within a certain range of coasts and borders, and transients can move freely without passports.[48]

The reasons that discouraged naturalization operated also against colonization, to which must be added intolerance and jealousy of foreigners, manifested in a too narrow-minded form by early legislators in seeking only catholic settlers, and in limiting the extent and ownership of land.[49] The result was the failure of the few attempts made,[50] the military colonies, as on the

[48] Landed property cannot be held by persons who reside abroad, or are absent for over two years. Formerly, restrictions were more severe with regard to estate and trade privileges, and foreigners had to obtain annually a letter of security, against a fee of $4, besides a permit to carry weapons, in order to be able to claim the derecho de estrangería; yet their real protectors or derecho lay with the ministers, if they had any; and these found it necessary to exercise their power energetically, as events indicate, in a manner that often assisted a weak government. Even Mexicans found it prudent to place capital under foreign names and firms. The levy of forced contributions was nevertheless long applied to foreign residents, on the plea that they must share in the cost of protecting their property. For number and condition, see the later chapter on society. The intensity of feeling, which in 1828 and following years led to the expulsion of Spaniards, was hurtful to industries. Decrees in *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1828, 35–204; 1829, 47–195, passim. Lament, in *Zamacois, Hist. Mex.*, vi. 706–13. Earlier naturalization was more troublesome. See *Dublan y Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, v. 161.

[49] It was feared that a colony, if allowed to grow strong, might prove a thorn by objecting to arbitrary and unjust interference, and aim at independence, or bring foreign intervention. The ownership of land was also in dispute between the states and general govt. For earlier laws on colonization, see *Cortés, Diar.*, x. 9–11; *Mex., Mem. Sec. Estado*, 1823, 52–3, and later dates, under fomento, finance, and interior ministries; *Coloniz. Regla.*, 1846, 1–22; *Rockwell's Span. Law*, 630; *Mex., Proyect. Colon.*, 1849, 1–12; *Pap. Var.*, liv. pt 8, cxiv. pt 5; *Mex. Legis.*, 1856, 60–1; *Arch. Mex., Col. Ley.*, iii. 108. Comments on narrow policy, in *Rosa, Ensayo*, 25 et seq.; *Zavala, Rev.*, ii. 129–30; *Ortiz, Espos., Sartorius, Import. Mex.*, 34–7; *Bustamante, Mem. Hist.*, MS., v. 250; *Coloniz. Progreso*, 1848, 1–40.

[50] Notably by the French on the Goazacoalco, in 1830–1, and at Nautla in 1832–35. *Fossey, Mex.*, 4–62, passim, 318. The blame is laid on the managers by *Mex., Mem. Rel.*, 1832, 13. Grants made to Baring and others by one govt were annulled by another. Such irregularities were enough to deter settlers. On other colonies, see *Becher's Mex.*, 259; *Drake's Grants*, 1–70; *Rosa, Ensayo*, 30–2; *Ratzel, Mex.*, 373–80.

northern border, alone managing to keep alive with the help of government. Mexicans are not good colonists.[51] Later statesmen have recognized the need for emigrants to develop neglected resources and establish new industries, which should open fresh avenues for employment, and set at the same time a practical and striking example to Mexicans in methods and in manner of life, and stimulating them by success to energetic imitation. With his usual energy and foresight President Diaz began to take steps, partly for introducing settlers, but mainly to insure peace and security, and prepare wise enactments which should attract self-assisted immigrants as the most desirable class. In 1883 a new colonization law was promulgated, which facilitated the acquisition of land by gift or purchase, defined regulations, offered liberal exemptions, permitted the government to grant aid toward passage and sustenance, and for planting settlements.[52] The result has been a rapidly growing influx from the United States, Italy, and other countries.[53]

From January 12, 1878, to December 6, 1882, the principal contracts entered into were no less than nine-

[51] On this subject, see *Hist. Mex.*, v., this series, and vol. vi., chapter on army reorganization.

[52] Free grants to foreigners should not exceed 100 hectares. Not over 2,500 hectares could be sold to one person, but payment by engineers' valuations might be extended over ten years, with exemption during that period from military service, from taxes, save municipal, from import duty on necessaries. By planting trees, further exemption could be obtained. Absence for six months forfeited free grants. Lots could be obtained by founders of new towns by building thereon. Companies might arrange for extended terms of exemption, payment, etc., and retain one third of the land granted. Disputes must be settled by Mexican tribunals alone. Private land-holders could introduce settlers. Islands, border, and coast lands were subject to nationality restrictions. The price for government lands, as fixed in 1878, varied from 6 cents the hectare in sterile Lower Cal. to $2.50 in the federal district, the average in the border states being from 12 to 18 cents, and in the settled central provinces from $1 to $2. *Hamilton's Law*, 148. The very common tract of one sitio de ganado mayor was a square league, 5,000 varas square, equal to 1,755 hectares, or 4,428 acres. Further rules in *Hall's Mex. Laws*, 98–163. For later efforts to promote immigration, and comments, *Mex., Mem. Fomento*, 1873–85, passim; *Diar. Debates*, Cong. 5, iii. 395–9; Cong. 10, ii. 451–3; *Derecho Intern.*, iii. 1173–4; *Busto, Estad. Mex.*, ii. pt v., 365–70. An excellent writer on this and similar progress topics is Manero, in his *Doc. Interes*, 60–111, passim.

[53] Companies received a bonus of about $25 a head for desirable families.

teen in number, of which the only really successful ones were the Italian settlements established in Vera Cruz, Puebla, Morelos, San Luis Potosí, and in the neighborhood of the capital. In these states, the government purchased lands to the extent of 22,458 hectares at a cost of $169,988.[54] During the years 1883 to 1885, numerous other colonization contracts were made,[55] the prospects of the success of which projects will be greatly enhanced by the rapid progress that is being made by Mexico. The government is desirous for the immigration of foreigners, and the policy is to infuse into a colony a certain proportion of Mexican element for the improvement of the natives in industrial occupations by contact with other races. With

[54] Other lands were also acquired on the isthmus of Tehuantepec. in Coahuila, Guerrero, and on the island of Tiburon, to the value of $1,628,178, of which sum $1,355,331 were paid for lands in Coahuila. *Mex., Mem. Sec. Fomento*, 1884, i., 5–8. The first Italian colony arrived Oct. 19, 1881, and consisted of 84 families, numbering 423 persons. They arrived at Huatusco on Nov. 3d of the same year. The name given to the settlement was the Manuel Gonzalez colony. In Jan. 1882, 53 families, numbering 193 persons, and 85 Mexican settlers, were established in Morelos. They were shortly after increased by 404 more Italians and 36 Mexicans. The name given to the colony was that of Porfirio Diaz. The third Italian colony established was on the hacienda de Mazatepec, Puebla, in April, 1882, and comprised 376 Italians and 24 Mexicans. It was called the Carlos Pacheco colony. The San Luis Potosí colony was established at Ojo de Leon in May, consisted of 410 persons, and was named after Diez Gutierrez. The last arrival of Italian colonists took place Sept. 25, 1882, to the number of 656, who were thus distributed: 424 became settlers on the haciendas of Chipiloc and Tenamaxtla in Puebla, 219 went to Huatusco, Vera Cruz, and 13 to the Mexican capital, where a small model colony was established on the lands of Aldama and Natívitas adjoining the agricultural school. It consisted of 26 families, comprising 124 persons, Italian immigrants chosen for their superior qualities. The settlement at Chipiloc was called the Fernandez Leal colony. In April 1878, an attempt was made to found a Mexican colony at Suchil, Tehuantepec, and 170 settlers were sent thither. There being no foreign element among them, the enterprise failed. *Id.*, i. 10–38. See also *Diario Ofic.*, Mayo 8, 16, Oct. 11, 12, 1878; Apr. 28, 1879; Mayo 27, Oct. 19, Nov. 3, 1881; Enero 24, Mar. 21, Jul. 14, Sep. 12, 1882; *Bol. of Gob. B. Cal.*, Jul. 30, 1882, p. 2–3; *Voz de Mex.*, Ag. 25, 1882; *Puebla, Mensaje Gob.*, 18–9.

[55] Among which may be mentioned those with Verdier, Daniel Levy, Proceros, José Iglesias & Co., Ramon Fernandez & Co., Ign. Franchi de Alfaro & Co., Mendez & Co., Quillemot & Co., Sierra and Zetina, and Ibarra & Co. *Diario Ofic.*, Enero 30, Feb. 1, Mar. 2, 1883; En. 5, Mar. 7, 10, 14, 26, Ag. 18, Nov. 19, 1884; *Mex. Finan.*, June 13, July 4, 1885, pp. 166, 213. Large contracts were made with Rafael Portas Martinez to establish settlements in Champoton, Yucatan, with immigrants from the Canaries. No less than 1,000 families were expected to arrive from those islands, but it does not appear that the project met with any success. *Mex., Mem. Sec. Fomento*, i. 6, *Voz de Mex.*, Ag. 25, 1882; *Diario Ofic.*, Mar. 14, 15, 1883.

the loss of Texas in her memory, and the bitter feelings engendered thereby, citizens of the United States were for a long time excluded from becoming colonization immigrants; nor is it asserting too much to say that settlers of any other nationality are preferred to the present day.[56]

Mexico thinks she wants population, but she will get enough in time without the aid of immigration and colonization societies; at all events, she can do better with her money than by paying the passage to her shores of European paupers.

If a large and superior foreign population flocks in, the native Mexicans will be overwhelmed, thrust aside, to some extent absorbed, and for the rest extirpated.

Mexico then wants no more people from abroad in her cities or in her mines; these can take care of themselves. If she could have some of the right kind of instructors in her agricultural districts, if those who enter from abroad come as teachers in the several arts and industries, rather than as usurpers of the soil, many of the present inhabitants will be educated and improved, and thus, generation after generation, the children even of the lowest would grow in enlightenment and improved physical condition.

A history of the revenue department during colonial times down to the breaking out of the revolutionary war has been briefly given elsewhere. In the last fifty years the receipts increased from less than $7,000,000 to more than $20,000,000. From that time, owing to the paralyzation of all industries, the ordinary resources materially declined,[57] while the expenditures, under those peculiar circumstances, necessarily increased.[58] The government had to resort to

[56] This at any rate was Gen. Frisbie's opinion in 1884. *Reminis.*, MS., 30.

[57] In 1819 the revenue was $10,212,373; in 1820, $10,743,574. *Liceaga, Adic. y Rectif.*, 532.

[58] According to Viceroy Calleja, in April 1813, the government already owed $30,000,000; the decrease of the receipts was $260,000 monthly, and all ordinary, and some of the extraordinary, resources were exhausted. *Gaceta, Mex.*, 1813, iv. 422.

forced loans, and extraordinary financiering devices,[59] in order to meet the most pressing demands of the moment. All persons and corporations were in turn compelled to contribute.[60] Among other auxiliary devices, a house-tax and a war-tax were established.[61]

During the earlier years of the revolution, the revenue and expenditures were enormous; but toward the close of the war, the combined ordinary and extraordinary sources of supplies declined to less than one third of their original productiveness,[62] while the government debt had been more than doubled; and when the last viceroy left the shores of Mexico, the liabilities of the treasury exceeded $75,000,000.[63]

After Mexico became independent, the rulers went to extremes in their liberality, and by inconsiderate reduction of duties and taxes, as well as by opening too suddenly the avenues of commercial enterprise, the government soon found that the receipts of the exchequer did not correspond with the ill-judged estimates. Iturbide restored in his time some of the taxes which had been abolished, and issued paper money, which only obtained a partial circulation by the sacrifice of two thirds of its nominal value.[64] After

[59] In Jan. 1812, $2,000,000 was demanded, which sum was delivered in gold and silver plate to be coined. In 1814 $500,000 was exacted with threats, of which $300,000 was collected from the merchant class. Repayment of the principal, or even interest, on those loans was rarely possible. *Alaman, Hist. Mej.*, iv. 215–16; *Gaceta, Mex.*, 1812, iii. 116–18, 124–5; 1820, xi. 224–5.

[60] The contributions forced upon the capital alone during the war amounted to $12,600,000. *Méx., Mem. Min. Hac.*, 1823, 65.

[61] Ten per cent on the rents of all dwelling-houses, one half paid by the owners, and the other by the tenants. This must have yielded largely, and was continued in force until the independence. Private carriages, hired vehicles, and riding-horses were also taxed. A duty was also imposed on mescal. *Dispos. Var.*, ii. 26–30; *Pinart's Coll.*, i. print 21; *Cedulario*, MS., iv. 34; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, x. 512. It is not possible to furnish exact financial statistics for this period, as the govt archives were plundered to conceal former robberies. *Ward's Mex. in 1827*, i. 365.

[62] Receipts for 1813 were $45,072,804; expenditures, $45,015,895. It is clear that enormous sums were raised by loans. *Gaceta, Mex.*, 1814, v. 34–5. In 1820 the revenue from all sources only reached $14,405,574; the expenditures being $14,631,941. *Méx., Mem. Min. Hac.*, 1844, 7.

[63] As ascertained by the Junta de Crédito Público. *Id.*, 1848, 22–7; *Id.*, 1870, 75–6.

[64] The republican govt subsequently redeemed this paper. *Id.*, 72–3.

his fall, the republican government found itself in dire strait, and was obliged to resort to extraordinary means, temporarily more oppressive than the former method employed by the viceroys during the last war. All resources had greatly diminished. Heavy loans had to be raised by mortgaging public property. To make matters worse, corruption prevailed generally in the revenue departments.[65] No ordinary measures or threats awakened the inferior officers from their apathy. The government changed the system. In September 1824, comisarios generales were appointed to supersede the former intendentes; and in November of the same year, the constituent congress thoroughly reorganized the revenue department, establishing a system which may be deemed the most complete hitherto adopted since the independence. This remark applies only to the period down to 1870. By the new organization, the contadurías generales, or auditing offices, connected with the different branch departments of the service, were abolished, as well as the local direction of the latter. A treasury-general of the federation was organized, and also a comisaría central de guerra y marina, subject to the former, whose duties consisted in collecting data for making up the general accounts of the army and navy. Lastly, a contaduría mayor, or chief auditor's office, was created. All offices connected with the revenue had to send their original accounts to the treasury-general. This system effectually checked the wide-prevailing corruption that existed. But the financial situation was otherwise not improved. Taxes and export dues were remitted without devising a sound method of compensation. But the import duties were successively doubled and tripled, a short-sighted policy which directly worked in favor of smuggling and illicit trade, while the reduction of the export dues on the

[65] In 1823 the deficit was $3,000,000, a 'terrible langosta,' was the term Minister Arrillaga applied to the alcabalas. *Id.*, 75.

precious metals to three per cent had caused immense amounts of treasure to leave the country.[66]

The first foreign loan was contracted with Goldschmidt in 1823 for the sum of £3,200,000, which represented $16,000,000, and in the following year another for a similar sum was concluded with Barclay, Herring, Richardson, and Company. The loss on these loans was enormous.[67] At the end of December 1841, the indebtedness for the principal, with arrears of interest and unpaid dividends, amounted to $49,277,557. Having found it impossible to meet the liabilities agreed upon, an understanding was arrived at with the London bond-holders, which was ratified on the 1st of June, 1839, to fund the whole debt, and new bonds were then issued.[68] Nevertheless, the same difficulties existed in the future, and Mexico was unable to pay the dividends with punctuality, to say nothing of the redemption of her bonds; and the amount of her foreign indebtedness increased rapidly by the accumulation of arrears. Under another adjustment, made in 1850 with the bond-holders, Mexico recognized £10,241,650, and the interest was reduced from five per cent to three per cent.[69] For the payment of the new stock, a considerable portion of the revenue from customs was pledged.[70] For a

[66] The result was the adoption of endless changes and modifications, which disturbed business without doing the treasury any benefit.

[67] Out of the $32,000,000, the Mexican govt only received $11,197,868. The latter lost $2,244,542 by the failure of Barclay, Herring, Richardson, and Company. *Alaman, Liquid. Gen. Denda Exter.*, 92–3.

[68] The new bonds were made payable on October 1, 1866, and on October 1, 1876, at 5 and 6 per cent interest, for the payment of which one sixth of the customs at Vera Cruz and Santa Anna de Tamaulipas was set apart. And for greater security 100,000,000 acres of land in the Californias, Chihuahua, New Mexico, Sonora, and Texas were hypothecated. The lands could be purchased with the bonds, but no one cared to buy lands in Mexico. *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1839, 125–27; *Rosa, Ensayo*, 33.

[69] The bond-holders agreed to this on Mexico giving them a draft for $2,500,000 on the indemnity due by the U. S. The arrears of dividends were considered as paid up. The bond-holders sacrificed nearly $27,000,000. By a previous compromise in 1846, they sacrificed $18,500,000. *Mexican National Debt*, 6.

[70] Twenty-five per cent of the import duties of the maritime and frontier custom-houses, 75 per cent of the export duties in the ports of the Pacific, and 5 per cent of those on the gulf of Mexico. For the first six years the

few years, financial matters appear to have gone more smoothly, but from 1858 to 1862 dividends were again delinquent, and bonds remained unredeemed. The French intervention was the ultimate result.

Maximilian, before occupying a throne in Mexico, contracted enormous debts in Europe. During his ephemeral game at king-craft supported by foreign bayonets, he augmented the liabilities of the nation to $187,000,000. At the end of 1866 the liability of the empire was over $200,000,000. It is not strange that on his downfall Mexico would not recognize the debts contracted by him in Europe.[71] In October 1880, the total public debt was $144,953,785, of which $40,241,215 represented the internal debt, and $104,712,570 the foreign one.[72] There was, besides, a very large floating indebtedness.

To enter into details of the changes and counter-changes which have been made by successive ministers who have directed the financial policy of the federal government, in the innumerable vicissitudes through which the Mexican nation has passed during this century, would require a volume, and the result would be interesting only to the financier. But one fact stands, that whether Mexico had a foreign war, or indulged in the pastime of intestine strife, the balance-sheet in the treasurer's office always exhibited an increase in the national debt.

The Texan war, followed by that with the United

surplus of these assignments, where there was any, was applied to form a sinking fund. When this delay had expired, the Mexican govt undertook to remit annually $250,000 to London. For fuller particulars, see *Mex., Piezas Justific. Denda Exter.*, passim; *Murphy, Mem. Denda Exter.*, passim. On the financial condition of the republic to July 1850, see *Payno, Expos. Hac.*, 1850, 1–128.

[71] When friendly relations were resumed with France, it was expressly understood that the latter should press no claim of the past debt against Mexico. England somewhat later renewed friendly intercourse, and negotiations were opened toward effecting some arrangement in favor of the British bond-holders.

[72] Due Eng. creditors, $89,252,360, including arrears of interest since 1850. There were $15,460,210 due to English, Spaniards, and Americans. *Mex., Mem. Min. Hac.*, 1880 á 1881, 155–6. No definitive arrangement about the English debt had been made to the end of 1885, nor has it since. *Mex., Informe Sec. Hac.*, 1885, 3–4.

States, the invasion by the French, and the ensuing struggle for existence as a nation, sank the republic more deeply in liabilities. But the national vitality is great, as evidenced in the increase of revenue from legitimate sources.[73] The receipts for the five fiscal years 1869 to 1874 were $78,636,331, averaging $15,727,266 yearly, and those of the years 1874 to 1879 were $90,856,712, or an average of $18,171,342 a year. In 1879–80, the revenue was $21,124,037,[74] and in 1880–1, $21,329,912; of which sum $14,324,676 represented the receipts from customs, $3,411,498 from stamps, and the rest from several other sources. The expenditures for the year had been estimated at $24,216,518, but they exceeded that sum in $2,983,424.

Mexico was experiencing a financial crisis in 1884–5. The expenditures authorized by congress amounted to $38,903,353, whereas the revenue was not expected to reach even $27,000,000.[75] The prospects for 1885–6 were still less reassuring. The government, being convinced that sixty per cent of the probable receipts would not cover the liabilities of the floating debt which had been in course of payment, clearly saw the necessity of introducing a great economy in the expenses, and of at once arranging and consolidating the national debt. In order to effect this, on the 22d of June, 1885, laws were passed to put off the payment of liabilities of previous years, and to adopt other measures deemed necessary. The government also took advantage of the crisis, to fix the basis for the adjustment of the debt, with a view to its future payment. It was thought that by these measures the government would be enabled to meet its current obligations.[76] Among the expenditures the government had assumed were $2,477,467 of subsidies to several railroad companies,

[73] Previously to 1861 they did not exceed $11,000,000. *Busto, Estadist. Rep. Mex.*, i. xc. xcii.

[74] 'Cuyo resultado jamás se habia obtenido.' *Mex., Mem. Sec. Hac.* (for 1879–80), 1881, xxii.

[75] The expenditures for the fiscal year 1883–4 were estimated at $30,717,997.

[76] *Mex., Informe. Sec. Hac.*, 1885, 4–5; *Mex., The Consolid. of the Mex. Nat. Debt*, 1–27; *Id., Monitor Rep.*, June 24, 1885.

which had also to suffer under the laws of June 22d above alluded to.

Mexico has been regarded by her creditors as a hopeless bankrupt, but the amount of her indebtedness bears no comparison with the debts of other countries.[77] The measures which are being taken to increase her prosperity, by opening railroads, encouraging foreign colonization, and otherwise, for which the government makes concessions, cannot fail to be attended with progress; and if Mexico were so fortunate as to enjoy a few decades of peace, her advance in civilization and wealth would be conspicuous; taxation, which at present is heavy, would gradually become less burdensome, while the sources of the public revenue would become more remunerative.[78]

At the breaking out of the war of independence, the standing army in Mexico could compare favorably with those in Europe, and during the long struggle which followed, the nation was developed into an essentially military one. It is true that the revolutionary forces were for the most part ill organized and ill disciplined, and that the independence would never have been achieved had it not been for the final coöperation of the army; but long experience on the battle-field had produced a strong fighting element. After the restoration of the Bourbons, many professional soldiers of the French armies sought in Mexico a new field for the exercise of their calling, and their skill raised the military art to a high standard.[79]

[77] The debt distributed over the population who must pay it is $22 per head; that of France, $127.53; that of Italy, $71.94; and that of Great Britain, $114.62.

[78] For further information on Mexican financial affairs, see *Mex., Mem. Sec. Hac.*, 1868–9, and 1884; *Id., Id., Rel.*, 1875, on German and American claims; *Id., Id., Gobern.*, 1880–4; *Id., Recop. Ley.*, iii. 390–5; *Id., Ley de Ingreso*, 1884–5; *Mex., Diario Ofic.*, April 1, 1885; *Id., Mex. Financier*, July 11, Aug. 1, 1885; *Mex., Monitor Rep.*, July 11, 14, 16, 22, 1885; *Id., Ley de Ingreso*, 1885–6; *Id. Ley del Timbre*, 1885, 1–45.

[79] Says one who saw the Mexican troops, writing in 1829: 'The soldiers of Mexico, for respectability, decent appearance, and discipline, are equal to those of any country. Their officers, particularly the young ones, are well educated.' *Maclure's Opinions on Various Subjects*, i. 385.

But many years of internal desultory warfare, while fostering a martial spirit, reduced the army to a low ebb in sterling efficiency. Organization became defective; drill and instruction in military evolutions were interrupted, discipline was relaxed, and owing to want of money, the equipment of the troops was wretched in comparison with progress made in other nations. Thus in the war with the United States, Mexico, though able to send armies vastly superior in numbers into the field, was unable to cope with the enemy. The native Mexican was ready enough to fight, and did fight to the best of his power. Raw recruits by thousands shouldered their old-fashioned muskets,[80] and untrained, ill fed, and miserably equipped, faced the foe over and over again, to die on battle-fields while giving to the enemy the victory.

The disastrous result of the war was a severe lesson to Mexico; and when the French intervention came, her army had been raised to a higher degree of efficiency, and was not ill provided with improved weapons and war material. Since the successful issue of that struggle, her military strength has gradually increased. To the government the army has ever been a necessity, and to support it and render it efficient, the party in power has always directed its earnest attention.

When Diaz was firmly installed, one of his first cares was the reorganization of the federal forces. To raise them to an equality with those of foreign nations was a work of time, and put to the test his ability as a commander, statesman, and financier. The first object to be attained was numerical reduction. The late contests had called into the field a much larger number of troops than was necessary for a firm administration, and he began gradually to get rid of the excess, in due time converting a cumbersome number of men, unwieldy through defective regulations, into a smaller but far more compact and serviceable army.

[80] At the battle of Cerro Gordo, Scott took between 4,000 and 5,000 stands of arms, which for their worthlessness he ordered to be destroyed. *U. S. Govt Doc.*, Cong. 30, Sess. 1, Sen. Ex. i. p. 257.

Reorganization and the reform of the military code were matters requiring still more time. Radical changes had to be effected. Grave contradictions existed between the military code and the fundamental law of the nation, causing serious embarrassment to chiefs who had no escape from awkward dilemmas except by assuming heavy responsibilities. Antiquated Spanish ordinances incompatible with the existing institutions, especially in connection with the military judicial courts and the military privilege, had to be done away with, and the code to be reformed in many important particulars.

The reforms proposed were most important, and affected every branch of the service. The old pernicious system of compulsory recruiting—the cause of incessant desertion—was to be done away with, and the voluntary system adopted.

Accordingly, a new military judicial code was laid before congress in 1879,[81] and a reformed military ordinance was approved by Diaz in September 1880.

During his presidency, his aim was to elevate the army to a par with those of foreign nations, and he effected great improvements, not only in its discipline and armament, but also in its moral tone. His successor, Gonzalez, completed the work, and in June 1881 issued a decree establishing a complete and definite organization.[82]

On the close of the war with the United States, the Mexican government turned its attention to the

[81] Copy of it will be found in *Diario Debates*, 9th Cong., ii. 596–650; *Id.*, 10th Cong., iii. 148, 283, 371, 556, 708.

[82] *Mex., Ap. Mem. Guerra y Marin*, 1881, p. 1 et seq.; *Diario Ofic.*, Sept. 14–17, 1881. In 1882 and 1883 further important reforms were carried out. *Id.*, 4 Jul., 11 Set., 1882; 2 and 3 Enero, 19 Set., 1883. Under the new organization, the army was composed of 20 battalions of infantry, numbering 12,900 officers and men; 20 skeleton battalions, 4,720 officers and men, designated by numbers from 1 to 40; 10 regiments of cavalry, 4,890 men; 10 skeleton cavalry regiments, 1,480, also designated by number; 3 battalions of artillery, 1,200 men; and an artillery battalion of reserves, 194 men; the battalion of supers, 617 men; the train squadron, 109 men; fixed batteries at the ports, 258 men; and the invalid corps, 263 men; in all, 26,651 men. The troops were armed with Remington rifles and carbines, and the dress uniform was dark blue.

protection of the northern frontier, and an effort was made to establish military colonies for that purpose, the particulars of which are related in the previous volume.[83] The result was a failure; and in April 1868 Juarez issued decrees ordering the establishment of thirty colonies on the northern frontier, composed of 100 men each, and two in Yucatan and Campeche, composed of 500 men each.[84] To carry out the system on so large a scale would have required enormous sums of money, and no steps were ever taken to do so. A commission was appointed to draw up a project for the reform of the law, and new colonial regulations.[85] The report of the commission was handed in April 1871, and suggested two important modifications; namely, that the government was not under the obligation of establishing simultaneously a considerable number of colonies, but successively, at its own discretion, in those states where the necessity seemed to be most urgent, and in a number according to the condition of the treasury. Secondly, that the number of colonists in each settlement should not be arbitrarily fixed at one hundred, but left to the decision of the executive.

Although the commission performed its duty, and drew up a project for new colonial regulations based on those issued in 1868, it pronounced the system as impracticable. Military service and agricultural pursuits combined would never be successful. The former would be inefficient, and the latter fall into neglect. It suggested that the far better plan would be to establish military posts, garrisoned by federal troops, or rural companies, which would be much more economical, and would tend to the growth of pueblos round the fortified posts.[86]

[83] *Hist. Mex.*, v. 572–5, this series.

[84] See decrees in *El Derecho*, iii. 439–40, v. 128, 171. List of locations in *Manero, Doc. Interes.*, 41–2. Consult also *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, x. 313–15, 439; *Tovar, Hist. Parl.*, i. 384–6, 510–13, 523–4; ii. 16, 22–4, 177, 201, 213–14, 223, 236, 253, 383–4, 397, 453, 469; iii. 772; iv. 740.

[85] Issued Nov. 10, 1868. *Mem. Ap. Mex. Guerra y Marin*, 1881, p. 136.

[86] *Id.*, 136–7. This report was still under consideration in 1882. *Id.*, p. ii.

During the civil wars which raged throughout Mexico previous to and after the death of Juarez, the colonies established were greatly neglected and fell under the control of state governments, which in the depleted condition of the federal treasury received no pecuniary assistance. The frontier states under these circumstances suffered grievously from the incursions of the Indians, while the military settlements retrograded. During Lerdo's administration, they again came under the care of the federal government, and some little improvement was effected, but still in 1875 there were only twelve locations on the northern frontier, scattered over an immense extent of territory.[87] The government's attention was naturally directed to this condition of the frontiers, especially to those of Yucatan and Sonora; and for the financial year of 1878–9 $600,000 figure in the budget as an appropriation for frontier defence.[88]

The troubles with Indians on the northern frontier may be considered as ended, but it cannot be asserted that such a result would have been attained had the matter depended entirely on the Mexican military colonial system. In Yucatan, more time will be required to prevent the inroads of barbarians. Nevertheless, the military line has been greatly advanced during late years, and large tracts of country recovered from the Indians.[89]

During the earlier years of independence, little attention could be given to military instruction, and the growth of a military educational system was exceedingly slow; it is doubtful whether any institution

[87] According to the report of the minister of war, Nov. 17, 1875, there were 1786 military colonists doing service. They were distributed as follows: Sonora, 200; Chihuahua, 150; Coahuila, 100; Durango, 109; Nuevo Leon, 100; Lower California, 25. In Yucatan there were 952, and in Campeche 150. The disorganization, during the time that the military colonies were under the charge of the state governments, was so great that they had almost ceased to be such. The number of officers was out of all proportion to that of the men. *Diario Ofic.*, Nov. 17, 1875.

[88] Thus apportioned: Yucatan, $150,000; Sonora, $120,000; Chihuahua, Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, and Durango, each $60,000; Campeche, $50,000; and Lower California and Chiapas, each $20,000. *Manero, Doc. Interes.*, 107.

[89] *Mex., Mem. Guerra*, 1883, 129. The estimates for the army and navy expenses for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1884, were $8,252,352. *Id.*, doc. 22.

worthy the name of a college was established till 1833.[90] Its first location was in the capital, but for many years it had no fixed abiding-place, and was removed from one building to another, as circumstances necessitated, till finally Tacubaya was selected as the place for its permanent establishment.

The instruction of soldiers of the line, until 1839, was almost entirely neglected, but in June of that year Santa Anna established a primary school in each army corps, and laid down regulations for their government.[91] He, moreover, founded in the capital a normal school for the instruction of primary teachers.[92]

In 1840 Bustamante established a school at Chapultepec, in which students at the military college might complete their education for all branches of the service. This institution was called La Escuda de Aplicacion. In 1843 the code of ordinances of both these establishments was remodelled, since which time a marked improvement is observable, military academies being established in all the army corps.

Some changes were made by Maximilian, but were no more lasting than his own brief reign. The college at Tacubaya was broken up, but reëstablished by Juarez in December 1867, and was afterward removed to Chapultepec.[93] At this institution cadets are educated for every branch of the service; and it is to Mexico what West Point is to the United States, with which establishment it can be favorably compared.[94]

After independence, the government for several

[90] By decree of Nov. 16th. *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, iii. 538.

[91] *Mex., Col. de Ley. y Decret.*, 1839, 144–50.

[92] Orphan sons of soldiers were admitted. The sum of $36,000 was assigned for the maintenance of these schools. *Ib.*

[93] In January 1880, Porfirio Diaz by decree established in it a chair for the instruction of mechanics, as applied to navigation. The salary attached was $1,200 per annum. *Decreto*, no. 6, annex 2, in *Decretos Circulares*, 1879–80; *Mex., Recop. Leyes*, i. 563–5; *Id.*, iii. 481–97.

[94] The curriculum is as comprehensive. Diaz reformed the code of ordinances in 1879, and Gonzalez in 1881. Forty professors and instructors are employed, and the course of studies includes geodesy, astronomy, physics, chemistry, stereotomy, military jurisprudence, logic, and the rights of nations, topographical and linear drawing, and the French and English languages. The annual appropriation is over $115,000, and the military system of discipline is observed. Graduated cadets are under the obligation to serve for three years in the army. *Mex., Ap. Mem. Guerra y Marin*, Doc. 4; *Mex., Mem. Guerra*, 1883. Doc. 1.

years attempted to maintain a naval fleet, but unable to meet the cost, the idea was abandoned in 1829,[95] and the navy was represented by a few revenue vessels. At a later date, however, it was revived, and in 1856 the government possessed 15 vessels mounting 40 guns.[96] In 1875 the navy was strengthened by two iron-clads which were built at Liverpool, England, and arrived at Vera Cruz in September. These were the first vessels of this class introduced into the Mexican navy;[97] two others were added, and in 1880 the republic possessed four iron-clad war steamers.[98] Naval arsenals have been established at Lerma, in Campeche, and in the bay of Acapulco, the first mentioned being provided with a floating dock.[99]

As early as 1822 a decree was passed to found a naval school at Tepic, and in 1854 one was established on the Isla del Carmen, Campeche, in 1857 another was established at the Fortress Ulúa, and lastly in 1881 a naval school was founded at Alvarado.[100] At the present time, two such institutions, one in Campeche and the other at Mazatlan, are supported by the government at an annual expense of $6,300 each.[101] Ten resident pupils are admitted into each of these establishment, whose expenses are included in the annual estimates for the military college.

[95] *Maclure's Opinions*, 358.

[96] Namely, in the gulf, 4 steamers with 16 guns, 5 schooners with 17 guns, and 2 transports. In the Pacific there were 2 barks with 4 guns, and 2 schooners with 3 guns. *Butterfield's U. S. and Mex.*, Ap. 43. In Feb. two war steamers were sold in London on account of debt, the purchasers engaging to use them as packets plying between Vera Cruz and New Orleans. *Mex., Legisl. Mej.*, Jan.–June, 1856, 406; *Pensamiento Nac.*, Feb. 17, 1856, 2.

[97] *Mex., Diario Ofic.*, Jan. 2, Oct. 2, Nov. 15, 1875; *Voz de Mex.*, Sept. 2, Nov. 17, 1875.

[98] Namely, the *Independencia* and *Libertad* in the gulf, and the *Mexico* and *Demócrata* in the Pacific. *Mex., Mem. Guerra y Marin*, 1877–81, i. 37–42. Two coast-guard steamers were added to the gulf fleet later, named the *Cuauhtemoc* and *Xicotencatl. Id.*, 1883, i. 135.

[99] *Mex., Mem. Guerra*, 1883, i. 134–5. The estimate of the expenses of these arsenals for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1884, was $44,115 each, and $6,838 for the floating dock at Lerma. The total estimate for naval expenses was $593,251. *Id.*, Doc. 22, 290–99.

[100] *Gac., Guad.*, May 22, 1822, 393; *Mex., Col. Ley...Ord.*, May to Dec. 1854, vii. 292–3; *Cor. de España*, Jan. 13, 1855; *Archiveo Mex. Col. Ley.*, iii. 639–47; *Mex., Diario Debates*, 10th Cong., ii. 338, 942; iii. 58, 181, 230.

[101] This sum is the estimate for the year ending June 30, 1884. *Mex., Mem. Guerra y Marin*, 1883, i. 299.

CHAPTER XXI.

MINING, MANUFACTURES, AND FISHERIES.

1800–1887.

EFFECT ON MINING OF THE REVOLUTION—SUBSEQUENT POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT—EFFECT OF MINING ON AGRICULTURE—MINE MANAGEMENT AND ROUTINE—MINING DISTRICTS—MINOR METALS—MINTS—DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL MANUFACTURES—BANCO DE AVÍO—PATENT LAWS—COTTON FACTORIES IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD—WOOLLEN INDUSTRY—OTHER MANUFACTURES—SILK, PAPER, CROCKERY, AND GLASS—TOBACCO AND ITS UTILIZATION — FISHERIES — FOOD-FISH — PEARLS — TORTOISE SHELLS—SPONGES—WHALING—INTERNATIONAL, NATIONAL, AND STATE EXHIBITIONS.

THE prospects of mining were full of promise, when, early in the century, a cloud overspread this and other industries,[1] in the form of the political agitation, which after ten years of warfare brought to an end Spain's domination in Mexico. The first blow for independence was struck, not at the capital, but in the region of Guanajuato, and the revolution demolished in a few years what had occupied nearly three centuries in building up.[2] From 1814, with the exception of the districts of Catorce, Zacatecas, and Sombrerete, scientific mining was almost wholly suspended. Min-

[1] Detailed information on the subject to the end of the 18th century may be found in *Hist. Mex.*, iii. 578–9, this series.

[2] The mining population dispersed to participate in the events of the day, or fled from their homes, the general insecurity rendering further pursuit of their industry unproductive and often dangerous. Most of the buildings, machinery, and reduction-works were destroyed. This naturally envolved the disappearance of the rescatadores or purchasers and their capital. Facilities for obtaining supplies were frequently cut off. In evidence of Guanajuato's loss, we have that the production which had been 617,474 marks of silver and 1,842 marks of gold in 1808 had fallen to 73,983 marks of silver and 298 of gold in 1821. *Ward's Mex.*, ii. 44; *Mex., Mem. Min. Hac.*, 1870, 68; 1872, 68; *Del Mar's Precious Metals*, 147.

ing was carried on, however, after a fashion, by men of the lower classes, generally called buscones, gambusinos, or searchers, who to the injury of the mines worked the upper levels or spots abandoned in better times, and sold the metal at low prices to wealthy men, who put it away until better times when they could carry it to the mint.

I have spoken elsewhere of the mining laws enacted by the Spanish crown in 1783 and subsequently.[3] The government of the regency in 1821, after Mexico became independent, passed on the 8th of February, 1822, a law reducing the taxes on silver and gold, and the coinage dues; quicksilver, both native and foreign, was exempted from imposts, and blasting-powder for mining purposes was to be supplied by the government at cost and charges.[4] These measures could not at once restore confidence, or bring back the capital which the wholesale emigration of Spaniards had removed from the country. In order to remedy the difficulties, it was decided to abandon the old Spanish policy of excluding foreigners. A law was accordingly passed [5] repealing the Spanish restrictive laws, and granting to foreigners the privilege of becoming share-holders in mines, for the working of which they furnished the requisite means; but it was not permitted them to file claims either for new or old abandoned mines. No sooner had this law become known in Europe than several associations were formed, especially in England, to take advantage of the privilege thus conceded. But in the majority of cases, from ignorance of the country, the parties exhibited a lack of judgment in their eagerness to possess themselves of mines, which in former years had been profitably worked, regardless of their actual condition at

[3] Under these laws was created the Colegio de Mineros. The plan was much improved in 1853 by the creation of the Escuela Práctica de Minas y Metalurgia, which lost its special character in 1867 on being converted into an Escuela de Ingenieros.

[4] For details, see *Ward's Mex.*, ii. 59–61; *Alaman, Hist. Méj.*, v. 437–43.

[5] Oct. 7, 1823. *Mex., Col., Ord. y Dec.*, ii. 192; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, i. 681; Eng. transl. in *Halleck's Min. Laws*, 403–5.

the time of making their contracts.[6] It was during the most depressed period of the mining industry that Lúcas Alaman[7] secured the coöperation of English and French capitalists, who formed themselves into the United Mexican Mining Company, having in view, mainly, to renew operations in the Cata mine, in which he was personally interested. It was but natural that such companies should turn their attention to Guanajuato. Hence the above named, and another association called the Anglo-Mexican, acquired shares in the most prominent mines of that district, particularly in the Valenciana, the draining of which by the latter was begun in 1825.[8] In September of the following year, the outlay had already reached $672,000, when the task was given up as impracticable. The United Mexican Mining Company, which had renewed work on the Rayas mines, second only to the Valenciana, fared somewhat better. The expenditure of $412,000 for draining was repaid by a good production of ore. But the yield never reached the possible maximum. In fact, at the expiration of the contract in 1841 it was not renewed. The same company had contracts in other mines, whose results were indifferent.[9]

Unfortunately, the same fickleness so noticeable in former years in the general policy of the government prevailed in regard to revenue from mining—reducing the duties and imposts one day, only to excessively augment them when least expected. The conse-

[6] Some well-written remarks on the subject appeared in the *Brit. Quart. Rev.*, 1827, 91 et seq., xxx. 167–70.

[7] He had exerted himself as a Mexican deputy to the Spanish córtes, on behalf of protection to mining. In after years he rendered valuable services to manufactures in his country.

[8] The undertaking was a laborious and costly one. The principal shaft was the largest and deepest of all Mexican mines. *Duport, Mét. Préc.*, 215; *Evans' Sister Rep.*, 197 et seq. The Valenciana's profits in 1808–9 were still $200,000; in 1823 they had been reduced to $4,000.

[9] The English companies, having shares in mines of Guanajuato, Zacatecas, Sombrerete, and El Oro, had invested since 1826 about $5,000,000, of which they had recovered in 1829 about $3,000,000. Alaman says that other companies lost all their capital. A German company was more fortunate. *Burkart, Reisen*, i. 100–2, 114–15; *Niles' Reg.*, xxiii. 27, 228; *Mex., Diario Ofic.*, Feb. 26, 1879. The immense losses sustained by the share-holders were mainly caused by the difficulties and expenses of transportation. *Dahlgren's Hist. Mines Mex.*, 20.

quences of such instability were the repeated frauds against the treasury by the clandestine exportations of precious metals, and the derangement of the mining business.[10]

After the promulgation of the constitution of 1857, which did not confer on the general government power to legislate on mining, only two states, Hidalgo and Durango, framed a special mining code. The others merely adopted isolated measures. Oajaca, in 1873, declared free of taxation all capital exclusively invested in mining, on the mines and reduction-works, metals taken out in any form, upon their transit through the interior, or on their exportation, machinery, quicksilver, iron, blasting-powder, dynamite, and everything else for conducting the industry. Men engaged in mining were likewise exempted from military and municipal service. Puebla, between 1880 and 1882, also enacted liberal laws for the promotion of this branch of business. In most of the states, however, it was heavily burdened. The national constitution being amended in December 1883, the general government obtained power to issue a mining code for the whole republic.[11]

[10] It is not easy to ascertain how much revenue was derived from the mines in the present century. During the ten years from 1835 to 1844 it aggregated $1,988,899.

[11] It was so done Nov. 22, 1884. Under this law, which went into operation on January 1, 1885, are exempted, for fifty years from its date, from all direct taxation, mines of coal in all its varieties, iron, and quicksilver, as well as the products thereof. The transit through the interior of gold and silver, in bullion or coined, as also that of other metals and of all mining products, is likewise made free from every kind of impost. Quicksilver continues free from import dues, and from all direct taxes. Mines, not of coal, iron, or quicksilver, are required to pay a single impost on the value of the products without deducting expenses, which are not at any time to exceed 2 per cent. This tax is levied for the use of the state within which the property is situated, or for that of the federal treasury if it should be within a federal territory, or in that of Lower Cal. This tax is to be fixed every year by the respective legislature, or by the federal congress, as the case may be. This tax is aside from the coinage duty. Mills and reduction-works pay no higher rates of taxation than other industrial establishments. The federal government receives 25 per cent of the taxes collected by the state under this law. *Mex., Diario Ofic.*, Nov. 26, 1884. Full information on mining laws to Dec. 1883 is given in *Ramirez, Riqueza Min. Mex.*, 723–47. Santiago Ramirez, the author of *Riqueza Minera de Mexico*, an 8vo of 768 pages, printed in Mexico, is a mining engineer; and for the preparation of this exhaustive treatise, had before him all the data in possession of the Mexican government, and of the Sociedad Minera. He also consulted the most noted authorities upon the subject.

It will have been noticed that mines in Mexico are a peculiar species of property belonging to the government, which, without entirely throwing off its domain over it, grants the mines to private persons or corporations desirous of working them. Any intelligent person, by a little industry, and by the observance of certain prescribed rules, may acquire the ownership of a valuable property.

The mining industry has a direct and fruitful influence on agriculture. Miguel Velazquez de Leon, a very competent authority, urgently recommended it to the fostering care of the government. He favored its exemption from taxation, on the ground that its development naturally led to that of agriculture and other industries; arguing, moreover, that gold and silver were the only available articles of exportation of the central mesa, and it was expedient to procure foreign markets for them. A small mill yielding a gross amount of $4,000 provides labor for many men, not only in the works themselves, but in the field, road, etc. It consumes the products of agriculture, and feeds trade and other industries.[12]

Each mine in Mexico has an administrator or superintendent, in whose charge is the management of the whole business. He has several assistants, who, in their turn, have a number of subordinates.[13] Payrolls are covered every Saturday, the men receiving a portion of their wages in rations, and the balance in coin.

The ore once sorted is put in bales of 150 pounds

[12] It brings from abroad machinery and quicksilver; from the coasts, salt; from the sorting department, sulphate of copper; from the mints, coin; from the forest, wood and coal; from the soil, food for man and beast; and employs men in the transportation of its products as well as of the articles of consumption.

[13] There are a head miner and his under-miners, called soto-mineros, or pobladores; the rayador keeps the tally; the velador is the watchman. In the patio, or amalgamation floor, there is an overseer who superintends the ore-sorters. The head miner chooses his barreteros or hole-drillers, tanateros or packers of ore in zurrones or tanates, limpiadores or quebradores, or pepenadores, who are the ore-sorters. If the mine is wet, he hires an achichinque, or man to pack water out; and at times an ademador or timber-man. Miners generally do their own blacksmithing and sharpening of tools.

each, and carried on mule-back to the hacienda or reduction-works by the arrieros. The sortings at the mines into several sizes are called respectively gavarro or broza, or stones as large as an egg or apple, granzas or tierras de labor, which are chips from blasting, or assorted. Their richness is also taken into account at the assortment, the gavarro or broza being the first and richest; the second follows, and the piedra comun and tierras de labor are the lowest. After the ore has been reduced to powder, it is made into a pasty substance, and then placed in the patio in great heaps of from one to twelve, and even twenty, tons, where it is subjected to the process of amalgamation by the old Medina system. The second step is to concentrate the sulphurets; the third to produce the plata fuego, or fire-silver, in cakes. The ores are worked very closely, 97 to 98½ per cent of their assay value being extracted, though consuming much time and losing a great deal of quicksilver. Another method in general use is that of smelting. The first and second groups of ores, known respectively as colorados and negros, are amalgamated; the ligas or polvillos, or sulphurets, are smelted. In later times lixiviation or leaching has come into use. The leaching process by means of hyposulphate has not been long practised in Mexico. Many mills in Chihuahua, Sinaloa, Sonora, and Lower California have taken out their barrels and pans, and replaced them with leaching tubs.[14]

[14] Mines have 10, 15, or 20 stamps. One has as many as 40. The rock is crushed dry, and passed through screens of from 20 to 30 meshes to the inch. The ore is then roasted in reverberatory furnaces with salt; after which it is placed in large tanks or tubs holding 8 to 10 tons, and a stream of clear water is turned on until the ore is covered, and kept running five or six hours. The water is then run off, and a cold solution of hyposulphate of soda is passed through the ore in the same manner, until it is seen that the solution carries no more silver. The precipitation of the silver is effected by adding a solution of quicksilver and sulphur, made by boiling lime and sulphur. This is done in the tanks by the aid of steam. After the precipitation, and the running off of the precipitating liquid, the silver remains in the form of a sulphide. It is then put into canvas filters, and afterwards dried, when it is roasted in reverberatory furnaces to carry off the sulphur, and then melted into bars. When the operation is successfully performed, the bullion is 900 to 1,000 fine. The solution is pumped back into the tanks to be used again.

The metalliferous line unites two important mineral centres—Guanajuato and Hidalgo—having a mean direction of north-west 45 degrees south-east. Near this line are the most important and best known mining sections in the country—Zacatecas, Fresnillo, Sombrerete, Durango, San Dimas Guarisamey, Gavilanes, Aguascalientes, Querétaro and states of Mexico and Oajaca; near it also, on the west, are the mining districts belonging to Sonora and Sinaloa, Bolaños, El Oro, Tlalpujahua, Angangues, Sultepec, Temascaltepec, Zacualpan, and Tasco; and on the east, Batopilas, Catorce, Ramos, Charcas, San Pedro, Guadalcázar, Zimapan, El Chico, Pachuca, and Real del Monte.[15]

The states of Guerrero, Mexico, and Oajaca have deposits of native gold, respectively in the districts of Tepantitlan, Oro, and San Antonio. There are auriferous placers in several localities of Chihuahua and Sonora, and in Ixtapa, of the state of Mexico. The silver of several districts contains gold. Of such are Guadalupe y Calvo, Guadalupe de los Reyes, and Parral in Chihuahua, twenty-three in Durango, the Tasco in Guerrero; most of the silver mines in Guanajuato have gold, chiefly those of Rayas, Monte de San Nicolás, Sirena, and Nayal; Pachuca and Zimapan in Hidalgo, Etzatlan in Jalisco, four in Mexico, Angangueo and Tlalpujahua in Michoacan, Ixtlan and Peñoles in Oajaca, Tetela del Oro in Pueblo, Doctor in Querétaro, San Pedro in San Luis Potosí, seven in Sinaloa, Promontorios and Minas Nuevas in Sonora, and nine in Zacatecas. There is native silver in the districts of Batopilas in Chihuahua, Guanajuato, Pa-

See *Historic Mines of Mexico*, by Charles B. Dahlgren, machinest and mining engineer, a 4o. of 220 pages, with engravings and maps, issued at New York in 1883. This book is what it purports to be, a review of the mines worked in Mexico during the last three centuries, compiled from the best sources, and based upon a personal experience of several years as a superintendent of mines in Mexico. Dahlgren has been enabled to bring into an available form a large mass of useful data. The maps show the mining districts and their relation with the lines of railway.

[15] The prolongation of this line northward runs to the E. of Guaimas through numerous and little known groups. *Ramirez, Riqueza Min. Mex.*, 63.

chuca, and Zacatecas. Argentiferous and platiniferous ores are found in the district of Jacala, or Santa María de Álamos, in Hidalgo.[16] Most of the gold and silver ore in Mexico is found in veins.

The following is the order of the best mines, by states and districts, from past history: In Guanajuato, the districts of Guanajuato and Villalpando; in Zacatecas, Zacatecas, Sombrerete, and Fresnillo; in San Luis Potosí, Catorce, Cerro de San Pedro, and Ramos; in Hidalgo, Real del Monte (Moran, Pachuca), and Zimapan; in Jalisco, Bolaños; in Durango, San Dimas or Guarisamey, Topia, Guanacevi, and Gavilanes; in Chihuahua, Batopilas, Jesus María, Santa Eulalia, Cosihuiriachic, Guadalupe y Calvo, and Parral; in Sonora, Mulatos, Álamos, and Caborca; in Sinaloa, Guadalupe de los Reyes, Jocuistita, Rosario, Copala, and Pánuco; in Michoacan, Tlalpujahua, and El Oro; in Mexico, Temascaltepec, Sultepec, and Zacualpan; and in Guerrero et al., Tascoa nd Tehuilotepec.[17]

The district of Santa Fé de Guanajuato was the richest in Mexico, and had a steady production, seventy-five per cent of it coming from amalgamation and twenty-five per cent from smelting. It is believed that this district has produced from first to last $800,000,000 to $1,000,000,000.[18]

The district de la Luz some years ago shipped over $200,000 of bullion weekly. Most of the mines are now abandoned. The state of Zacatecas has been the

[16] The number of silver districts are as follows: in Chihuahua 15; Durango 33; Guanajuato 13, including the renowned Valenciana; Guerrero 4; Hidalgo 2; Jalisco 10; Mexico 7; Michoacan 2; Morelos, the San Juan de Dios; Nuevo Leon, the Minas Viejas of Villaldama; Oajaca 4; Puebla, the Tetela de Oro; Querétaro, the Doctor; San Luis Potosí 6; Sinaloa 26, some of which have proved immensely productive; Sonora 10; and Zacatecas 16, all very rich. These districts yielded all the gold and silver coined throughout Mexico from July 1, 1878, to June 30, 1879, namely, 547,324,905 kilograms of silver, and 1,029,519 kilograms of gold. *Busto, Estadist. Rep. Mex.*, ii. 2d pt 7.

[17] About 16 of them have American machinery at work, either for hoisting, pumping, or reduction, or for all. The advent of railroads may entirely invert or change this order. *Dahlgren's Hist. Mines Mex.*, 28.

[18] The Rayas mine, next in importance to the Valenciana, is said to have yielded in 44 years about 87 million dollars. *Rocha, Estudio Estadist. Min. Guan.*, 1884, p. 18.

second in rank as a bullion producer. From 1548 to 1832 it yielded $2,120,000 a year, and in the next 35 years an average of $4,000,000 a year. Its wealthiest district bears the same name, whose great mines are the Veta Grande, Quebradilla, and San Bernabé. Its ores have been classified as follows: stephanite or prismatic black silver, argentite, native silver, black silver, dark ruby, chloride of silver, embolite, horn silver, carbonates, argentiferous galena, and tescatete. There is no gold except to the west of Zacatecas. The district of Fresnillo in the Cerro de Proaño produced in 1841 $1,025,113. With the coming of the railway its further success is assured. The district of Sombrerete has a large number of mines, the average yield of whose ore is $300 per ton. The past production of this group is veiled in doubt; but one half of the amount officially stated would be one hundred and fifty million dollars, which is probably correct. An American company is now operating in those mines. The district of Mazapil, it is said, yielded $50,000,000, which is probably true, for the workings and slag-piles even now give $50 per ton. It has been often raided by the Apaches, causing its abandonment for some time. Later it was worked by the New York Company, which sent there a 40-ton water-jacket furnace to reduce the ores. The state of San Luis Potosí was in former times the third bullion producer. Its greatest district was Catorce, yielding from $600,000 to $662,000 a year. In its best years it gave $2,804,000; in 1804, three and a half millions. The Purísima Concepcion, Padre Flores, or Zavala mines, and the Vicentin, have also been rich.[19]

The state of Sonora is a vast mineral region, and its numerous mining districts are productive. In that of Babicanora, the Cármen mine is said to have produced $25,000,000 from 1820 to 1830, and the Babi-

[19] In the Mineral de Guadalcázar, ruined by the events of 1810 to 1821, about 103 claims were filed to 1878, most of them with the main view of holding the lands freely. The Concepcion was destroyed by a heavy rain.

canora mine has given $31,000,000. Sinaloa has the districts of Rosario, Concordia, Mazatlan, San Ignacio, Sinaloa, and Fuerte. The Guadalupe de los Reyes mine has produced $85,000,000. Its ore yields from $85 to $115 per ton, using no salt. The Tajo in Rosario has given nearly 200,000 tons, which at $60 makes $12,000,000. It produces 24 tons daily at $125 per ton. The Jocuistita is also quite productive.

The state of Chihuahua possesses many mining districts, the richest being San Pedro Batopilas in the Canton San Andrés del Rio. It is not possible to ascertain what its actual production has been,[20] whether 100 or 300 million dollars. No district of Mexico has been so celebrated as this for its yield of native silver. It has been worked of late by the Consolidated Batopilas Silver Mining Company, under the energetic management of A. R. Shepherd. He produces about $70,000 per month. The district of Parral has yielded $60,000,000, and is the second richest in the state. The Santa Bárbara is next in wealth. The Santa Eulalia, or Chihuahua el Viejo, produced from 1704 to 1833 $344,000,000, and from 1835 to 1844 $17,109,652; no gold. The Santa Rosa de Cusihuiriachic was worked from 1666 to 1810, when it was abandoned because of the revolution. Its estimated production, smuggling included, has been from 60 to 80 millions. There are several other productive districts. The state of Durango has several famous districts, and others of lesser fame are yet new and untried. The Candelaria mine in the district of San Dimas paid $11,000,000 of fifths royalty on its products. The mine is now scientifically worked.

In Coahuila, the San Juan de Guadalupe, district of Santa Rosa, produces free-smelting ore, which has gone as high as $5,600 per ton. The Santa Gertrúdis and Pabellon have yielded rich native silver ores as high as $1,680 per ton. An American company is working them. There are ten others aver-

[20] The records suffered by fire, revolution, and time.

aging $274 per ton. In the district near Castaños copper has been mined. There is also a great coal belt, which is thought to extend into Texas, and up into Missouri. Jalisco and Michoacan have likewise been well known for their productive mines. Guerrero has been truthfully called one extensive crust of silver and gold; the renowned Tasco mines are in its territory.[21] In 1803 Tehuilotepec, Sochipala, Cerro-del Limon, San Estévan, and Cuautla only produced 495,000 ounces of silver annually.

The state of Hidalgo is one of the wealthiest in Mexico for mines. The famous districts of Pachuca, Real del Monte, and Moran are in its territory. The original owner of the Viscaina mine, after spending in 1760 about $2,000,000 on it, took out over $15,000,000 at small cost. For his donations to the king, he was made a count. From 1781 to 1819 the production was $10,000,000. It is asserted that the mine has produced in 300 years $200,000,000. An English company who worked it from 1824 to 1848 lost money. From 1849 to 1865, according to a partial record, there were 552,277 tons of ore taken out of the Rosario, yielding a clear profit of $12,057,490. The states of Mexico, Puebla, and Vera Cruz likewise possess valuable mines. Lower California has several mining districts, the chief being Real de Santa Rita, Mulejé and Triunfo. Aguascalientes possesses mining wealth.[22] Campeche has none at all. Chiapas has some productive salt mines. The state of Colima is yet undeveloped.[23]

The country is rich in deposits of other metals; namely, sulphate of silver in the districts of Guanajuato, Pachuca, Zacatecas, and Zacuálpan, in the state of Mexico; light ruby silver, red antimonial ore, in

[21] Tasco, Pachuca, Tlalpujahua, and Zultepec were the four mines first worked by the Spaniards.

[22] The Asientos district was famous in 1714. *Gamboa, Comentarios sobre las leyes de min. de N. Esp.* The mines were worked by the Jesuits 1712–67.

[23] Extensive information may be found in *Dahlgren's Hist. Mines. Mex.*, 20–220; *Busto, Estadist Rep. Mex.*, ii. 2d pt, 28–364, and 5th pt, 371–83, 42–7, 31; *Ramirez, Riqueza Minera Mex.*, 295–618; *El Minero Mex.*, no. ii. 135.

the district of Morelos, of the state of Chihuahua; dark ruby silver in Chihuahua, Guanajuato, and Zacatecas; refractory silver in Guanajuato and Zacatecas; argentiferous galenas in most of the mineral districts of the republic; muriate of silver in Catorce of San Luis Potosí, and Mina Verde of Sombrerete, in the state of Zacatecas; cinnabar of several varieties in Durango, Guanajuato, Guerrero, Jalisco, Querétaro, San Luis Potosí, and Zacatecas; iron in Chihuahua, Coahuila, Durango, Hidalgo, Mexico, and Jalisco; pyrites in Guanajuato and Zacatecas; lead in Hidalgo and Aguascalientes; pyromorphite, a variety of phosphate of lead, which by fusion becomes crystallized, in Morelos; carbonate of lead in Hidalgo and Querétaro; sulphurous copper in Aguascalientes; yellow copper in Michoacan, Chihuahua, and Jalisco; native and sulphurous bismuth in Zacatecas; carbonate of bismuth in San Luis Potosí; ochre of bismuth in Querétaro; zinc in the Tasco mines of Morelos; native sulphur in the volcanoes; precious stones, to wit: rubies in Durango; diamonds in Guerrero and in Tonalixco toward the sierra of Zongolica; topaz in the sierra de Canvas, San Luis Potosí; emeralds in Tejupilco, Mexico; garnets in Xalostro, Morelos, and in Chihuahua; fine opals in Querétaro and Hidalgo; common opals in Hidalgo; other stones in several states. Marble in Puebla, Querétaro, Guerrero, Guanajuato, Michoacan, Nuevo Leon, etc.; Mexican onyx or tecali in Puebla; gypsum in Tamazula, Jalisco; granite in Oajaca, Jalisco, Mexico, and Guerrero; porphyry in Chihuahua, Hidalgo, Jalisco, Puebla, Querétaro, and Zacatecas; and several other kinds of stones in many of the states; saline lands in Lower California, Colima, Jalisco, Michoacan, San Luis Potosí, Tamaulipas, Valley of Mexico, Yucatan, and Zacoalco; copperas in Mexico, Hidalgo, and Michoacan. Coal, anthracite in Querétaro and Puebla; bituminous in Chamacuero of Guanajuato; and other varieties in

Pueblo and Hidalgo;[24] petroleum in Puerto Ángel of Oajaca; naphtha in Guadalupe Hidalgo of the federal district.[25]

The government, with a view of obtaining full as well as reliable information on the hitherto hidden wealth of the country, appointed exploring commissions, and increased their number as far as the condition of the public treasury permitted it. Among the commissions a number were instructed to study the mining branch, two being sent to Michoacan, one to Guerrero, one to the states of Oajaca and Puebla, and one to the Huastecas. The special object of the last two was to survey and make a study of the carboniferous deposits. Some of the commissions rendered their reports between 1878 and 1882.[26]

The rapid increase of mining products, and the great distance of the mines from the mint at Mexico,

[24] No knowledge existed of coal-beds in Mexican till 1854, when the first petition for a grant was presented to the government. *Méx., Mem. Sec. Fomento,* 1884, i. 626 et seq.

[25] *Busto, Estadíst. Rep. Mex.*, ii. 2d pt, 6–11. Further information in *Ramirez, Riqueza Min. Mex.*, 147–92; *Diaz, Biog.*, MS., 474–6; *Frisbie's Reminisc.*, MS., 39; *Oaj., Mem.*, 1858, 22–3; 1861, 64; *Escobedo, Mem.*, 14–15, and docs. 20–2; *Perez, Dicc. Geog.*, ii. 224–57, 302–6; *Del Mar's Precious Metals*, 151–2; *Wyllie's Mex. Rept Finances*, 10–12; *Mex., Diario Ofic.*, Feb. 15 to Nov. 20, 1875, passim; Jan. 28, March 13, May 7, Sept. 13, 1876; *Caballero, Alm. Hist.*, 145–55; *Chimalpopoca, Informe Min. Comanja*, 1–40; *Gonzalez, Hist. Est. Aguascal.*, 3–4, 9, 471–86; *Mex., Anales Fomento*, 1880, iii. 331–404, 633–87; 1881, v. 295–609; *Robertson's Handbook*, 7–8, 55, 61–80; *Mex., Mem. Sec. Fomento,* 1882, i. 447–637. The largest producers of pure silver in the fiscal year 1878–9 were the states of Zacatecas, 117.417,861 kilogr.; Guanajuato, 105.311,621 kilogr.; Hidalgo, 95.501,983 kilogr.; San Luis Potosí, 67.838,861 kilogr.; Jalisco, 34.222,216 kilogr.; Sonora, 32.917.049 kilogr.; Durango, 28.534,697 kilogr.; and Chihuahua, 27.925,958 kilogr. Sinaloa, Mexico, Michoacan, Oajaca, Guerrero, and Querétaro ranged from 11.705,015 to 230.72. The different systems employed yielded the following results: patio or amalgamation, 306.284,317 kilogr.; tonel, 24.503,843 kilogr.; lixiviation, 16.107,771 kilogr.; and smelting, 142.224,667 kilogr.

[26] The commission in charge of Santiago Ramirez, intrusted with the exploration of Oajaca and Puebla, reported the results obtained in the districts of Matamoros, Acatlan, and Chiautla, in Puebla. It was also incidentally directed to explore the carboniferous deposits of the state of Tlascala, those of Tlaquiltenango in Morelos, Huetamo in Michoacan, Actopan in Vera Cruz, and to make a study of the coal of Tlaxiaco in Oajaca. The reports were published in the *Anales de la Secretaría de Fomento.* The two commissions despatched to Michoacan, besides procuring the discovery and examination of the coal-beds, were to study the metal deposits. Manuel Urquiza, the chief of one of them, made a report full of scientific and industrial data, which the government ordered published in the 7th vol. of the aforementioned *Anales. Mex., Mem. Sec. Fomento,* 1884, i. 451–637.

rendered it necessary to establish other mints, which at one time reached the number of fifteen.[27] After this, only a small quantity of the precious metals reached the city of Mexico. The mint and refinery were leased to private persons in 1847 for ten years, and the lease was several times renewed.[28] From 1804 to 1848 the total yield of gold and silver was $768,000,000, and the production from the latter year to June 30, 1877, $702,000,000,[29] making $4,470,000,000. By the fourth table of the treasury department showing the coinage of the fiscal year 1877–8, it is seen that the amount of gold coined was $691,998, and of silver $22,084,204, or a

[27] There were eleven in 1887; namely, at Álamos, Culiacan, Chihuahua, Durango, Guadalajara, Guanajuato, Hermosillo, Mexico, Oajaca, San Luis Potosí, and Zacatecas. Those of Guadalajara, Durango, Chihuahua, and Oajaca were administered for government account. The other seven were leased to private parties. That of Hermosillo was established in 1867, and that of Álamos in 1868. *Ramirez, Riqueza Min. de Mex.*, 47–53; *Mex., Mem. Sec. Fomento*, 1884, i. 638.

[28] In 1866 it was still leased. The mint had been transferred to another building, where the coinage was begun on the 1st of July, 1850. The amount coined there from that date to Dec. 31, 1866, was $64,325,999. *Orozco y Berra, Mem. Plano Cuad. Mex.*, 168–71. According to the *Balanzas del Comercio*, published by the Real Tribunal del Consulado at Vera Cruz for the four years preceding 1810, there were exported $70,862,203, in which sum were represented gold and silver, manufactured and coined, to the value of $54,103,787, all else amounting to $16,758,416. The same document showed that in those four years the mint coined $94,210,204, that is to say, those $16,758,416 multiplied by 5.65, which makes it evident that the gold and silver coined represented six times the amount of all other branches of export. It was proved in the report read before that tribunal in January 24, 1817, that the annual products of all New Spain were $227,911,939, of which the mines yielded $192,192,000, or five sixths of the totality. *Mem., Sobre la utilidad é influjo de la minería en el reino.* From Humboldt's official data we gather that the Spanish American colonies produced from 1492 to 1803 gold and silver valued at 4,035,156,000 pesos, registered, and the further sum of 816,000,000 pesos, not registered, making a total of 4,851,156,000 pesos; in which sum the mines of New Spain figured for 2,027,952,000 pesos; and the further sum of 972,048,000 pesos may be added for value not included in those computations, making a grand total of 3,000 millions. It is not known how much gold and silver had been obtained before the Spanish conquest. On one occasion Montezuma gathered the value of 7,000,000 pesos to be sent to Spain.

[29] *Denson's Mem.*, in *Busto, Estadist. Rep. Mex.*, ii. pt 2, 12; *Informe de Comisio. gen de tierras*, in *Ib.* The coinage system was reorganized by decree of Nov. 27, 1867. Under this law the decimal system was established. The monetary unit was declared to be as heretofore, the silver peso or dollar, of the weight of 27 grams and 73 miligrams, and value of 100 centavos. It was to be coined in pieces of one dollar, and 50, 25, and 10 and 5 centavos. The gold coin was to be in pieces of 20 pesos with the weight of 33 grams, and 841 miligrams. There are also pieces of 10, 5, 2½, and 1 dollar. The copper cent has the weight of 8 grams. *Mex., Recop. Ley.*, i. 425–9.

total of $22,776,202; and taking one half, one semester's share will be $11,388,100, which deducted from the preceding sum leaves $4,458,611,900 for the production to the end of the fiscal year 1876–7. Adding the products of the seven fiscal years 1877–84, $171,043,661,[30] we have a sum of $4,629,655,561, to which must be added the copper coined till 1882, $5,438,476, making the grand total $4,635,000,037.[31]

In December 1881, the coining of nickel money was decreed.[32] The people refused the coin because it was sold by the government in large amounts at a discount, while it was made legal tender only for a small amount. The question excited much comment by the press and the people in 1883.[33]

The development of national industries early engaged the attention of the government. The minister of state, Lúcas Alaman, being opposed to the importation of foreign manufactures, and to the exportation of gold and silver, desired to see every branch of manufacture fairly started in the country. One of his schemes was the opening of industrial schools. To his influence was due the creation of a Banco de Avío, under government control, and with the capital of one million dollars, to afford pecuniary aid and machinery to manufacturers and agriculturists.[34] The authors of the plan expected it would at once develop indus-

[30] Averaging $24,434,808 a year.

[31] The figures for the last years are smaller than for the actual products, because the exportation of bullion and ore lowers the amount coined. *Ramirez, Riqueza Min. Mex.*, 717–22; *Mex. Financier*, Jan. 31, 1885; *Mex., Diario Ofic.*, May 21, 1883; *Busto, Estadist. Rep. Mex.*, ii. 2d pt, 12; *Rept Director Mint*, 1880, 133–5; 1882, 27–8, 88–9, 101; *Mex., Mem. Sec. Fomento*, 1882, 638–50; 1884, lxii.–iii.; *Mills' Mex.*, June 1, 1884, 35; *Garcia Cubas' Rep. of Mex.*, 25–7; *Mex., Mem. Sec. Fomento*, 1884, i. 644–9.

[32] It is impossible for the government and its officers to conduct business honestly. If one official does not steal, there are twenty who do—just as in all other republics.

[33] The evil getting worse, the people took matters into their own hands, for which procedure they had the respect of all fair-minded men.

[34] Such was the main object; but the aid might also be given to other branches. The bank's regulation was approved by government Oct. 5, 1835. *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, ii. 293–4; *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1836 (July to Dec.), 83, 243, 392–4; *Banco de Avío, Inf. y Cuentas*, Jan. 1 and Dec. 31, 1832, 17–26, and 3–24.

tries, which was not the case,[35] as neither money, machinery, nor raw material could be procured as cheaply as in Europe, and the Mexican population lacked number, compactness, industry, and intelligence. The government made glowing reports on the progress of manufactures, which was attributed to the aid of the bank, but it all proved fallacious upon the destruction of the bank by its own founders.[36] The effort made was not, however, entirely fruitless, several companies having been organized, which laid the foundation of manufacturing industry in Mexico.[37]

Patent laws have been from time to time enacted to promote improvements in methods. Any product or manufacture, or means of producing, previously unknown in the country, became entitled to the benefits of the law. In granting a patent for introduction, preference has been given to the inventor holding a patent obtained from a foreign government.[38]

The manufacture of cotton goods during the Spanish rule existed to some extent in New Spain, notwithstanding the special favor shown by the government to fabrics of the mother country. There were factories in Querétaro, Tezcuco, Puebla, Tlascala, and Huetzotzingo. The business did not, however, attain great importance. Its progress was slow, and more as a need resulting from foreign wars.

[35] Some coarse woollen and cotton fabrics were the only productions, and the prospect was that even these would soon cease to be made. *Mora, Revol. Méx.*, i. 40–1.

[36] The bank had loaned in specie and in imported machinery $1,176,234, to develop several industries. *Mex., Mem. Min. Int.*, 1838, 16–17, 33–72; *Suarez y Navarro, Hist. Mex.*, 326. The funds were in many instances misapplied, and in two or three years the bank's capital had disappeared. Since March 1883 the govt had used much of it. *Richthofen, Mejico*, 278–9.

[37] La Constancia, an appropriate name, was one set up in Puebla by E. de Antuñano and others. *Mex., Mem. Min. Ext.*, 1835, 20–3; *Alaman, Mem. Agric. é Ind.*, 1843, 19; *D'Orbigny, Voy. Duex Ameriques*, 413; *Anduñano, Doc. Hist. Industrial*, 1–31.

[38] *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1832–3, 87–9; *Méx., Legis. Mex.*, 1852, 193–6; *Galvan, Ordenanzas*, 48–50. The number of patents issued from July 16, 1853, to June 30, 1857, was 61; they were for the respective terms of 5, 6, 10, and 15 years. *Silíceo, Mem. Fomento*, 104–11, and annex lvi. 51–73; *Diario Debates*, 9th Cong., iii. 314–16; *Riva Palacio, Mem. Fom.*, 1877, 526. Nearly 220 petitions for patents were presented from Dec. 1, 1877, to Dec. 31, 1882. *Mex., Mem. Sec. Fomento*, 1884, 437–42; *Mex., Financier*, Feb. 9, 1884.

Much the larger portion of the goods was not made in regular factories, but by itinerant weavers.[39] In Indian towns, the inhabitants wove the fabrics they wore, the cost of the raw material being the only money they put into circulation.[40]

Drawn into the armies were large numbers of weavers, as well as tillers of the soil. After the independence was secured, foreign trade became so much favored that manufacturing interests continued to suffer; indeed, though the government did something to revive them, and some cotton mills sprang into life in Victoria's administration, the industry did not acquire a healthy growth. In 1823 the factories were little better than prisons.[41] The policy of protection to home industry was initiated in 1828, exempting from taxation all manufactures of the country, and also the raw cotton produced therein, and the twist or yarn made therefrom.[42] The importation of raw cotton had been forbidden, and in 1836 the same rule was applied to ginned cotton, and in 1837 to cotton twist, the higher numbers of which were to cease coming in March 1838. The next step was to levy a heavy inland tax on foreign fabrics; and finally, the importation of common cotton goods was prohibited. This and other restrictive measures had been clamored for by cotton planters and manufacturers.[43] Cotton manufacturers, for all occasional checks, went on as-

[39] The rebozo maker of Puebla, for instance, travelled about, and might be found with his spinning-wheel and hand-loom in different places, even at the distance of 300 miles; his stock consisting of about 20 lbs. of raw cotton, worth three pesos or less, to make one piece of manta, 32 varas long by ½ vara wide, out of which he supported himself and his family.

[40] According to statistics of 1817, the value of all manufactures in Mexico was computed at 61,011,818 pesos. *Quirós, Mem. de Estatuto,* in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin,* i. 18.

[41] Many of the workmen were criminals sentenced to labor in the obrajes, as the factories were called, and were rigorously treated. Others, by borrowing money from the owners, pledged themselves and their labor till it was reimbursed, which in most instances never was, and the workman became a peon for life. *Bullock's Six Months in Mex.*, 222–5; *Tablas Estadist.*, MS., 43.

[42] *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1828, 115; 1838, 277–8.

[43] They were looked upon as necessary to save their interests. *Mex., Expos. Cultiv. Algodon,* 1841, 8–9; *Bustamante, Gab. Mex.*, i. 13; *Id., Voz de la Patria,* MS., xiii. 38–9.

suming a healthful tone, and in 1843 there were 62 factories, with 106,718 spindles and 2,609 looms, in operation, making weekly 8,479 pieces of sheeting. The cotton produced being insufficient, leave was granted in May 1844 to import 100,000 quintals. Those efforts to build up the industry[44] were abandoned in 1848. The government, on the ground that home manufactures could not compete with the foreign, discontinued the prohibitive system, and foreign fabrics were allowed to come in by paying duties. At the end of 1850 there were in operation 55 factories of cloth and twist in Coahuila, Colima, Durango, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Mexico, and the federal district, Puebla, Querétaro, and Vera Cruz, besides no less than 10,000 looms scattered throughout the country.[45] The fabrics were plain, worked, and print, the quality gradually improving. The price had been lowered, so that poor people could be clothed seventy per cent cheaper than prior to 1831.[46]

After the fall of the dictator Santa Anna, the new rulers were disposed to afford every possible aid to home manufactures.[47] By the law of August 4, 1857, a tax of 37½ cents a year was set on each spindle, the states being forbidden to tax factories or their products. In 1856 there were bitter complaints, because cotton thread of low numbers and common cloths and textures were allowed to be imported at lower duties than had been intended in 1850. The factories, it was said, were losing money; at any rate, their owners clamored for a return to the prohibitive system,[48] denying

[44] It had not been invariably nurtured tenderly. Some administrations, for the sake of getting a few millions, had disregarded it.

[45] The value of factories, looms, etc., was $29,000,000, supporting 42,900 families, equivalent to 214,500 persons.

[46] There were already made seven varas of manta for each one of the 7½ million inhabitants. Had there been a demand, three times that quantity could have been made with the machinery on hand. *Observ. Fab. y Agric.*, 17–18.

[47] Santa Anna had in 1853 levied a tax of 37½ cents on every spindle, promising it should be the only burden; but the political troubles forced several state governments to lay on more taxes, which increased the general depression, and this, added to the difficulty of procuring raw material, compelled many factories to close.

[48] According to Lerdo de Tejada, the annual value of manufactures was estimated at 90 to 100 million dollars. *Butterfield's U. S. and Mex.*, 63.

that manufactures had been in a flourishing state since 1856. The statement by the opponents of the protective system, that the cotton factories had reached a point where profit was secured, was in 1879 declared an exaggeration. It was further claimed that a number of men, under the garb of manufacturers, were really smugglers. The real fact was, that from 1852 to 1879, with manta paying only four cents, factories had multiplied, the production had been enlarged, the fabric was much improved, and the price greatly reduced. Consequently, a much larger portion of the people went clad. 'In the days of protection and prohibition, the manta of Puebla weighed seven pounds; its texture resembled lattice-work; in 1879 it weighed more, and the texture was excellent.[49]

The figures in the note show the approximate state of cotton manufactures in 1879. The well-known mills scattered throughout the republic were from 68 to 72 in number, producing fully 3,500,000 pieces yearly. All the factories also made cotton thread to the amount of 12 to 15 million pounds annually. There were many other mills whose names were not known. There were three factories in Mexico, three in Puebla, two in Durango, and one more elsewhere, making together 400,000 pieces annually of prints and Mexican calicoes.[50]

The manufacture of woollen goods during the Span-

[49] *Diario Debates*, 9th Cong., ii. 852–3.

[50] Manta 3,500,000 pieces, value $10,000,000, capital invested $38,000,000; prints 500,000 pieces, value $2,500,000, capital invested $3,000,000; white goods 200,000 pieces, value $1,250,000, capital invested $2,000,000; total pieces 42,000,000, total value $13,750,000, total capital $43,000,000. Thread 8,000,000 lbs., value $2,500,000, capital $8,000,000; wick 1,000,000 lbs., value $250,000, capital $500,000; total value $2,750,000, total capital $8,500,000. rebozos 2,000,000, value $2,000,000, capital $2,500,000. Total value of Mexican manufactures in market $18,500,000. Value of property and capital invested $54,000,000. *Diario Debates*, 9th Cong., ii. 854–6. Statistical and other information on the cotton business for the years 1842–6, 1854, 1860, 1865, 1870, and 1875 may be found in *Mex., Anales Min. Fom.*, 717–18; *Id., Mem. Fom.*, 1866, 438–40; 1868, annex no. 22; *Evans' Sister Rep.*, 63–5; *Garcia Cubas, Rep. Mex.*, 28–30; *Mayer's Mex. Aztec*, ii. 112–4; *Id., Mex. as it Was, etc.*, 312–6; *Mex., Diario Ofic.*, June 18, 1871; *Busto, Estad. Rep. Mex.*, 1880, table no. 2 et al.; *Mex., Mex. Financier*, June 21, 1884, 182–3; *Zaremba's Merch.*, 38–140, pass.; *Conkling's Guide*, 165–6, 224, 261–3, 269.

ish rule mainly contributed to the prosperity of several places, such as Querétaro, Acámbaro, San Miguel, Zinapécuaro, and others, where the mills made large quantities of common cloths, blankets, frieze, baize, and mangas, or cloaks. The industry fell into decadence from the same cause that so injuriously affected the cotton business, though not to the same extent, as the government continued to clothe the troops with Mexican woollens.[51] The number of woollen factories had greatly increased in 1845–6, the texture was improving, and the demand becoming larger. Early in the next decade the production had increased so much that the price of raw material rose considerably, and that of foreign woollen goods went down. In 1860 there were eight factories of cloths, kerseymeres, and carpetings, making the previous year 34,000 pieces, valued at $2,720,000.[52]

Silk manufacturing in Mexico owes its life to the Manila trade during the colonial period. The industry progressed but slowly. In 1844 the works of Morelia were started; the products were excellent, and happy results were expected. The business became profitable during several years. There were in 1857 21 factories and shops engaged in preparing the material, producing about 100,000 pounds, and employing about 4,000 persons in spinning, dyeing, etc., and 4,000 more made silk, and silk and linen rebozos, many of them of surpassing excellence. The business continued

[51] *Alaman, Mem. Agric. é Ind.*, 28.

[52] The fabrics were of good quality, but could not compete in European markets. *Hernandez, Estadíst. Mex.*, 137. According to an account of 1868, the wool annually used by the large mills reached nearly three million pounds, while the smaller ones and hand-looms increased the demand perhaps another million. There were in 1879 about ten factories making yearly: Cassimere 1,500,000 varas, value $2,000,000, capital invested $3,500,000; barragan 2,000,000 varas, value $800,000, capital $1,000,000; carpeting 500,000 varas, value $500,000, capital $800,000; serapes 2,000,000 varas, value $1,000,000, capital $1,300,000; thread $200,000, capital $300,000; total value in market $4,500,000, total capital invested $6,800,000. It was stated by Deputy Pombo in congress, May 26, 1879, that the woollen progress was actually declining, and would soon come to an end. 'Y se puede asegurar que esta industria está tocando á su fin.' *Diario Debates*, 9th Cong., ii. 829. See also *Busto, Estadíst. Rep. Mex.*, 1880, table no. 2.

to progress.[53] In later years the factories of Mexico, Puebla, Guanajuato, Querétaro, Jalisco, etc., were making the best quality of goods, such as are used for ladies' dresses, kerchiefs, and scarfs, preferred to the foreign because of the superiority of the material they were made of.[54]

A paper factory was successfully established in San Ángel, near Mexico, in 1825, and the next year the government exempted for seven years from excise duty all paper made in the country.[55] Later two other factories started. The government then, and again in 1853, decreed that only home-made paper should be used in the public offices, and for stamping.[56] In 1845 there were in the republic six factories of unglazed paper, producing a great deal more than there was a demand for by the newspapers. They then began to make writing-paper, the quality of which was gradually improved, and the price reduced very considerably. In 1860, eight establishments made 1,641,580 reams, valued $6,366,320.[57] The industry has all along had the fostering care of the government.

Crockery, porcelain, crystal, and glass manufacturing, with government protection, gradually developed,[58] attaining a commendable degree of perfection. In 1857 the number of crockery and glass factories in the country were five, employing 326 persons at the weekly wages of $910.[59] In 1860 there were five factories of fine and three of common crockery, producing to the aggregate value of nearly one and a half million

[53] In 1860, 186,967 doz. rebozos were made at an average of $10 apiece, and upwards of 45,000 lbs. of twist at $7 each. *Hernandez, Estadist. Mex.*, 137–8.

[54] *Garcia Cubas' Rep. of Mex. in 1876*, 28–30.

[55] *Mex., Mem. Min. Ester.*, 1825; *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1838, 62; *Guia de Hac.*, v. 107–8.

[56] *Mex., Mem. Agric. é Ind.*, 22–32; *Mex., Legis. Mej.* (1853, Aug.–Dec.), 407–8; *Mex., Mem. sobre Agric.*, etc., 1845, app. 17–19, and annexes 1–3, 6.

[57] *Mex., Mem. Agric. é Ind.*, 1846, 57–62; *Hernandez, Estad. Mej.*, 137.

[58] Abbot Cimeros of Guadalupe established the first factory about 1811. *Cancelada, Ruina N. Esp.*, 32.

[59] *Mex., Mem. Agric. é Ind.*, 1843, 34–5; *Mex., Mem. Coloniz. é Ind.*, 1851, annex 4; *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1836, 289; *Siliceo, Mem. Fomento*, annex lv., no. 18, 3d table; *Mosaico Mex.*, iv. 245; *Semanario Ind. Mex.*, no. 2.

dollars, and four crystal and glass establishments producing to the value of $147,696.[60] Earthen-ware of the finest quality has been made in New Spain from very early times.

There are no means of arriving at a correct estimate of the quantity of tobacco produced, nor of that actually manufactured in the country. Since 1765 the cultivation of the weed had been subject to the strictest supervision, the manufacture and sale being a government monopoly. But persons who had suitable land far away from that tyrannical inspection, more especially after the administration became unbalanced by the wars of independence, planted tobacco on a large scale in 1814 and 1815, and carried on their illicit business so boldly that the viceroy in 1816 ordered them to be vigorously prosecuted.[61] After independence, the monopoly practically ceased for a while, but it was restored by the new government.[62] In 1825 the factoría at Orizaba gathered about 20,450 bales, for which the planters received $1,151,684. In 1833 the estanco was again done away with, and the staple was exempted from primicias and tithes. This arrangement gave great impulse to the tobacco industry. But in 1837 the old system was restored, and the whole business of manufacture and sale was farmed out to a company; all the staple grown in the departments of Mexico, Puebla, Oajaca, and Vera Cruz was brought under it. Yucatan was exempted, but could send no tobacco to any other part of Mexico, except to deliver to the contractors.[63] Vera Cruz emancipated herself from that thraldom in 1848 and 1849, but was subjected to it again by Santa Anna

[60] *Hernandez, Estad. Mej.*, 137.

[61] *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, ii. 407; *La Abispa de Chilpancingo*, 1821, 15.

[62] *Mex., Col. Ley., Ord. y Dec.*, ii. 38; *Gaz. Imp. Mex.*, ii. 752–3.

[63] *Hunt's Merchants' Mag.*, ii. 182; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, 408, 416. A computation in 1836 had set the average yearly consumption at about 85,988 bales of 1,753 lbs. each, which in the form of cigars and cigarettes were valued at a little over 14¼ million dollars, which should yield to the government some six millions of revenue. *Prieto, Vic. Manif.*, 10–11. But it seems that in 1845, under the estanco system, it did not prove quite satisfactory.

in 1854. After his downfall, a decree of January 21, 1856, suppressed the estanco, which has not been revived since. The importation of foreign manufactured tobacco, but not in the raw state, subject to duty was permitted. Under the free system the business revived, and it is found that in 1860 twenty factories produced the equivalent to a weight of 41,258,700 pounds valued at $16,503,480. In 1869 a large extent of country on the coast north and south of Vera Cruz was planted in tobacco, that of Tlapacoyam being of fine quality.[64]

The fishing industry, though of sufficient importance to engage the statistician's attention, has been hitherto much neglected. The value of food-fishes caught on both the north and south coasts was, according to an official report of 1810, set down at $150,000. In 1811 the catch on the Yucatan coast for exportation, chiefly to Vera Cruz, was of about 100,000 pounds, which declined, however, prior to 1845. At various

[64] Two Cubans had charge of the cultivation; 300,000 young plants had been placed in the ground at Tlapacoyam. *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, ii. 420. Several other branches of manufactures deserve notice. The following list shows the production and value of each in 1860. In later years their importance must have been greatly augmented. Iron-works 10, making 126,489,600 lbs., $7,589,376; matches 7, 28,935,514 gross boxes, $4,340,271; pianos 2, 146 instruments, $43,800; soap 32, 134,600 loads, $2,692,000; fine hats 6, 2,658,443 hats, $5,316,886; gold and silver lace 7, 4,612 pieces, $192,480; cannon foundries 3, 78 pieces, $23,400; caps 2, 12,800,000 caps, $12,800; gunpowder 3, 2,825,000 lbs., $84,750; chocolate 13, 1,248,000 lbs., $780,000. Number of regular factories of all kinds in the country 207, producing $58,000,000. In this amount cotton and woollen goods made in regular factories count for only $10,165. We have already seen that in 1879 their value was $23,000,000. Shops of all kinds, at which goods were made, including hemp, flax, and maguey fabrics, 35,715, among them 85 printing-offices, some of them doing fine work. Furniture, carriages, gold, and silver jewelry of the finest kind, were also made. The computed value of goods placed in the list of manufactures proper, $58,000,000; of mechanical and liberal arts, $150,000,000; grand total, $208,000,000. Number of persons employed, 234,905 men, 22,114 women, 7,146 children, making a total of 234,165. *Hernandez, Estad. Mej.*, 137–50. The following authorities also give information on the subject of manufactures: *Alaman, Hist. Mej.*, i. 448; *Guerra, Rev. Nva Esp.*, ii. 541; *Mendibil, Resúmen Hist.*, 153; *Córtes, Col. Dec.*, ii. 51–2; *Notic. Gen.*, May 29, 1820; *Mex., Col. Dec. y Ord.*, 193–4; *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1830, 393; 1839, 158–9; *Mex., Col. Leyes*, 1829–30, 121; *Mex., Col. Ley. y Dec.*, 1844–6, 30–8, 420–1; *Mex., Legis. Méj.*, 1851, 105–6; 1855, 152–3; *Mex., Col. Ley. Ord.*, 1850–1, i. 255–6; 1853, Sept.–Dec., v. 4–5, 124; 1855, Jan.–Aug., viii. 128–9, 206; *Blazquez, Mem. Maguey*, 1–32.

times laws have been enacted to encourage the business. In 1861 the culture of fish was declared free throughout the republic, and in 1872 a regulation was issued, making it free for all citizens of the republic to engage in fishing, and also in diving for pearls, and generally to take part in all marine business in Mexican waters. Mexican vessels occupied in the business were exempted from all taxation. Foreign bottoms, upon payment of tonnage dues, were to be granted temporary licenses of six months to fish in Mexican waters, and to establish drying and salting houses on shore. The crew of any one vessel never to exceed twenty-five. Other clauses in the law were for the preservation of order and the prevention of smuggling.[65]

The different species of fish in Mexican waters, both fresh and salt, are very numerous. The industry was, on the sea, pursued mostly by men enrolled in the marine list; in the rivers, lakes, and lagoons, by Indians. It was estimated about 1860 that the business produced yearly two and three quarters million dollars, more or less, only for food-fishes. The shrimps taken in Acaponeta, Escuinapa, El Rosario, and Camaronera of Vera Cruz in October, November, and December, some 8,000 loads, are worth in the interior $480,000.

The pearl fisheries have been from the earliest times of the Spanish occupation a source of profit to the government and the people dwelling on the Pacific coasts of Mexico. In 1811 the Spanish government permitted the colonists to engage in diving for pearls. In the first quarter of this century an English lieutenant named Hardy made an unsuccessful attempt to fish pearl-oysters with diving-bells.

Pearls as well as tortoise shells are obtained at several places near Manzanillo; the coast of Petatlan, in Guerrero, is famous for its many banks of pearl-

[65] *Noticioso, Gen.* (1817, Nov. 19); *Cortes, Col. Dec.*, i. 128; *Mex., Col. Leyes*, 1829–30, 786–7; *Mex., Col. Ley....Ord.*, Jan.–Aug. 1855, viii. 79; *Archivo Mex., Col. Ley.*, v. 398–9; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Legis. Mex.*, ix. 81; *Sin., Boletin Ofic.*, June 14, 1872, 285–6.

oysters, and its abundance of tortoise-shell turtle. Every year numbers of the inhabitants engage in diving for them, at some risk of life, as everywhere on this coast, and in the gulf of California, from sharks; but they are skilful at killing them. Pearl-oysters have been plentiful also near the Piedra de Zipegua, a reef of rocks north of Tehuantepec.[66] The richest field, however, seems to be near La Paz, in Lower California, for details on which I will refer to the volume of this work that specially treats of that territory. It is understood that down to 1860 the pearl fisheries in Lower California and elsewhere, together with coral, oysters, clams, sponges, shells of all kinds, produced annually about $150,000. In 1874 the Mexican government permitted foreigners to participate in the trade, but under such onerous conditions that the native divers could have but little to fear from foreign competition.

The western coast, especially that portion lying between the gulf, the Three Marías Islands, and Cape San Lúcas, teamed with cachalots or spermaceti whales, which became, as early as the past century, a profitable business for English and American whalers, the Mexicans never taking any part in it. A decree was issued by the Spanish córtes, April 16, 1811, granting to the colonists permission to engage in all kinds of fishery on the coast.[67]

Among the means employed by the general and local governments for the encouragement of national industry has been that of public exhibitions, of which several were held at different dates and localities. Some of those fairs were of a general national character, comprising works of art, natural and agricultural products, including domestic animals, and manufactures; others were limited to the industries of a single state.

[66] *Ward's Mex.*, ii. 593–4; *Hermandez, Estad. Mex.*, 115–71; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, i. 317; ix. 181–2; *Brocklehurst's Mex.*, 42; *Findlay's Directory*, i. 261; *Pfeiffer's Second Journey*, 329.

[67] *Mex., Col. Dec. y Ord.*, 7–8; *Mex., Mem. Sec. Est.*, 48–9.

A number of the national fairs took place in the city of Mexico, and one in Aguascalientes. Of the former, special mention is made of those of 1849, 1850, 1853, 1854, 1856, and 1857. The one of the same class in Aguascalientes was on the 26th of April, 1853, the first general exhibition in the country, after those held in the nation's capital.[68] The fair of 1850 was quite a satisfactory one in its results. That of 1853, called for since September 1852, did not meet the aspirations of the board having charge of it. Nevertheless, a large number of objects were exhibited.[69]

The exhibition of 1854 was the best thus far, due no doubt to the efficacious efforts of the state governors and agents of the general government. From one called for 1856 much had been expected; but the political troubles made the transportation of objects difficult, and the exhibition was pretty much limited to products of the federal district and state of Mexico.[70] Another invitation was issued for 1857, and the fair proved a very poor one, owing, doubtless, to the disturbed condition of the country. Still another was to take place in November 1859, but I can find no evidence that it took place. Indeed, Mexico was then in the throes of civil war.[71] It is doubtful if any attempt was made in that direction during the succeeding years of war. In June 1865 the imperial government then flourishing at the capital decreed the establishment of a permanent board of exhibitions, protective of industries,[72]

[68] *Doc. Rel. 1a Espos.*, in *Juicio de las Expos.*, no. 4, 1–39; no. 5, 1–12; *El Español* (1853, Mar. 26); *El Universal* (1852, Oct. 14); *Gonzalez, Hist. Est. Aguascal.*, 198; *2a Expos.*, in *Id.*, no. 9, 3–40; *Discurso*, Oct. 7, 1852, in *Id.*, no. 9½, 1–8.

[69] *Archivo, Mex. Actas*, i. 392. The only first-class premium awarded was for a pair of revolvers made in Angangueo. *Silíceo, Mem. Fomento*, 112, and annex lvi. 79; *Expos. Gen. Ind. Acta y Docs.*, in *Juicio de las Expos.*, no. 8, 3–50.

[70] Gold medals were awarded to iron from Santa Fé, and to crockery from the Niño Perdido factory. Silver medals to an iron chest, morocco, and Mexican silk. Cotton and woollen fabrics and carriages merely received honorable mention. *Id.*, 113, and annex lvi. 151. *Mex., Legis. Mej.* (1856, Jan. to June), 547–8; *La Nacion*, Oct. 27, 1856; *El Estandarte Nac.*, Nov. 16, 1856.

[71] *El Estandarte Nac.* (1857, Mar. 17); *Diario de Avisos*, Aug. 3, 1859.

[72] *El Diario del Imp.*, July 4, 1865; *Col. Ley. Imp.*, 65–7; *El Eco Nac.*, Oct. 16, 1857.

which probably became a dead letter at the fall of the imperial régime.

Among the state fairs of a limited character, I find mention of those held in Toluca, 1851–2, 1870–1; Aguascalientes, 1851, 1852, 1856, 1857, and 1871; Zacatecas, 1853; Yucatan, 1865, at which Carlota, Maximilian's wife, was present. Puebla in 1857 decreed that an annual exhibition of the natural and industrial products of the state should be held at her capital.[73]

Busto in 1880 gives an account in detail of the exhibitions held at Mexico in 1875, at Mérida, Yucatan, in 1879, and at Puebla in 1880. Mexico has been invited to take part in the several world's exhibitions, but she did so only at those held in Paris in 1855, and in Philadelphia in 1876,[74] at both of which she was quite respectably represented by her natural and industrial products, etc. At the Paris fair she had 107 exhibitors, among whom were awarded four medals of first class, eight of the second, and seven honorable mentions. There were, besides, awarded one gold, four silver, and three bronze medals to the members of the Mexican commission.[75] At Philadelphia the result could hardly have been more satisfactory, for there were 73 diplomas and 47 medals awarded to the Mexican exhibitors, besides an extraordinary diploma to the Mexican government. Among the awards were 15 for objects coming within the nomenclature of manufactures.[76] The republic has likewise been creditably represented at the exhibitions held at Saint Louis and Chicago, in the United States, in 1879–80.

[73] *Expos.*, in *Juicio de las Expos.*, no. 7, 26, 44–5; *El Univers*, Nov. 5, 1850; Oct. 15, 1852; *Mex., Diario Ofic.* Aug. 5, 1870; Feb. 8, May 18, 1871; *Gonzalez, Hist. Est. Aguascal.*, 194; *El Español*, Feb. 21, 1852; *El Pensamiento*, May 7, 1856; *Diario de Avisos*, Dec. 11, 1856; *El Eco Nac.*, May 12, 1857; *El Diario del Imp.*, Jan. 26, 1866; *El Estandarte Nac.*, Sept. 14, 1857.

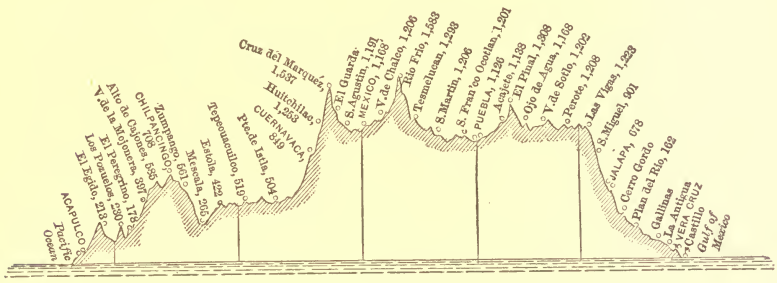
[74] She was prevented from sharing in the London exhibition of 1851 by the cholera epidemic; and in the second of the same city and others, by war. *Mex., Mem. Coloniz.*, etc., 28–30; *Archivo Mex., Col. Leyes*, vi. 310–11.

[75] *Escandon, La Industria*, etc., 230–2; *Rep. Mex. Catal. des Produites*, in *Juicio de las Expos.*, no. 10, 1–54; *Siliceo, Mem. Fomento*, etc., 113, and annex lvi. 81–110.

[76] *Riva Palacio, Mem. Fomento*, 1877, 531, 535–6; *Anales Min. Fomento*, 1877, Feb., i. 207–8; *Busto, Estadíst, Rep. Mex.*, i. 3d pt 11.

A project to hold an international fair at the city of Mexico in 1880 met with much favor from both the federal and state governments, as well as from congress; but after some consideration it was abandoned. Since that time the Mexican republic took a prominent part at the international exhibition of New Orleans in 1884–5, her agricultural and industrial products, as well as her specimens of the fine arts, being awarded due meed of praise, and numerous medals, and other marks of recognition.[77]

[77] Further information on Mexican manufactures may be found in *Mancera, Informe*, 1–145; *Mex., Diario Ofic.*, Feb. 26, June 30, Dec. 19, 1876; Jan. 24, Nov. 19, 1878; Jan. 18, 24, 25, Apr. 8, May 14, 16, June 2, July 22, Aug. 16, Nov. 17, 19, 1879; Jan. 6, 1880; Aug. 10, Sept. 23, 1882; *Anderson's Mex. St. P.*, 87–90; *Voz de Mex.*, Feb. 1, 6, 1872; Feb. 21, Nov. 20. 1878; Jan. 23, 1879; Jan. 8, March 8, May 5, Oct. 31, Nov. 16, 1882; *Mex., Mem. Sec. Guerra y Marina*, 1877–8, 28–33; *Mex., Anales Fomento*, 1881, iv. 3–273; *Valadez, Apuntes Estadist.*, 1–138; *Bárcena, Estudis pres. á la Sec. de Fomento*, 1–415; *Zac., Expos. Nac.*, 1–13; *Caballero, Album Queretano*, 32–75.



CHAPTER XXII.

COMMERCE AND RAILROADS.

1800–1887.

Symptoms of Free Trade—A Commercial Inroad—Exports and Imports—Customs and Custom-houses—Cabotage—Abolishment of the Alcabalas—Smuggling—The Mercantile Marine—The Carrying Trade—Commercial Regulations—Foreign Steamers—Case of the 'Danube'—First Mexican Steamships—The Mexican Transatlantic S. S. Co.—Unjust Taxation—Tariffs—Metropolitan Highways—Mercantile Tribunals—Brokers—Banks—The Mail Service—Nickel Coinage—The Decimal System—Railroads—The Mexican Railway—Development—Projected Lines—Considerations—Telegraphs, Telephones, and Electric Lights.

The permission granted in 1799, consequent upon the existing war with Great Britain, for neutral vessels to come direct from Spain to her American possessions, gave way to a still more liberal law, which held good from 1805 to 1808, but was only formally repealed May 17 and July 27, 1809. After this special permits were at times issued to private parties residing in the colonies to bring cargoes from foreign ports. Before and after the period above mentioned, other measures were enacted to do away with impediments to trade. The latest one, in 1820,[1] was the

[1] Aug. 10, 1804, the reëxportation of goods to other open ports was allowed. Jan. 16, 1806, vessels from Spain were permitted to enter and discharge at intermediate ports. During the war of independence, various ports were opened to trade at different dates: Sisal in 1810; San Blas in 1812; Tampico in 1816; and finally, in Nov. 1820, the Spanish córtes decreed the opening of the ports of Tlacotálpan, Matagorda, Matamoros, Soto la Marina, and Pueblo Viejo de Tampico in the gulf, and Acapulco, San Blas, and Mazatlan on the Pacific. *Cortes. Diario*, 1811, v. 337; 1820, vi. 15–18; xi. 28; *Cortes, Act. Pub.*,

opening of several ports on the two seas to commerce, which, if carried out, would have been a great blow to the monopoly Vera Cruz had enjoyed during three centuries. But notwithstanding that law, licit trade was continued only through Vera Cruz and Acapulco. When, however, independence had been achieved, the new government, by decree of December 15, 1821,[2] ratified the decree of November 1820, permitting the free entry of vessels and merchandise from all parts of the world, destroying forever the system of monopoly enjoyed by the Spaniards and Vera Cruz. Other ports were opened at different times.[3] Nevertheless, there were not wanting many who advocated a return to the old system, on the ground that the great importations of foreign goods ruined the home manufacturing industries, and deprived the poor of even their wretched means of livelihood by the introduction of the commonest articles previously made by them,[4] while the influx of foreigners soon wrested the trade of the country from the Spanish capitalists, numbers of whom retired from business in disgust. Flooding the market with foreign merchandise caused a depression in trade, and British and European manufactures were frequently sold at prime cost. In 1821, the exports and imports at Vera Cruz amounted to $17,244,569, in 1823 only to $6,259,209.

The opening of so many ports was soon found to be inconvenient and expensive, and on February 17, 1837, a law was passed reducing their number to ten,[5]

1820, ii. 1; *Gaz., Gob. Mex.*, 1816, vii. 685–8; *Arrillaga, Informe*, 1–8; *Abispa de Chilpancingo*, 427–39; *Niles' Reg.*, xix. 396; *Alaman, Hist. Mej.*, iv. 473–4; *Lerdo de Tejada, Com. Est.*, 21; *Manero, Notic. Com. Mex.*, 19–20.

[2] *Mex., Col. Dec. y Ord.*, 143–51; *Mex., Mem. Hac.*, 1838, pt 1, 6; *Prieto, Breve Estud.*, 17.

[3] Huatulco in 1824, Manzanillo in 1825, Tuxpan and Tampico in 1827, besides others later. *Mex., Col. Ley., Ord y Dec.*, iii. 44; *Guia de Hac.*, iv. 38–9, 253–4; v. 46–7; vi. 18–19.

[4] 'No ha perdonado,' foreign trade, 'ni á las infelices costureras que vivian de coser camisas ni á los mismos léperos que...buscaban su pambazo y su chinguirito en el portal, llevando trompetitas de caña para los muchachos.' *Fisiologia Gosa. Púb.*, 37.

[5] Namely, in the gulf of Mexico, Vera Cruz, Santa Anna de Tamaulipas

largely increased in succeeding years. The number of ports designated for coasting trade underwent similar changes.[6]

The stagnation in trade did not last long, an impulse being presently given to it by the recognition of Mexico as an independent nation, and in 1827 the imports amounted to $14,889,049, and the exports to $12,171,777. From this time, though commerce was subject to periodical depressions,[7] the exports and imports of Mexico have gradually increased.[8] The exportations of Mexico have been and still are almost entirely confined to the precious metals and raw productions, the value of the former far surpassing that of the latter, the principal of which are coffee, sugar, cochineal, hennequen, ixtle, hides and skins, timber, and dye-woods.

During the earlier years of free trade, England supplied Mexico with the largest proportion of manufactured goods, and as late as 1875 was still paramount

(Tampico), Matamoros, Campeachy, Sisal, and San Juan Bautista de Tabasco; in the Pacific, Acapulco and San Blas; in the gulf of Cal., Guaymas; in Upper Cal., Monterey, Bacalár, Goazacoalco, Alvarado, Matagorda, Galveston, Huatulco, Manzanillo, Natividad, Mazatlan, La Paz, Loreto, San Diego, and San Francisco, heretofore open ports, were to be closed six months after the publication of the decree. A number of others was added to this list in succeeding years down to 1873. *Arrillaga, Recop* , Jan. to Apr., 1849, app. 4, 120; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, vi. 168; viii. 650; ix. 172, 217, 317, 548; x. 258; *Archivo Mex., Col. Ley.*, i. 517; *Sin., Bol. Ofic.*, May 31, 1872, 249; *Mex., Diar. Ofic.*, Dec. 25, 1870; *Mex., Mem. Hac.*, 1873, 8; *Mex., Diar. Debates*, 10th Cong., iii. 916; *Tovar, Hist. Parl.*, iii. 321, 411, 804, 844.

[6] *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1837, 86–7; Jan. to April, 1849, app. 120; May 1849 to April 1850, 302; *Mex., Legis. Mej.*, 1850, 111, Jan. to June 1856, 352; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, x. 217. In 1876, the following were the coasting trade ports: in the gulf of Mexico, Alvarado, Balancan, Nautla, Santecomápan, Soto la Marina, and Tecolutla. On the Pacific, Agiabampo, Altata, Bocorehuis, Cabo de San Lúcas, Chamala, Libertad, Navachiste, Puerto Escondido, San José del Cabo, Tecsanapa, and Zihuatanejo.

[7] The years 1840, 1841, and 1857 are instances. *Niles' Register*, lvii. 353; *Otero Obras*, MS., i. 111–26, 242; *Diario Avis.*, June 12, 1857, 3.

[8] The importations for the year 1881 amounted to $44,991,401, and the exports to $24,879,211; for the nine months ending March 31, 1883, the exports reached $32,298,294, of which $24,032,787 were silver, and for the year ending June 30, 1884, $46,725,496, of which $33,473,283 represented the precious metals. *Mex., Mem. Hac.*, 1884, xliii.–xlvii.; *Diario Ofic.*, Jan. 27, 1885; *Mex., Financier*, Jan. 31, 1885, 285–6; *Zaremba, Merchants*, 4.

in this respect over all other nations,[9] owing chiefly to Mexico's great demand for cotton stuffs. But during late years, the United States has outstripped her rival.

The collection of revenue from customs has been, from the earliest days of independent Mexico, in charge of aduanas marítimas, fronterizas, and terrestres. The first named were divided into two classes, those for general commerce, and those for cabotage. Both the marítimas and fronterizas have appendages under the title of receptorías, or receiving offices. The terrestres have receptorías and sub-receptorías. At each port open to foreign trade, the government keeps a custom-house or dependency with the requisite officials. Each custom-house has a special regulation suited to its locality, besides the rules governing all. It is also provided with a comandante de resguardo, whose chief duty is to guard against smuggling.[10]

[9] The following table of importations during the fiscal year 1874–5, derived from official documents, will make this apparent:

France—Cotton goods	$344,732	
Miscellaneous merchandise	2,752,258	
		$3,096,990
Germany—Cotton goods	$199,750	
Miscellaneous merchandise	806,013	
		1,005,763
England—Cotton goods	$5,109,231	
Miscellaneous merchandise	3,547,932	
		8,657,163
United States—Cotton goods	$1,674,184	
Miscellaneous merchandise	3,354,451	
		5,028,635
Spain—Cotton goods	$2,374	
Miscellaneous merchandise	912,534	
		914,908
South America—Cotton goods	$49,065	
Miscellaneous merchandise	140,966	
		190,031
Total		$18,793,490

Busto, Estad. Rep. Mex., i. 4ta pte, 115–17. The above figures are those on the face of the invoices. On the entry of goods into Mexican ports, the invoice figures were raised to the valor de plaza upon which the duties were calculated. The valor de plaza corresponding to this total of $18,793,490 was $27,300,855. The system of raising the invoice prices of merchandise was employed in order to prevent fraudulent evasion of the duties by exhibiting fictitious invoices.

[10] He is required to keep the government promptly advised of vessels arrived, together with their cargoes and other particulars, including the lists of passengers, and their nationality, trade, and occupations.

Custom-houses are, from time to time, inspected by visitadores, whose mission is to examine the books and accounts, investigate the acts of each office, and report as to the competency and attention to duty of the officials.[11]

An aduana de cabotage, or some dependency of one, is at each of the ports open to coasting trade. Foreign vessels may also come to them direct for loading with lumber or live-stock. The frontier custom-houses have undergone many changes, several of them resulting from the change of sovereignty.[12]

Early in August 1880, the government placed custom-houses on the frontier of Sonora at the places named, Quitovaquita, Sásabe, Nogales, and Palominas.[13]

The aduanas terrestres were to be found in every place of any importance throughout the country. This system was a specialty of the colonial period, and was in every way burdensome and injurious to the country's industries; yet it has been continued down to December 1884, though every minister of the treasury had condemned it and propositions had been made in congress for its suppression.[14]

In May 1882, a law was passed abolishing the alcabalas, or interstate duties, to take effect December

[11] They also report upon the ports and the facilities afforded for smuggling, with such suggestions as each case may demand. *Arrillaga, Recop.*, May 1849 to Apr. 1850, app. 310–23.

[12] There were the following in 1876: on the northern frontier, Altar, Camargo, Guerrero, János, Magdalena, Matamóros, Mier, Monterey, Laredo, Paso del Norte, Piedras Negras, Presidio del Norte, Reinosa, and Tijuana; on the southern frontier, Soconusco and Zapaluta. *Arpéroz, Cód. de Extranj.*, 46–7. The following are the custom-houses declared open to foreign trade by decree of Jan. 24, 1885: Pacific coast—Soconusco, maritime and frontier, Tonala, Salina Cruz, Puerto Angel, Acapulco, Manzanillo, San Blas, Mazatlan, Altata, Guaymas, La Paz, Cabo de San Lucas, Bahía de la Magdalena, Todos Santos. Gulf of Mexico—Matamoros, maritime and frontier, Tampico, Tuxpam, Vera Cruz, Coatzacoalco, Frontero, Isla del Carmen, Campeche, Progreso. North frontier—Tijuana, Quitovaquita, Nogales, Sásabe, Palominas, Ascencion, Paso del Norte, Piedras Negras, Loredo, Guerrero, Mier, and Camargo. South frontier—Zacatula. In 1884 an inspector-generalship of frontier custom-houses was created. *Mex., Mem. Hac.*, 1884, Doc. 22; *Mex., Diario Ofic.*, Feb. 11, 1885.

[13] Approved by congress in 1881, and $17,800 appropriated for salaries. *Diario Debates*, 10th Cong., ii. 970.

[14] *Tovar, 2d Cong. Const.*, 127; *Diario Debates*, 8th Cong., i. 399.

1, 1884; yet the states, most of which obtained their principal reveuue from this source, were strongly opposed to the measure, and in October 1883, at the instigation of the president, a conference of commissioners from the different states was held at the capital, to discuss the question. A commission was appointed to draw up a report on the matter, which was laid before the conference on the 15th. In the report, it was stated that most of the states derived from the alcabalas a portion of their revenue, varying from 30 per centum to 75 per centum of the total receipts; and that many of the states had attempted the abolishment of those duties, but had failed, from the fact that the new local imposts that had been decreed instead thereof had been inadequate to meet the pecuniary requirements for governmental purposes in the locality.[15]

With the view of preventing contraband traffic, the government of Mexico, in August 1825, decreed the establishment at convenient places of revenue guards.[16] Later, from time to time, further laws and regulations were issued to perfect the service on the coast of both seas, and on the frontiers. On November 24, 1849, a law was passed for stationing revenue-cutters in both the gulf of Mexico and Pacific sea, with authority to overhaul suspicious vessels. Like laws were adopted between 1872 and 1878,[17] and suitable vessels were procured.

Early in the present century smuggling was carried on, mostly at the ports of Vera Cruz, Túxpam, Tampico, and Campeche, in small vessels, bringing the prohibited goods from Jamaica. In time of war, it was not

[15] *Mex., Mem. Gob.*, 1880–4, p. x. and doc. 3; *Bol., Of. Gob. B. Cal.*, June 10, 1882, 1–2; *Mex., Mem. Hac.*, 1884, pp. xxxv.–xxxviii.

[16] *Mex., Guia de Hac.*, iv. 231–2, v. 3–4. During the Spanish rule, the government kept armed vessels on the coasts of America. *Cortes, Diario Ofic.*, iii. 122.

[17] *Mex., Col. Ley. y Dec.*, 1839, 163–4; *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1839, 117, 169–70, 302–3; 1847, 182–3; *Mex., Legis. Mej.*, Jan.–Dec. 1850, 168–74; 1851, 276–86; Jan.–June 1856, 428; *Sin., Boletin Ofic.*, May 23, 1872, 234–5; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, xi. 108–21; *Mex., Diario Debates*, 7th Cong., i. 173, 376, 525–8, 648–9; iv. 335–6; 8th Cong., iii. 200.

unusual to see large ships landing smuggled goods on the island of Sacrificios. Government had to relax its prohibitory system and wink at trade with neutrals. Smuggling became comparatively easy, as the custom-house officers were not too strict in their inspection of papers.[18] In 1803 the government made use of the consulado to check the evil, but all efforts proved unavailing. In spite of watchfulness and severe penal enactments, illicit trade continued to thrive through connivance of poorly paid officials. The same state of things prevailed after the independence, and as long as the Spaniards held possession of San Juan de Ulúa smuggling operations were carried on through the castle. Very stringent laws were passed,[19] but without effect. Officials were eager to be bribed; and if any such attempted to do his duty honorably, he either lost his position through the influence of the smugglers, or was driven from it by maltreatment and threats of death. A custom-house or revenue officer had to be accommodating. For half a century law after law was passed, each more rigid than the former, but only with very brief success.[20] The last and most stringent one was enacted by congress in 1879, which besides inflicting mulcts, or imprisonment, declared that any commercial house or firm established in the republic, which was discovered to be engaged in smuggling, should have its signature nullified for all transactions with the public treasury, by not being accepted in any

[18] Probably in time of peace the value of smuggled goods was of four to five million pesos; in time of war, of six to seven million pesos.

[19] When the amount defrauded should exceed $500, the name of the person and his offence were to be published in the newspapers; for a second offence, suspension of his citizen rights for five years; for a third offence, banishment from Mexican territory. The expulsion from the country might be applied for the first offence to foreigners. Those penalties were in addition to those prescribed in the tariff regulations. The law having fallen into disuse, the goverment reiterated it March 23, 1831. *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1831, 222–3; *Mex., Col. Ord. y Dec.*, ii. 169–71; *Mex., Mem. Provis.*, 1823, 13–15.

[20] *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 508–11; *Espos. Comercio Guadal.*, 4–6; *Inform., Est. Empl. S. Blas*, 12; *Mex., Col. Ley. y Dec.*, 1839–40, 824–9; *Mex., Legis. Mej.*, 1851, 335–8; Jan. to June 1856, 419; *Mex., Col. Ley...Ord.*, Jan. to May 1854, vi. 24–5; *Archivo, Mex., Col. Ley.*, i. 802; iii. 1002–5; *Mex., Espos. Hac.*, 16–17.

official or mercantile act at government offices. But the evil seems eradicable. It is estimated that at the present time the loss to the government amounts to $3,000,000 annually. This illegal traffic is extensively carried on along the northern frontier.

At each principal port is stationed a capitan de puerto, whose duties are both of a civil and naval character. He has charge of the police force, and it is incumbent upon him to support and aid the customs authorities. In case of shipwreck, it is his duty to save and take care of stranded property; and if it is foreign, he has to call for the coöperation of the consular agent, should there be one at his port.[21]

The national mercantile marine received a fostering care on the part of the government from the earliest days of the republic, especially the coasting trade, foreign vessels being only allowed to carry goods from one Mexican port to another, when there was no Mexican vessel at the port of departure bound to the same destination.[22] In 1830 Mexican citizens were permitted to purchase foreign-built vessels and place them under the national flag, but it was required that the masters, officers, and at least two thirds of the crews should be Mexican citizens. Nor was any vessel under the Mexican flag to be owned by a foreigner. In January 1856, certain allowances were decreed to Mexican vessels engaged in foreign trade;[23] and in December 1883 a decree was passed aiding the de-

[21] *Azpiroz, Cód. de Estrang.*, 104; *Mex., Leg. Mej.*, Aug. to Dec. 1853, 112–16; *Mex., Col. de Ley...Ord.*, Sept. to Dec. 1853, 22–5.

[22] They could also at all times, after discharging cargo and paying duties, transport passengers and their baggage, or mails, but nothing else. *Azpiroz, Cod. de Estrang.*, 111; *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1830, 393–4, 443.

[23] Four dollars per ton to vessels of over eighty tons bringing foreign merchandise to Mexico from ports of the American continent or Islands, and $8 to those of over 100 tons bringing such merchandise from ports in Europe, Asia, Africa, or Australia. A receipted bill for the amount thus awarded was to be accepted at the custom-house in part payment of the cargo's duties. The law was to have effect during the next five years. *Archivos Mex., Col. Ley.*, i. 438–40. A law of Nov. 24, 1868, ordered the establishment of two nautical schools, one in Mazatlan and one in Campeche, and granted builders of Mexican vessels, exceeding 100 tons burden, a subvention of $15 per ton. *Mex., Mem. Hac.*, 1870, 813.

velopment of the national mercantile marine by the reduction of importation duties.[24]

With regard to the carrying trade, the United States has always far surpassed England and all other nations. In 1826, 399 vessels under the United States flag entered Mexican ports, against 55 English; in 1851, 435 American, 108 English, and 296 vessels of other nations entered. The subjoined tables supply shipping statistics for later years.[25] During the fiscal year 1883–4, no less than 1,241 vessels

[24] Namely, 2 per cent on goods brought from any foreign port; 4 per cent on goods from Asiatic ports to the Pacific coast of Mexico, by irregular voyages, and 8 per cent by regular steamer lines. *Mex., Mem. Hac.*, 1884, pp. xvii.–xviii.; *Diario Ofic.*, Dec. 15, 1883.

[25] The entries were as follows:

	Vessels.	Tonnage.
1869—American	371	531,194
English	150	87,779
Other nations	337	97,059
Mexican	2,473	110,673
Totals	3,331	826,705

These vessels conveyed 7,146 passengers to Mexico.

	Vessels.	Tonnage.
1870—American	328	386,176
English	163	75,461
Mexican	2,155	108,641
Other nations	304	98,783
Totals	2,950	669,061

These vessels conveyed 6,780 passengers.

	Vessels.	Tonnage
1871—American	299	371,040
English	165	91,951
Mexican	1,978	98,408
Other nations	311	92,343
Totals	2,753	653,742

These vessels conveyed 6,294 passengers.

Departures:

	Vessels.	Tonnage.
1869—Foreign	830	664,917
Mexican	2,489	104,722
1870—Foreign	801	559,543
Mexican	2,140	100,008
1871 Foreign	752	446,398
Mexican	1,906	105,617
Total for the 3 years	8,918	1,981,205

Mex., Mem. Fomento, 1873, annexes B, C, & D. Comparing the number of Mexican vessels and their corresponding tonnage with that of foreign vessels and their tonnage, it will be seen that the former were of smaller burden, owing to the fact that the Mexican mercantile marine consists principally of small coasting craft, with but few ocean-traversing bottoms.

freighted with merchandise entered the ports of the republic, besides 442 in ballast.[26]

The regulations to govern merchant vessels visiting the ports of Mexico have been subjected to changes from time to time, since the establishment of the republic. The following were for the most part in force in 1887. A merchant vessel is considered to have arrived, when she has entered the territorial waters of the republic, and no person can go on board except the pilot, until she has been visited by the officer of the board of health, and by the custom-house officials. Invoices and manifests must be authenticated by the Mexican consular representative at the port of departure; or in the absence of such agent, by two responsible merchants. These documents must be made in triplicate,[27] and be accompanied by receipts, on separate paper, for the payment of consular fees for authentication of invoice and manifest, which must contain an exact detail of quantity, kind, quality, and value of each class of goods in the cargo. The goods, moreover, must be put up in separate packages, according to the classification of the tariff. If this requirement is not followed, the highest duty is charged on all goods in the same packing-case. Masters of vessels are required to produce their ships' registers, crew lists, and documents establishing their nationality.[28] In 1884 bonded warehouses were for the first time established in Mexico, a decree permitting the entry of bonded goods being passed March 25th.[29]

[26] *Mex., Mem. Hac.*, 1884, pp. xix.–xx. These numbers of course do not include the coasting vessels.

[27] Must have no interlineations, erasures, or corrections, such alterations subjecting the shipper to fines of from $50 to $200. Cargo thrown overboard during stress of weather must be reported on arrival. *Azpíroz, Cod. Estrang.*, 112–14. If the consular receipts are wanting, double duties are charged.

[28] As a rule, a sailing vessel pays for pilotage and anchorage fees, in the regular ports $25, and in those of cabotage $12. Steam vessels for pilotage and anchorage in the regular ports $30, and in the minor ones $20 harbor-masters' fee and $3½—not collected from fishing vessels or other small craft plying within the port. Other dues paid are those of tonnage and light-house, from which several exemptions are allowed in favor of passenger-steamers, whalers, and other vessels entering ports for supplies or repairs. Mexican vessels are exempted from paying tonnage dues. *Id.*, 108–10; *Manero, Notic. Cons. Mex.*, 21.

[29] *Mex., Mem. Hac.*, 1884, doc. 15; *Diario Ofic.*, March 25, April 24, 1884.

Peculiar privileges were conceded to foreign steamers before they became commercial carrying vessels. The first vessels of this kind belonged to the Royal Mail Steamship Company, and the same exemptions were granted them as to men-of-war, being free from tonnage and port dues, and from visits by custom-house officers. They were allowed to import quicksilver and goods on the free list, and export cochineal and the precious metals. The courier of the British legation conveyed, free of charge, the government mail, between the capital and Vera Cruz, in return for the privilege granted the company of receiving correspondence of merchants free of postage charges.[30] The privileges granted the company were frequently abused by contraband proceedings, a flagrant case occurring in March 1868, when the captain of the *Danube* sailed out of port in defiance of the authorities, with a quantity of gold that had been smuggled on board.[31]

The first steamers possessed by the Mexican government appear to be two, which arrived in Vera Cruz in August 1842, and which had been built in London. In 1845 a small one also plied between Sisal and Vera Cruz. During the last half of this century, many liberal concessions have been granted steamship companies, among which may be mentioned that to the Panamá and California steamship company in 1849, allowing vessels to land and receive passengers and coin at the ports of Acapulco, San Blas, and Mazatlan. In 1856 a line was established between San Francisco, California, and the ports of the Pacific. For a number of years England, owing

[30] By decree of July 28, 1841, British steamers were granted an exemption from import and export dues for ten years, at Vera Cruz and Tampico, on coal for their service. In Sept. 1843, France claimed the same privileges for French steamers as those granted to the English company. The claim was acceded to in Dec. of the same year. *Azpiroz, Cod. Estrang.*, 284–5.

[31] The president, in consequence, issued new regulations with regard to English steam-ships. In future, if they brought merchandise, they would be considered as merchantmen, though still exempt from dues in consideration of their mail and passenger service. Steamers not bringing merchandise remained in full enjoyment of existing privileges. The *Danube* would only be allowed to land passengers and mails, until the captain gave satisfaction for his conduct. *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, x. 290–1.

to the dilatoriness of the United States government in encouraging steamship service, enjoyed an unrivalled monopoly of it on the Atlantic side, giving her a corresponding preponderance in trade with Mexico; but in 1860 and 1861 congress was at last aroused, and with such satisfactory results that at the present date the steamships plying between Mexican and United States ports are owned and controlled by American companies. The effect on the trade between the two countries is evidenced by the fact that the United States receives by far the greater portion of the exports from Mexico.[32]

During the first administration of Porfirio Diaz, great impulse was given to the establishment of steamer lines. When he assumed office there were but three lines subsidized; at the end of his term there were eight.[33] In 1883 the first national enterprise for transatlantic navigation was undertaken, and a company was organized under the title of the Mexican Transatlantic Steamship Company. Three iron steamers, each about 4,000 tons burden, were built, and run monthly between Vera Cruz, England, and Italy. The company obtained a large concession from the government under contract to convey immigrants to Mexico at low rates.[34]

[32] *Bustamante, Hist. Sta Anna,* 69; *Registro Yucateco,* i. 119–20; *Mex., Legisl. Mej.,* 1849, 11–13; *Pensamiento, Nac.,* Feb. 17, 1856. During the fiscal year 1883–4, the exportations to the U. S. amounted to $21,824,400, while those to England amounted to $19,330,152. But the proportion of goods received by England is small, the principal export to that country being the precious metals. *Mex., Mem. Hac.,* 1884, p. xliv.; *Mex. Financier,* Feb. 14, 1885, 319.

[33] *Mex., Diaz Informe,* 13. The three principal ones are the Alexander lines, plying between Vera Cruz and New York, and between Vera Cruz and N. Orleans, and the Morgan line, plying between the two last-named ports, and touching at Galveston, Texas.

[34] *Diario Ofic.,* Oct. 12, 1883; *Monit. Repub.,* Aug. 20, 1885. The first vessel, the *Tamaulipas,* was launched at Glasgow, Oct. 18, 1883; *Pan. Star and Herald,* Nov. 15, 1883; *Mex. Financier,* Nov. 3 and Dec. 29, 1883. The names of the other two vessels are the *Oajaca* and *Mexico.* The two first are named after the states in compliment to generals Gonzalez and Diaz, respectively. During the period 1882–7, many contracts and concessions were made, of which the principal are that with Andrade, to establish a line in the gulf of Cal.; the concession to the Cal. Steam Navigation Co. to ply between S. F. and Mazatlan; that to Larraza et al. for a Transpacific line; the con-

In colonial times, the imposts levied on Spanish produce or manufactures, and especially on foreign goods, which had to come via Spain, upon their being exported thence to America, were very heavy—no less than 36½ per centum on the latter.[35] The republic, in her admission of foreign produce and manufactures, pursued the policy of protecting home industries, even to the extent of prohibiting every article of commerce that might be detrimental to them. Thus by the provisional tariff of December 15, 1821, tobacco, raw cotton, some breadstuffs, manufactured wax, spun cotton of certain numbers, and several other manufactured articles were not allowed to enter. Several modifications were made between that year and 1830. The tariff law of 1827 established excessively high rates, forbidding the importation of raw cotton and common yarn. Still further changes were made between 1837 and 1845.[36] The illiberality noticeable in

tract with the Sonora R. R. Co. for a line between Guaymas and Manzanillo; that with Bulnes Bros. for one between Bagdad and Progreso, touching at way-ports; that with Joaquin Redo for a line between Guaymas and Manzanillo, and way-ports; and the concession to Garma et al. for an ocean line between Vera Cruz and Buenos Ayres. *Estad. de Sin.*, Feb. 17, 24, 1882; *Diario Ofic.*, Oct. 30, Nov. 15, Dec. 18, 1883; March 13, Oct. 15, 1884; Jan. 15, March 3, 30, 1885; *Mex., Recop. Leyes*, xxxv. 883–6; xxxvi. 150–5; *El Cronista*, S. F., Apr. 26, Dec. 13, 1884; Apr. 25, 1885; *El Siglo XIX.*, Jan. 20, 1885; *Mex. Financier*, Apr. 4, 18, 1885.

[35] Namely, introduction into Spain, 15 per 100; internacion, 5; consolidation of royal warrants, 5; almirantazgo, ½; almojarifazgo, 7; consulado, 1; war subvention, 1½; reemplazos, 1; Guadalquivir canal, ½. Total, 36½ per cent, which constituted the revenue of Spain, drawn indirectly from the colonies; and adding it to the import and consumption duties collected in Mexico, we have an aggregate of about 65 per cent; hence the wealthy only could purchase imported goods. Cochineal had to pay the enormous export duty of $41.30 for every 25 pounds.

[36] The tariff of March 11, 1837, permitted the importation of many articles forbidden in that of 1830, but was illiberal in other respects. That of 1842 augmented the prohibitions, and the tariff of April 1843 increased 20 per cent the duties established in the previous year. A law of Feb. 28, 1843, established a bonded warehouse in Acapulco, with a reduction of the duties on goods imported through it. *Guia de Hac.*, iii. 30–51; iv. 252–3; vi. 140–216, 287–99; *Mex., Col. Ley., Ord. y Dec.*, iii. 47–50, 139; *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1837, 85–120, 144–92; *Vallejo, Col. Doc. Mex.*, i. no. 64; *Mex., Col. Ley. y Dec.*, 1839, 240–5; *Manero, Not. Com. Mex.*, 26–7, 31–2. The products of the maritime and frontier custom-houses in 11 years ending June 30, 1837, were $72,819,980, or an average of $6,619,998. The expenses of collecting, including salaries, did not exceed 3½ per cent. *Mex., Mem. Hacienda* (1822, Feb. 28; 1823, June 2, Sept. 3, Nov. 12; 1824, none; 1825, Jan. 1, 4; 1826, Jan. 13, 16; 1827, Jan. 1; 1828, Jan. 29; 1829, Jan. 2; 1830, Apr. 1; 1831, Jan. 22; 1832, Jan. 2;

the early tariffs is exhibited by the fact that the rates were fixed so as to fall lightly on the rich and heavily on the poor. Nearly two months' wages every year had to go to pay for the cotton cloth worn by the Indian laborer and his family, if indeed they wore cloth; while a half-day's income covered all that the government received from duties on articles consumed by the rich man, or by a convent of friars.

Between 1845 and 1856 several changes occurred, among them the liberal one of 1848, and the famous order of Santa Anna, in 1854, under which he established a prohibitive discrimination against nations having no commercial treaty with Mexico on the basis of reciprocity; it was repealed by the liberal government that deposed him, on the 9th of January, 1856.[37] On the 31st a new tariff was issued, lowering the duties from the standard of that of 1853. The import dues were classified import and additional, the latter being equivalent to about 75 per centum on the amount of the former.[38] In May 1858 the permission was given to import cotton through Vera Cruz by paying one dollar and a half per hundred pounds. On the 17th of March of the same year the governor of Tamaulipas had decreed the zona libre by which, in the towns

1833, May 15; 1834, none printed; 1835, May 22; 1838, July 27 and 28, for the fiscal years 1835–6, and 1836–7). *Willie, Noticia, Hac. Púb.*, tables C and D. The effect of the tariff of 1837 was felt in diminished revenue. The following figures represent net proceeds: July 1, 1837, to Dec. 31, 1838, $4,258,411, equivalent for a year to $2,838,941; 1839, $5,174,888; 1840, $7,115,849; 1841, $5,544,065; 1842, $4,900,667; 1843, $7,249,722. *Mex., Mem. Hacienda* (1839, July 25; 1840, July 14; 1841, July 28; 1844, Jan., for the fiscal years 1841, 1842, 1843).

[37] The yield of the maritime and frontier custom-houses for import and export duties, including also vessels' port charges, in those years was as follows: Total collected, at rates of 40, 30, 25, and 12½ per centum, from Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1844, $6,933,991. During war with the U. S., no reports were made in 1846 and 1847; the collection from Jan. 1, 1848, to June 30, 1849, gross, $5,442,113, net, $4,949,692. The total recovered in the five years from 1847 to June 30, 1852, $24,532,616; in the next three years, $25,039,502; in the first six months of 1856, gross, $3,641,745, which would make for a year about $7,283,490. Owing to civil war, there were no further reports to June 30, 1860. *Mex., Mem. Hac.*, 1845, July 8, 1849; 1850, Feb. 12; 1851, July 18; 1852, Feb. 23; 1857, Feb. 10, annexes 176, 177; 1870, Sept. 16.

[38] This additional duty was suspended for 10 years by decree of April 8, 1861.

on the Rio Grande, within that state foreign goods were exempted from duty and other charges.[39]

Under the different tariffs enacted, the produce and manufactures of the country have been generally exempt from export duty. The precious metals, however, from the earliest periods of the republic, have been subject to an exportation tax, varying on gold from three to one half per centum, and on silver from ten to five per centum, the lowest rates having been fixed by congress in 1882. The exportation of gold and silver bullion has been often forbidden, and at times allowed, the latter being the case under the last-mentioned decree of congress. Occasionally, a small duty was levied on national produce, as in 1853, when eighteen articles were taxed, such as live-stock, raw wool, hides, salt beef, lard, etc.[40]

During Maximilian's reign, various decrees were passed concerning import dues, all of which were ignored by the republican government after his fall. On January 1, 1872, a new tariff was established, which in March 1877 was declared to be still in force, together with the orders issued during the interval. This law removed all prohibitions, and foreign goods of every kind were allowed to enter on payment of

[39] The federal government sanctioned the decree Sept. 30th following, and enlarged the belt later, not without great opposition. In June 17, 1878, a regulation was issued, ratifying all that had been decreed before relative to the zona libre, and finally by decree of Jan. 24, 1885, establishing new tariff regulations, the zona libre was extended all along the frontier from Matamoros to Tijuana in Lower Cal. *Manero, Not. Com., Mex.*, 31–7, 47–8; *Mex., Mem. Hac.*, 1868, app. last doc., 1–9; *Diario Debates*, 6th Cong., iv. 14–15; *U. S. H. Misc.*, Cong. 40, Sess. 3, doc. 16; *U. S. Sen. Misc.*, Cong. 41, Sess. 2, doc. 19; *U. S. Com. Rept*, 701, pp. xix.–xxi., and app. vol. iii., Cong. 45, Sess. 2; *Mex., Diario Ofic.*, Jan. 31, 1885.

[40] Information on the above subject will be found in *Gaz. Imp.*, i. 157–8; *Guia de Hac.*, iii. 1–2; *Gac. Gob. Mex.*, April 18, 1827; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, ii. 30, 75; v. 82; vi. 416; ix. 175–6; *Archivo Mex., Col. Ley.*, i. 631–2; *Arrillaga, Recop.*, May 1849 to Apr. 1850, 69; *Mex., Col. Ley.*, 1853, Apr.–Aug. 1853, 66–7, 93–4; *Mex., Legis. Mej.*, Apr.–July 1853, 236; Aug.–Dec. 1853, 323–4; Jan.–May 1854, 109–11; *El Correo Nac.*, Nov. 11, 1847; *El Razonador*, Nov. 20, 1847; *Diario de Avisos*, July 11, 1859; *Mex., Col. Ley., Dec. y Ord.*, Sept.–Dec. 1853. 195–6; *Arco Iris*, Oct. 1847; *Sin., Bol. Ofic.*, May 16, 1872, 217; *Tovar, Hist. Parl.*, iii. 1004–6; iv. 38, 230, 272, 705; *Diario Debates*, 10th Cong., iii. 889.

the duties assigned to them.[41] Again, in November 1880, the tariff was altered, and being modified by a presidential decree of June 25, 1881, went into force November 1st following. Lastly, President Diaz, by decree of January 24, 1885, proclaimed a new one, to go into operation July 1st following. This tariff surpasses all previous ones in simplicity, is much shorter than the one which preceded it, and has been most acceptable to the mercantile community, from the fact that it has abolished all the vexatious special percentages which had been exacted before, especially the bulto or package duty. In many cases there is an increase in duties, but not as a whole, the special duties that used to be exacted in addition to those marked down in the schedule having been done away with. The free list is curtailed, but many articles erased from it only pay a nominal duty.[42]

While Mexico was extending her connection with foreign lands by sea, attention was being given to means of internal communication for the benefit of trade at home. The physical formation of the country offers few facilities for the construction of highways leading from the coast to the great central plateau; and thus it was that the capital, being connected with the principal port by the finest road in Mexico, became

[41] A law of July 1, 1876, declared what were the imposts on foreign commerce for the 52d fiscal year; namely, import duties, as per tariff of Jan. 1, 1872; transit duty, according to that tariff, and the law of Dec. 25, 1872; tonnage and light dues; export duty on gold and silver, orchilla from Lower California, lumber, and cabinet woods. The duties collected in the years 1867–77, both inclusive, amounted to $96,504,229. *Mex., Mem. Hac.*, Sept. 16, 1870, 714, 757, 816, 983–9.

[42] Among the articles set down in the free list may be mentioned telegraph wire, ploughs and their shares, cars and trucks for railroads, steel and iron rails, steam-engines and locomotives, rubber belting, coal, quicksilver, bullion, fire-clay, complete houses of wood or iron, anchors and their chains, masts and yards, and unset precious stones, including pearls. Agricultural, mining, and industrial implements and machinery are taxed at ½ cent per kilogram. The tariff is so simplified that there are several hundred distinct classifications less than in the one which preceded it. Copy of it in *Mex., Diario Ofic.*, Feb. 3 to 10, 1885. The custom-house receipts during the four fiscal years from July 1, 1880, to June 30, 1884, were respectively $14,462,213, $18,030,436, $19,119,726, and $17,423,529. *Mex., Mem. Hac.*, 1884, p. xlix.

the great centre of radiation.[43] On the table-land, however, excellent facilities are offered, and the interior is intersected by innumerable roads and mule-trails. During the war of independence, they fell into disrepair, and for a lengthened period were chronically bad, and the traveller, besides being exposed to the danger of robbery and assassination, incurred no little risk of a broken neck.[44]

Unsatisfactory as was the condition of the Mexican highways for a long period, the tolls were exceptionally high, and both merchandise and passengers were subject to extortionate charges made by contractors for the peaje dues.

The opening of free trade to foreign countries entailed changes in the system on which internal commerce had been previously conducted. The foreign traders who invaded the country, being all commission merchants, abolished the custom of employing intermediate agents between themselves and their customers,

[43] The highway from Vera Cruz to Mexico cost $3,000,000. From that port it runs northward till it nearly reaches Cerro Gordo, then it turns inland through the gorge of Jalapa, elevation 4,264 feet; thence it is extended over the mountain of Perote, 10,000 feet high, to the table-land of Mexico. Eight principal lines traversed the country in the middle of the century as the great commercial highways: 1, that from Mexico to Vera Cruz; 2, from Mexico to Tuxpam; 3, from Mexico to Cuernavaca; 4, from Mexico to Monte Alto; 5, from Mexico to San Blas, via Querétaro and Guadalajara; 6, from Puebla to Tehuantepec, through Oajaca; 7, from Querétaro to Tampico; and 8, from Querétaro to Chihuahua. *Siliceo, Mem. Foment. Col. Ind.*, L. ii. 45–64.

[44] In 1827 a board of public highways was established for the purpose of improving roads. *Gua de Hac. Rep. Mex.*, vi. 77–81. In 1861 an order was issued by the government authorizing the different states to provide for the safety of travellers by employing the national guards for their protection. *Archivo Mex., Col. Ley.*, v. 616–18. In 1865, Maximilian, by decree of August 19th, established a superior council on roads and bridges. *Col. Leyes Imperio*, v. 79–81. Stage lines were established between all the most important towns. The first appears to have commenced running in 1827 between Vera Cruz and the capital, the fare being $70. These coaches were frequently assailed and stoned by the lower classes, from whom the establishment of these lines took away the business of the transportation of passengers. In 1860 stages ran daily from the capital to the port via Puebla and Orizaba, and also to Toluca. A line ran three times a week to Tepic, through Querétaro, Guanajuato, and Guadalajara, fare $100. These lines transported annually 30,000 passengers, at an average of $20 each. *Hernandez, Estadist. Mej.*, 39–40. In 1883 lines were running from the capital to Morelia, Guadalajara, Ameca, and San L. Potosí, besides others between different towns. *Cor. Fed. Mer.*, 8 Mar., 1828, 4; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, iii. 137; *Wappäus, Mex. und C. Amer.*, 92–3; *La Nacion*, Aug. 20, 1856, 1; *El Estandarte Nac.*, 8 Junio, 1857, 4; *Bol. Ofic. Estad. Sin.*, 27 de Abril, 1873, 62.

and forwarded their goods directly to the purchasers. Wholesale business at the great commercial fairs between importers and the merchants of the interior gradually ceased, and was supplanted by retail system of trade, carried on by country store-keepers and dealers.[45] Foreigners, however, were excluded from engaging in this trade.[46] An approximate result only of the annual amount of internal commerce about the middle of this century can be arrived at; but Lerdo de Tejada, in his work entitled *Cuadro Sinóptico*, published in 1856, taking as his basis the produce of agriculture, industries, mines, and cattle, and the value in the interior of foreign merchandise, calculated that it exceeded $400,000,000 annually at the time he wrote.

In 1824 the tribunal del consulado, or commercial, was abolished,[47] the supreme government assuming certain powers. In 1841, mercantile tribunals were established by decree in all capitals of departments, and in those ports which were open to foreign trade. These courts were composed of a president and two colleagues,[48] and before them were tried all suits arising out of commercial transactions, their jurisdiction extending to cases of bankruptcy.[49] When fraud was detected, the case was to be handed over to the crim-

[45] Under this system, however, fairs became more numerous, and the privilege of holding them was granted to different towns all over the country. In the single year of 1855, five were established by decree, namely, those of Cholula in Puebla, of Santiago and Natividad in Tabasco, *Mex., Legisl. Mej.*, 1855, 67–8, 212–13; and of Tulancingo and Ixtlahuaca in the federal district of Mexico. *Mex., Col. de Ley. Ord.*, Ener.–Agost. 1855, viii. 17–18. The retail business transacted at some of these fairs was enormous, but especial mention must be made of that held at San Juan de los Lagos during the first 15 days of Dec., all goods being made free of state duties during the first 12 days. The retail trade carried on during this fair exceeded that at the capital. *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, ii. 89–90.

[46] *Bustamante, Voz de la Patria*, ii. no. 7, 7; *Cuba, Dos Años en Mex.*, 89–91.

[47] *Mex., Mem. Sec. Estad.*, 51–2; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, ii. 357. It had incurred a debt of $2,124,252, in constructing the road from Vera Cruz to Perote. This sum was paid by the dues derived from avería and peaje. *Pap. Var.*, 186, no. 3, 17–20, 33–8.

[48] The offices of the president and the older colleague were annual. Six substitute judges were also annually elected. *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, iv. 53–4.

[49] Copy of the bankruptcy law of 1853 is supplied in *Id.*, vi. 338–53.

inal court. In urgent cases, these tribunals had the power to secure the persons of suspected individuals when their escape from justice was apprehended.[50]

A corporation of brokers, Colegio de Corredores, was established in 1842, with a governing council of a president and four associates,[51] whose duty it was to arrange differences arising between brokers and merchants, examine the books of members suspected of irregularities, and pass candidates for entrance into the profession. In 1854, a commercial school or business college was inaugurated.

Previous to the independence, no banking establishment, properly so called, existed, and the first bank founded in Mexico was the banco de avío, before mentioned, in 1830. It was short-lived, however, and in 1837 a national bank was established.[52] More lately several banks have been established to meet the requirements of the increasing foreign trade,[53] and banking houses have been opened, and saving banks founded, in most of the important cities. Several life and general insurance companies have also opened offices in the capital.

The postal service for many years after the independence was conducted in a most unsatisfactory manner, the mails being irregular and correspondence

[50] Members of the mercantile tribunals were not allowed to practise law. *Mex., Col. Ley...Ord.*, Mayo–Dic., 1854, vii. 27–8.

[51] Brokers received their licenses originally from the tribunal del consulado. *Gaz., Gob. Mex.*, 1816, vii. 884. In 1842 the junta de fomento del comercio extended the licenses, and in 1854 the ministerio de fomento. *Mex. Reg. Corredores*, 5; *Mex. Corredores, Reg. y Aran.*, 3; *Pap. Var.*, 50, nos. 10 and 11.

[52] The charter was annulled in Dec. 1841. In 1857 another was founded, with a franchise for 10 years, extended to Liger de Libessart & Co., capital $5,000,000, and a third in 1882, with a capital of $8,000,000. *Mex., Mem. Hac.*, 1870, 167–8; *Mex., Col. Ley. Dec.*, 1841, 148–52; *Siliceo, Mem. Foment. Col. Ind.*, 100–1, L. vi., 41–8; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, viii. 502–11. The same year the Mercantile Bank was incorporated, and in 1884 the two banks were merged in one, with a capital of $20,000,000. *Mex. Financier*, Apr. 5, May 31, 1884; *Zaremba, Merchants*, 27.

[53] The bank of London, Mexico, and South America, incorporated in 1864, capital £2,000,000; the Franco-Egyptian in 1881, capital $8,000,000; the Banco Hipotecario, or mortgage bank, in 1882, capital $5,000,000; and the International Loan and Trust Company the same year. *Mex., Diario Ofic.*, Nov. 30, Dec. 5, 1881; June 11 and 19, 1883; *Banco Mac. Mex., Ley de Conces.*, 1881, p. 33; *Banco Hipot. Mex.*, 1882, p. 64.

being frequently lost or miscarried.[54] Foreign mails to Europe and the United States were principally carried by the English steamers, and it was not until May 1862, when a mail line of steamers was established between Mexico and the United States, that the postal convention agreed upon came into operation.[55] Since that time, the system has gradually improved and the service increased. Within the last few years the system of post-office orders has been adopted, and has gained popularity. At the beginning of 1884 a new postal code went into effect, by which the rates of postage were reduced;[56] the sale of stamps, hitherto greatly restricted, was made free; and an urban service was organized upon the basis of the best systems known.[57] The new urban system has met with much favor in the metropolis, and under the able management of Postmaster Lino Nava, the carrier service is excellent, and the delivery prompt and accurate.

Congress having decreed the coinage of $4,000,000 of nickel pieces of one cent, two cents, and five cents, these coins were distributed proportionately throughout the republic, as they were issued from the mint. In order to promote a favorable acceptance of them, they were made receivable at the custom-houses in any quantity. The result was, that large sums of the new coinage were withdrawn from circulation by speculators, who, discovering that an opportunity of profit

[54] The charges were very high: 1 real for a letter under ½ ounce for a distance of from one to five leagues, and 4 reales for a letter weighing one ounce. In 1856 these rates were reduced to one half. *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, iv. 297–301, viii. 125.

[55] The convention was ratified Feb. 17, 1862. Seven cents was charged on letters not exceeding half an ounce, and an additional 7 cents on every additional ½ ounce or fraction of it. Newspapers were charged 1 cent. *Id.*, ix. 462–5.

[56] Ten cents is charged on letters weighing 15 grains, or a fraction of that weight, for delivery within the republic. Postal-cards 5 cents, and 2 cents within city limits. Newspapers and periodicals, 4 cents for each 480 grains. *Mex., Codigo Postal*, 1884, 61.

[57] The following are the annual amounts yielded to the revenue from this service for the 10 years ending June 30, 1884: $549,820, $455,473, $441,329, $590,334, $679,392, $702,080, $611,719, $720,450, $823,887, $460,593. *Mex., Mem. Hac.*, 1884, p. xlviii.–xlix.

was offered, collected them in great quantities and flooded the government offices with them.[58] Consequently, the government felt compelled to limit the admission of them in payment of dues, which had the effect of depreciating their value to the extent of from 4 per centum to 50 per centum. This caused a grievous loss to the poor, and in December 1883 a serious riot occurred in the capital. Finally, on April 7, 1884, the president by decree declared the coin no longer receivable in payment of duties, and prohibited the government offices from making any payment in nickel.

Steps have been taken to introduce the decimal system of weights and measures. In 1883 a law was passed to that effect, assigning January 1, 1886, as the date when the new system should be put in operation. By a congressional act, however, passed in 1885, the time was postponed to January 1, 1888.[59]

The necessity of extensive systems of railroads in Mexico has in late years become obvious, not only to the Mexican government, but to a large portion of the inhabitants, and perhaps no other country will be found to reap more marked benefits by the establishment of these means of communication. In a land whose rivers afford but few facilities for navigation, and whose physical conformation is such as to preclude the construction of canals or even good roads, the drawbacks to commercial enterprise were one of the chief causes of such slow progress in Mexico.

The first railway project in Mexico was that for the construction of one from Vera Cruz to the capital, and it began to be advocated soon after the year

[58] The 1-cent coin weighed 2 grams, the 2-cent one 3 grams, and the 5-cent ones 5 grams each; consequently five 1-cent pieces weighed as much as two 5-cent pieces, and two 2-cent pieces with two 1-cent pieces weighed the same. As it was impossible to count the large sums paid into the custom-houses, the coin was received by weight, and considerable loss was incurred, inasmuch as 5 cents in one form and 6 cents in another weighed the same as 10 cents in 5-cent pieces. *Mex., Mem. Hac.*, 1884, p. lxxvii.

[59] *Mex., Mem. Fomento*, 1882, i. 443–6; *Mex., Diario Ofic.*, Dec. 15, 1883; *Mex. Financier*, June 13, 1885, 165.

1830.[60] Strong objections, however, were raised to the establishment of such lines, on the ground that they would throw out of employment so many thousands of muleteers, and others who gained their livelihood by the transportation of goods. Nevertheless, by decree of August 22, 1837, President Bustamante granted to Francisco Arrillaga the exclusive privilege of building a railroad from Vera Cruz to the city of Mexico;[61] but the concession was afterward declared forfeited, as the projector failed to begin the road. On the 31st of May, 1842, Santa Anna reëstablished the abolished tax, called the *avería*, and appropriated the proceeds to the construction of the railway. A contract was entered into with Antonio Garay, a Mexican by birth, and the work was at last commenced;[62] but progress was slow, and by no means corresponded with the outlay;[63] nor was it until Antonio Escandon obtained in 1857 a franchise to construct a line from Vera Cruz to a port on the Pacific, that any energetic interest in the undertaking was shown.[64] Still, active operations were for some time prevented by the troubles of the nation; and revolutions and the French intervention rendered it impossible to resume work before 1865.[65] After that time, though various difficulties periodically affected the enterprise,[66] the work was pushed vigorously forward un-

[60] *Mex., Observ. Caminos de Hierro*, New York, 1833; *El Indicador*, ii. 119–34.

[61] *Proyecto del Primer Camino de Hierro*, Mex., 1837, pp. 112, in Diorama.

[62] *Payno, Convencion Mex.*, 34–48; *Bustamante, Diario Mex.*, MS., xlv. 75; *Pap. Var.*, 24, 2.

[63] Eight miles cost $2,263,131. In May 1852, the department of public works took charge of the road, and to the end of June 1857 expended $760,869 more on it. *Payno, Conven. Esp.*, 37–9.

[64] During the period 1853 to 1857 inclusive, no less than twelve railroad concessions were granted by the government, all of which, except four, fell to the ground. *Silíceo, Mem. Fomento*, 19–25. Escandon paid for the portion of the line already laid, $750,000 in specie and government paper. *Escandon, Breve Expos.*; and *Id., Segunda Expos.*

[65] In 1864 Escandon transferred his concessions to an English company, styled the Imperial Mexican Railway Company, and the transfer was approved by Maximilian on the 25th of Jan. 1865. *Mex., Mem. Hac. y Foment.*, 1838, doc. 2, pp. 18–22, 249–60; *Gac., Nic.*, March 1865, 91; 8 April, 127.

[66] On the downfall of Maximilian, the concession was declared forfeited. In Nov. 1867, however, the company's privileges were restored, and the work

der the direction of Engineer Buchanan, and 134 miles had been completed when the republic was restored by the fall of Maximilian. At the end of 1872, this line, which is called the Mexican Railway, was so far advanced that it was opened on the 1st of January, 1873, by the president of the republic, Lerdo de Tejada, with due solemnities and accompanying festivities.[67]

Although occasionally efforts were made to cause its abandonment, by damaging the tracks and rolling stock,[68] opposition gradually yielded. There already existed, it is true, a number of short disconnected railway tracks, scattered throughout the country, especially in the neighborhood of the city of Mexico; but these were of no service to commerce, and were merely crude native efforts in different localities, many of them being mere tram-ways, on which mules were the motive power. The ultimate triumph of the projectors of the Mexican Railway impressed alike presidents, ministers, and the enlightened portion of the public. They perceived, at last, that extensive railroad systems were a necessity for the progress of the country; that through-lines, placing the distant regions of the interior in easy communication with the capital, extending northward to the United States, and connected in course of time with interoceanic lines, would develop the boundless resources of their country, and procure for Mexico the means of reaching all the great commercial markets of the world. An enlightened policy followed hand in hand with this conviction. During the progressive administrations of Lerdo de Tejada and Diaz, every encouragement has been given to promoters of railroad enterprises. Many concessions were granted, with lib-

resumed. Consult *Mex., Código Reforma*, 345–60; *Mex., Mem. Hac.*, 1870, 646; *Bullock's Across Mex. in 1864*, 19–20; *Ferrocarril, Conces.*, Mexico, 1868; *Ferrocarril de Mex. á Pueb.*, no. i, 18–48; *Gac., Nic.*, 4 Jan., 1868, 5; *Ferrocarril, Breve Expos.*, Mexico, 1868; and *El Derecho*, v. 186–8.

[67] *Riva Palacio, Hist. Adm. Lerdo*, 102–3; *Columbia, Diar. Ofic.*, 7 Abril, 1877, 4367–9; *Ober, Mex.*, 514. The construction of this line cost $40,000,000. It is 264 miles in length, and includes an ascent of 8,333 feet above the gulf of Mexico. Great engineering skill was required to build it.

[68] Laws were enacted inflicting penalties and other punishments upon such offenders. *Mex., Col. Ley. D. C.*, iii. 271, 863–7; *Diario de Avis.*, 15 Jan., 1858, 2.

eral subventions by the Mexican government.[69] It is, however, to American enterprise that Mexico will be principally indebted for the eventual opening of her railroad systems. With the exception of the Mexican Railway, which is in the hands of an English company, all the great arteries and principal branch lines are controlled by United States capitalists, to whom many of the minor concessions have been sold. That citizens of the United States should have acquired such important interest in the nation's future welfare has naturally created some alarm among the Mexicans, which time and intercourse will doubtless obliterate.

The great central plateaus of Mexico, with their extensive level plains and gently undulating elevations, afford unusual facilities for the rapid construction of long trunk lines connecting the south of Mexico with all important points on the United States frontier. Three such lines have been planned; namely, the Mexican Central, the Mexican National, and the International. Of these the main line is the Mexican Central, traversing the great dorsal ridge of the high table-land. This project was nominally commenced in June 1880, when the company began to grade from the capital northward toward Leon, in Guanajuato,[70] but it was not until late in the year, after the company had obtained their charter for the whole line,[71] that determined work was begun, when it was pushed vigorously forward at both ends of the line.[72] Its northern terminus is Paso del Norte. The route

[69] In a pamphlet entitled *Los Ferrocarriles Mexicanos*, published in 1881, by a prominent Mexican, a list is supplied of 42 concessions granted during the period from Aug. 14, 1877, to Feb. 3, 1881.

[70] A concession had been granted Dec. 5, 1874, to Camacho, Mendizábal, & Co., to build a line from the capital to Leon. It was annulled Dec. 26, 1876, and was extended Apr. 3, 1880, to the Mexican Central R. R. Co., organized in Boston, Mass. *Mex., Diario Ofic.*, Apr. 13, May 7, 1880.

[71] The concession was granted Sept. 8, 1880, and the government subsidy was $9,500 per kilometre. *Mex., Recop. Leyes*, xxxiii. 472–505.

[72] Besides the subvention, the Mexican government granted the company the right to import materials for construction, repairs, and operation, for 15 years, free of duty. The line is of the standard gauge, 1.435 metres in width. Capital stock, $32,000 per mile, divided into shares at the par value of $100 each.

extends through the states of Chihuahua, Durango, Zacatecas, Aguascalientes, Guanajuato, and Querétaro, to the city of Mexico. The company, moreover, possesses the right to build an interoceanic cross-line extending from San Blas, on the Pacific coast, to Tampico. When this is completed, with all the ramifications ot branch lines to important towns, it will embrace in its iron mesh twenty-one principal cities, the populations of which, including Mexico, amount to 1,000,000 in number.[73] In the construction of the Mexican Central, some difficulty was encountered in obtaining egress from the valley of Mexico, as also in surmounting the rocky ridges in the states of Guanajuato and Zacatecas, but the intervening valleys and the immense plains extending farther north offered little opposition to engineering skill. On March 8, 1884, the line was completed, the two sections uniting near Fresnillo.[74]

The narrow-gauge line, known as the Mexican National, or Palmer-Sullivan,[75] has its northern terminus in Laredo, on the Texan frontier, and will connect with the capital, by passing along the eastern slope range. Unfortunately, the company, after expending large sums of money, was obliged to close its operations through want of funds. Up to 1887, the line, in running order, had only reached Saltillo, but a considerable amount of preliminary work had been done southward.[76]

Between these two great highland thoroughfares there lies a stretch of level table-land which has not

[73] *Anuario de Mex.*, 1882; *Busto, Estad. Rep. Mex.*, ii., 5th pt, 442–6. The above statement does not include towns containing less than 8,000 inhabitants.

[74] *Mex., Diario Ofic.*, March 10, 29, 1884; *Jal., Periód. Ofic.*, March 16, 1884.

[75] In 1872 James Sullivan, the agent of the company in Mexico, had obtained a charter for this line, with concessions. *Rivera, Mex. Pint. Cambas.*, i. 293–8. Owing to the panic of the following year, his project temporarily failed. On the 13th of Sept., 1880, a second concession was granted the company, their agents, Palmer and Sullivan, having deposited $300,000 in the bank of the Monte de Piedad. *Busto, Estad. Rep. Mex.*, ii. 460; *Diario Ofic.*, ii., Set. 1880; *Id.*, 29 Oct., 1880. The subsidy granted to this line was $11,270 per mile completed.

[76] See report of government engineers, in *Diario Ofic.*, 16 Agost., 1883.

escaped the eye of the engineer, and a third trunk-line has been planned, known as the International.[77] This line commences at Piedras Negras on the Rio Grande, and will pass through the state of Coahuila to the city of Zacatecas, thence to Celaya and Mexico. The concession grants the company the privilege of constructing a cross-line from a point between Tampico and Matamoros, on the gulf coast to another between Mazatlan and Zihuataneco on the Pacific. The object of each of these three companies, it will be observed, is to have an interoceanic line in connection with the main trunk. Mention must be made of the Sonora line,[78] already completed, which connects Nogales on the northern frontier with Guaymas, passing through Magdalena and Hermosillo.

Among the projected lines in 1877 were the Pacific Coast Railroad,[79] which covers a stretch of over 3,000 miles, the object of the projectors being to connect the whole series of ports lying on the Pacific coast between Fort Yuma and the republic of Guatemala. It is even asserted that the design is entertained of extending this railroad down the whole extent of the Pacific coast to Valparaiso. Another important project was the Topolobampo route,[80] from Piedras Negras on the Texan frontier to the port of Topolobampo on the gulf of California. This company claims that its transcontinental route will connect Australia and Asia with the United States and the great European ports of exit by a shorter distance than any other designed line. The port of Topolobambo exists only on paper, but there is an indenture in the coast at the point which has been selected for the western terminus,

[77] The concession was granted to Frisbie and Huntington, as representatives of the International Construction Company, in June 1881, but no subvention was allowed.

[78] The company, represented by Camacho and Fergusson, is a Boston one, and obtained their charter Sept. 14, 1880. The government subsidy was $7,000 per kilometre.

[79] Concession granted to J. B. Frisbie without subvention. It is to be of the standard gauge.

[80] Concession granted to De Prida and Pombo on the 23d of May, 1881, with a subvention of $5,000 per kilometre.

which suggests the opening of a new harbor of great capacity. Among the failures, we may mention the Mexican Southern, or Grant's line, embodied with Jay Gould's Oriental line. The concession was declared void May 29, 1885.[81]

Other ramifications have been designed, connecting city with city, and all important districts with each other. Instance the Morelos railway, intended to extend from the capital, through that city, to Acapulco; then the Tehuantepec Interoceanic, which retroceded to the Mexican government.[82] The importance of this scheme can hardly be overestimated, as it will save a distance of over 1,400 miles between New York and San Francisco, as compared with the Panamá route.

In connection with this important isthmus, Eads' scheme of connecting the two oceans by a ship-railway must be mentioned, but which may be regarded as somewhat visionary.[83]

The ownership of these railroads by capitalists of the United States was regarded by some dangerous to the integrity of the nation. But there was indeed little to fear.

Telegraphic communication in Mexico was antecedent to that of railroads. In 1849 the exclusive privilege of establishing telegraph lines was conceded to Juan de la Granja,[84] and in the month of December 1851, the first telegram was transmitted—between Mexico and Puebla, the line being completed to Vera Cruz during the following year. From this time these means of communication have increased rapidly, and the federal government has erected wires through-

[81] *El Monitor Repub.*, June 2, 1885; *Diaz, Misc.*, no. 68; *Mex. Financier*, June 6, 1885.

[82] For further information relative to this project, see *Mex., Mem. Foment.*, 1884, iii. 581–616.

[83] Eads proposed to transport vessels of 4,000 tons burden across the Tehuantepec isthmus on 12 lines of rails, four engines running at the same time. In order to avoid straining, changes of direction to be effected by means of turn-tables instead of by curves.

[84] *Mex., Legisl. Mej. 1849*, 92–3; *Arrillaga, Recop., May 1849 á Abr. 1850*, 5–6.

out the country.[85] These lines are now in communication with the telegraphic systems of the United States.

In 1870–1 the government extended grants and promised aid in the laying of submarine cables,[86] and in this manner Mexico became connected with the United States, Central America, and South America.

Street railroads,[87] telephones, and electric lights are being introduced with a rapidity proportionate to other progressive movements in Mexico.

[85] In 1881 the govt possessed 10,365 kilometres of wires; in 1884, 31,100 kilometres. Various laws were passed imposing penalties and punishments upon those who destroyed or disturbed the wires. *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, x. 10, 12–13; *Mex. Col. Ley. D. C.*, 63–7, iii. 267–8; *Archivo, Mex. Col. Ley.*, vi. 18–19; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, ix. 188–9; *Mex., Diar. Ofic.*, March 28, 1871, 3. For the earlier history of the telegraph in Mexico, consult *Garcia Cubas, Escritos Diversos*, 394–405; *Orozco y Berra, Mem. Ciud. Mex.*, 222–6; *El Cronista*, S. F., May 17, 1884.

[86] *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, xi. 449–51, 587; *Mex., Diar. Ofic.*, Nov. 1, 1871, 1; *Diario Debates*, 6th Cong., i. 292, 302–7; ii. 237, 246, 256.

[87] The street-cars are managed after a method of their own. Instead of starting one every five minutes, they run four every twenty minutes, more or less, according to the traffic, thus despatching trains instead of single cars.

CHAPTER XXIII.

AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES OF MEXICO.

1887.

CAPACITY FOR PRODUCTION—UNEQUAL DISTIBUTION OF LAND—NECESSITY OF IRRIGATION—DRAINAGE OF THE VALLEY—THE NOCHISTONGO CUTTING—POUMARÉDE'S SIPHONS—GARAY'S PROJECT—A PESTILENT METROPOLIS—MAIZE AND OTHER CEREALS—CHILE PEPPER—PLANTAINS, CACAO, AND COFFEE—THE AGAVE AMERICANA—PULQUE, MESCAL, AND TEQUILA—HENNEQUEN AND IXTLE—SUGAR AND AGUARDIENTE—TOBACCO, OLIVE-OIL, AND WINE—COCHINEAL, INDIGO, COTTON—SILK CULTURE—VANILLA AND JALAP—STOCK-RAISING—HORNED CATTLE, HORSES, AND HOGS—AGRICULTURAL PROSPECTS OF MEXICO.

MEXICO, with regard to her agricultural resources, were they fully developed, would be found to be unsurpassed by any land, possessing, as she does, capabilities for the growth of almost every production of tropical and temperate climes. Her physical conformation bestows upon her three distinct climatic zones, designated as the tierra caliente, the tierra templada, and the tierra fria, meaning, respectively, the hot, temperate, and cold regions. And in them every want and luxury of man can be supplied. Luscious fruits and odoriferous flowers,[1] aromatic herbs and medicinal plants, abound in profusion. The cultivation of cereals and vegetables, of coffee and cacao, the olive, the vine, and the sugar-cane, of tobacco and the indigo plant, can be developed to an almost unlimited degree in this fair conservatory of nature. Extensive forests

[1] Busto enumerates 87 different kinds of fruit, among which are many natives of the temperate zone, such as the peach, apricot, apple—of which fruit there are seven classes—the gooseberry and strawberry. *Estad. Rep. Mex.*, i. 1a pte, 4–5.

furnish useful and ornamental timber, dye-woods, gums, and resins. Broad plains and rich valleys afford pasturage for immense herds of cattle and horses, and on the mountain slopes flocks of sheep might feed by the hundred thousand.[2]

Nevertheless, agriculture in many parts of Mexico is still in its infancy. The peasant, content with obtaining at cost of little labor the mere necessities of his simple life, has in some places not yet cast aside the rude implements of his forefathers; but the time is not far distant when the Mexican farmer will adopt the improved agricultural implements of foreign countries.[3]

Although the development of this industry is greatly retarded by the absence of facilities of transport, the greatest drawback to its progress is probably the ownership of land in vast tracts by individuals. It is a monstrous injustice that one person should be allowed to possess a dozen haciendas of a dozen square leagues each in extent; that one man should withhold from his fellow-men enough of this earth's surface to support a nation.[4] But this is not all. The laboring peon on these large estates, as well as in the mines, as I have elsewhere shown, is little better than a slave. As long as this system prevails, whether in

[2] The principal productions of the three regions are as follows: In the hot region, cotton, vanilla, indigo, dye-woods, cacao, maize, rice, hemp, caoutchouc, sarsaparilla, chile peppers, anise-seed, cassia, oranges, plantains, bananas, and other tropical fruits. In the temperate region, coffee, sugar, tobacco, maize, cotton, frijoles, pease, cereals, vegetables, and fruits of northern latitudes thrive, the forests abounding in camphor-trees, oaks, and cypresses. The cereals, the maguey, and the hardier vegetables, such as potatoes, carrots, beans, and turnips, are cultivated in the cold region. Here, too, are found deciduous trees, and conifers, namely, the pine, spruce, fir, and cedar; also all the different species of cactus.

[3] American iron ploughs are already in general use, but are provided with one handle, 'only to suit the long-timed habit of the Mexican tiller.' *Groso, Mex. Phot.*, MS., 4–5.

[4] The unequal distribution of land, and the grasping and oppressive procedure of estate-owners, was deprecated early in the century. *Bustamante, Med. Pacific*, MS., 97–108. A writer in 1821 thus describes them:- Ó por error de entendimiento....ó por maliguidad del corazon, son unos tigres en dos piés, son unas sanguijuelas insaciables del sudor de los pobres, polilla del estado peor que los usureros, causa de la míseria, despoblacion y casi de todos los males del Reyno.' *Pensador, Tapatío*, 1–2, in *Pap. Var.*, 159, no. 3.

Mexico or any other country, the highest progress and prosperity can never be attained. To pass laws forbidding land to be held except in small parcels would doubtless be an arbitrary measure, which would meet with the violent opposition of a wealthy class, and probably be found impracticable. It would be a step too far in advance of the other highly respected civilizations, such as England and the United States, to meet with general favor. But the Mexican government can and ought to discourage future sales or grants of land to any but occupants, and such conveyances should be limited to the transferrence of ground in small lots.

One cannot rightly judge of Mexico by seeing certain localities only. Never was a country so widely different in different parts, not only in its construction by nature, but in its development by man. With so many varieties of soil and climate, local specialties are broadly marked. In one district the cultivation of corn predominates, in another that of pulque, and in another barley, which in the cities is the principal fodder for horses and cattle. The crops in certain localities are more dependent upon irrigation than the rainfall, the wet season on the table-lands north of the 20th parallel being of short duration, and periods of drought not unfrequently occurring.[5] Want of water, indeed, is the great drawback to agriculture on the table-lands; so fertile is the soil that production would be almost unlimited if systems of irrigation were established by means of artesian wells, and by damming up the barrancas of the sierras where suitably situated for the storage of water-supplies.[6] Neverthe-

[5] On the table-lands the rainy season lasts about four months, while in the southern states the rains fall during six and even seven consecutive months. In the tierra caliente, no meteorological law of regularity seems to rule, and heavy showers will fall at any time during the dry season which prevails elsewhere.

[6] Two crops of wheat and maize are grown annually on those portions of the central plateau where water can be obtained for irrigating purposes. More than half the surface of the country requires irrigation for the success of agriculture, and during the Aztec empire irrigating ditches were extensively used. Between Lerdo and Chihuahua water is reached at a depth of

less, large sums of money have been expended by enterprising Mexicans in irrigating experiments.[7]

In connection with aqueducts and irrigation, it will not be out of place to give some account of the attempts that have been made to drain the valley of Mexico, which may be regarded as among the greatest hydraulic undertakings in the world, and which has been before spoken of in this history. After the destructive inundation of 1629,[8] the great dikes or dams of San Cristóbal were constructed at a great sacrifice of Indian life;[9] but with all these efforts, the capital was never secure against flood. The tunnel of Huehuetoca was found to be a failure, as it was impossible to keep it free from the débris which continually choked it up. It was therefore decided to convert it into an open cutting, but owing to improvident suspensions of the work during periods when no danger of inundation was feared,[10] it was not finished until 152 years after its commencement.[11]

from 25 to 150 feet. In all the principal cities the supply of water by aqueducts furnishes the means of irrigating, and the gardens and orchards display a corresponding luxuriance and fecundity. A list of the principal aqueducts in each state will be found in *Hernandez, Estadist. Mej.*, 30. In 1870, there were 260 artesian wells in the federal district. *Voz de Mex.*, 6 Ab., 1878. In the same year, the rainfall in the capital was 583.4 millim.; in the previous year 214.1. *Id.*, 23 de Ag. The first application for the exclusive right to sink artesian wells was made in 1836. *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, iii. 308. During the next twenty years a great number was opened in Vera Cruz, Guerrero, Mexico, Tlascala, Querétaro, and Colima. *El Universal*, 14 Sept., 1850, 4, Oct. 24, 3; *El Estandarte*, May 2 and 11, 1857; *Cincinnatus, Travels*, 325; *Siliceo, Mem. Foment.*, 65–6. The exclusive right system, however, was found to be an impediment to progress, and the government abolished it, extending to all persons the privilege of sinking artesian wells.

[7] The owner of a hacienda of about 20 sq. leagues—by no means one of the largest estates in Mexico—assured me that he had expended over $300,000 during 1882–3 for water.

[8] For particulars, see vol. iii. 85–9, this series.

[9] One of the dikes is a league in length, and the other 1,500 varas. They are 10 varas in thickness, and from 3½ to 4 varas high; they are built of stone with buttresses of masonry, and were concluded in 11 months. *Ward's Mex. in 1827*, ii. 287–8.

[10] 'On négligea le travail dans les années de sécheresse.' *Humboldt, Essai Polit.*, i. 219.

[11] The total expense of drainage, including all works undertaken from 1607 to 1789, is estimated at $5,547,670, and during the following 15 years from $600,000 to $700,000 more were spent in improvements. *Id.*, 219–20, 224–5. The dimensions of this enormous work are astonishing. The length of the cutting is 24,530 varas; for a distance of 2,624 feet the width at the top varies from 278 to 360 feet, and the perpendicular depth from 147 to 196 feet; for a

During the war of independence this work called the Nochistongo cutting—El Tajo de Nochistongo—was greatly neglected, and the passage of the water was obstructed by accumulations of earth and detritus. No attention, however, was given to the canal until the capital was again threatened with inundation in 1830, when work was resumed.[12] But when completed, the canal did not answer the purpose, and the city of Mexico was periodically in danger of being flooded. The consequence was, that an entirely different system, comprehending the general drainage of the valley, was adopted,[13] and in 1856 a board for the drainage and canalization of the valley was appointed, an award of $12,000 being offered for the best project.[14] The plans sent in by engineers were numerous, but for novelty that of J. A. Poumaréde was unsurpassed. He proposed to drain the valley by a system of huge siphons.[15] The prize was finally awarded to Francisco de Garay; but political strife and the war of the French intervention long prevented his plans from being acted upon. In April 1868, however, work was commenced. The plan was to construct a grand canal, which from a terminus at the garita de San Lázaro should pass through Lake Texcuco at the

distance of 11,483 feet, the depth is from 98 to 164 feet. The width of the channel at the bottom in Humboldt's time varied from 9 to 13 feet, and the slope of the sides from 40° to 45°, though in a large portion of the cutting the incline was less, the result of which was that frequent slides occurred.

[12] In 1832, an act was passed setting apart $50,000 annually for the drainage of the valley. *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1832–3, p. 86.

[13] This project of general drainage, abandoned since the time of Enrico Martinez, had been revived by Oidor Mier in 1775, but it was not until 1804 that it was definitely adopted. Iturrigaray passed a decree that year for the construction of a canal from Lake Tezcuco to the cutting of Nochistongo, the expense of which was estimated at $1,600,000. Work was vigorously commenced at several points, but ceased with the fall of that viceroy. *Orozco y Berra*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, ix. 461; *Diario Mex.*, ii. 160.

[14] To the projector of the second best plan, an award of $2,000 was to be given. *Mex., Leyis. Mej.*, July–Dec. 1856, 29–31. During this year an experimental attempt was made to effect the drainage by subterranean absorption. Wells were sunk in the hope of cutting into a porous stratum which would carry away the waters of the lakes. The contract was given to Sebastian Pane. *Id.*, Jan.–June 1856, 14–15, 26–9.

[15] *J. A. Poumaréde—Desagüe de Valle de Mexico, Nuevo sistema de impedir las inundaciones de la Ciudad y del Valle de Mexico, y hacer desaparecer en parte las causas de insalubridad que ofrecen uno y otro.* Mexico, 1860. 12mo, pp. 167, 2 plans.

lowest portion of its bed, thence through Lake San Cristóbal to Lake Zumpango, whence it was to extend to a tunnel to be opened through the hills that close the valley on the north, giving exit to the water into the barranca of Tequisquiac.[16] For nine years the work proceeded with more or less vigor, when Garay, having been appointed director-in-chief of the valley drainage, called attention to the fact that his original plan had been deviated from, and laid a new project before the government, in which he proposed that the tunnel and the cutting in the barranca should be abandoned, and another tunnel opened into the ravine of Ametlac.[17]

Garay's project met with approval. It included an extensive system of navigable canals and irrigating ditches, all discharging into main arteries connected

[16] The length of the Grand Canal was 48,300 metres, or nearly 30 miles; that of the tunnel, 4,954 metres, that is, six miles, less a few yards. At the debouchure of the tunnel, at the barranca of Tequisquiac, was a cutting nearly one and a half miles long, and 92 feet in depth at its deepest part. *Mex., Mem. Foment.*, 1868–9, 281–2; *Id.*, 1873, 93–4. The plan of conducting the canal to the cutting of Nochistongo, as begun by Iturrigaray, was abandoned, and the construction was carried along the opposite side of Lake Zumpango. Preparatory work had been commenced by Maximilian, and Garay's original plan changed with regard to direction. This initial error was not corrected during the following decade, and much labor and money were thrown away. *Palacio, Mem. Foment.*, 1876–7, 379.

[17] The first tunnel opened into the ravine of Acatlan, which led into the barranca of Tequisquiac. The Ametlac tunnel would be more than one mile —1,644 metres—shorter than that by Acatlan, and the cutting 1,522 yards shorter. The Garay project was, moreover, superior in other respects, namely, in direction and in the termination of the work in a fall—an advantage which prevented obstruction to the outflow by floods in the ravine, to which the Acatlan tunnel would be liable. But the Acatlan cut had already been finished, and 410 yards of preparatory tunnelling done, besides the opening of 24 shafts, 4 of which had been sunk to the required depth. The question to be decided was, whether the Ametlac project would cost the same or a less amount than the completion of the work already commenced, under the supposition that the tunnel should be of the same dimensions as the Acatlan one. But Garay went further; he argued that the dimensions adopted by the government would be insufficient for the result expected; namely, the total drainage of the valley. The section of the Acatlan tunnel was only 6.44 square metres; he proposed that that of the Ametlac tunnel should be 21.10 square metres, capable of discharging 36 cubic metres of water per second, or four times the quantity that could be discharged by the smaller tunnel. The cost of the Acatlan tunnel he estimated at $446,130, that of the one he proposed by Ametlac at $744,300, showing a difference of $298,170; but by the expenditure of this additional sum the perfect drainage of the valley, he maintained, would be accomplished. See his reports, in *Mex., Mem. Foment.*, 1876–7, 373–4, 378–81.

with the last collector, the grand canal, which was to have its debouchure at the Ametlac tunnel. The work is yet unaccomplished, although on the drainage of the valley depends the health of the inhabitants of the capital. The city of Mexico is cradled on a subterranean lake,[18] ever emitting poisonous exhalations. The mortality is excessive, and seems to be increasing.[19]

Maize, or Indian corn, constitutes the principal article of food, and its cultivation, in later years, has become most important in the states of Guanajuato, Jalisco, Mexico, Michoacan, Oajaca, Puebla, and Vera Cruz. About the middle of the present century, great uncertainty as to the yield of the crops in different localities is noticeable, and while in one place corn would be selling for almost its weight in gold, at another it would be so abundant as to be used as food for hogs. The main reason of this great difference was the difficulty of transportation.[20] During later years, the increase in the production of maize has been prodigious, its value in 1879 amounting to $112,164,424, representing about five eighths of the total product of the country.[21]

[18] The bed of Lake Texcuco is gradually rising, owing to the deposits of sedimentary matter. In Humboldt's time its greatest depth was 16 ft 8 in.; in 1882 its normal depth in the rainy season was only 6 ft 8 inches. Humboldt's statement has been contested on the ground that it was given without precision, *Orozco y Berra*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, ix. 466–7; but Garay, after a series of observations which extended over a period of 14 years, found that the mean rise of the bed of the lake was 1.6 in. annually, which verified Humboldt's statement. *Drainage of Valley of Mex.*, 14–15. The result of this rising of the bottom of the lake is that the water percolates underground. The last-mentioned author says: 'It is true that the waters do not cover permanently our valley, but they spread stealthily under our feet and rise almost to the surface of the ground to poison the air we breathe.' *Id.*, 17.

[19] At this time the annual death-rate exceeds 14,000, whereas 15 or 20 years previously it was only half that number. *Mex. Financier*, May 9, 1885, p. 86.

[20] Sixty years ago, maize sold in the capital at from two to three dollars the fanega, the price in the country being only three or four reales. At the mines of Guanajuato alone, 14,000 mules were daily fed on this grain and the straw produced from the dried leaves and stalks. In other mining districts the consumption was in proportion. Failure of the crop was a dire calamity, and affected the mining interest as much as the price of quicksilver.

[21] Jalisco and Guanajuato produced nearly one fourth. *Busto, Estad. Rep. Mex.*, i., Cuad. Agric., no. 30.

Of other grains, wheat ranks next in quantity; grown chiefly in Jalisco, Chihuahua, Guanajuato, Querétaro, and Coahuila.[22] It is only raised for home consumption, as also barley, which is grown in the immediate neighborhood of towns, highways, and mining places, and is principally used as fodder.[23] Owing to the favorable conditions for the cultivation of rice in the moist and swampy regions of the coast, the production of this cereal has gradually exceeded the home demand, and of late years some rice has been exported.[24]

Second to wheat in value, and maize in quantity, is the production of frijoles, or beans, which, with the tortillas of maize, and the chile pepper, form the national dishes of the Mexicans from ancient times. The consumption of frijoles has greatly decreased, however, during the last twenty years.[25] The pepper just mentioned is of great importance in the Mexican household, and its consumption is almost incredible.[26] This condiment is of inestimable benefit to the poor, supplying in a measure the absence of meat and bread; without it their tortilla would be quite insipid. It is a powerful stimulant, and its pungency so great that it will produce excoriation of the tongue, gums, and palate of a person unaccustomed to its use.

[22] Previous to the introduction of railroads and steamer lines, the consumption of flour on the coasts was insignificant. In the early part of this century, wheat sold for from $13 to $16 the carga of 300 lbs., when maize sold for $1. The total value of the yield in 1879 was $17,436,345, Jalisco alone producing one fourth of the quantity.

[23] The daily quantity of barley hay consumed in Guanajuato alone was about 4,000 quintals. *Mex., Mem. Foment.*, 1866, 57. The value of the production in 1879 was $4,403,742. *Busto*, ut sup.

[24] In 1879 the value of the production was $1,248,244. During ten years ending June 30, 1880, rice to the value of $1,316,132 was exported to the U.S. In 1865, the yield was only sufficient for home consumption. *Ib.; Brocklehurst, Mex.*, 96; *Mex., Mem. Foment.*, 1866, 52.

[25] In 1861 the crop was estimated at 2,172,268 cargas, valued at $19,550,412, while in 1879 the number of cargas was a little over 1,541,000, with a value of $8,406,211. *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, Ep. 3a, i. 249; *Azcárate, Not. Est.*, table 1; *Mex., Mem. Foment.*, 1866, 66–8; *Busto*, ut sup.

[26] Tlascala produced about 20,000 arrobas in 1861, which were not sufficient for the consumption in that state. *Mex., Mem. Foment.*, 1866, 65. The total quantity produced in 1879 was about 470,000 cargas, valued at $4,196,482. This fiery spice is greatly relished by cattle. I have seen a plant covered with fruit, and of the hottest kind, stripped and destroyed in a few minutes by a cow.

Of farinaceous plants, mention must be made of the plantain, potato, and manioc, the first named being to the coast-dwellers what corn is to the people of the uplands.[27] It is wonderfully prolific, producing on a given area more nutrition than any other known plant.[28]

Occasional efforts have been made to develop the cultivation of various vegetables, in the desire to increase the supply of aliments for the poorer classes, but these attempts have been attended with little result.

Equally unsuccessful have been steps taken to revive the cultivation of cacao, which in colonial times fell to insignificant proportions.[29] The attempt, however, has checked to some extent its importation from other countries, which in former years was considerable.[30]

The future cultivation of the coffee shrub affords a more favorable prospect. This plant was introduced

[27] Five kinds are cultivated in Mexico; namely, the plátano grande, plátano dominico, plátano guineo, plátano manilo, and plátano manzano. *Busto, Estad. Rep. Mex.*, i. 1st pt, 5.

[28] Humboldt calculated that half a hectare planted with the plátano grande—called by him the plátano arton—will support 50 men for a year, while the same quantity of ground in Europe would not yield wheat enough to support two men. *Essai Polit.*, 366. Its cultivation is attended with little trouble and trifling expense. The plant is propagated from its suckers. These are set in rows at a distance of about ten feet apart. When the fruit is gathered the stem on which it has been produced is cut down and left to decay upon the ground, constituting a fertilizer of the richest kind. New shoots from the root continually supply the places of their predecessors, whose duty and existence are completed with the maturity of the fruit.

[29] In 1823 a law was passed exempting new plantations from taxation for 10 years. The tree is chiefly cultivated in the state of Tabasco, where it has been the object of special protective laws, which have had the effect of increasing its culture in that portion of Mexico. *Mex., Guia Hac.*, iv. 24–6; *Mex., Mem. Agric.*, 1843, 12; 1846, 32; *Silíceo, Mem. Fom.*, 68; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, vii. 474, 521; *Mex., Col. Leyes*, Jan.–Aug. 1855, 222.

[30] During the years from 1825 to 1828, 35,000 quintals worth $461,033 were annually imported. *Mex., Mem. Agric.*, 1846, 33. In 1856 the importation still represented $120,391 worth. *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, Ep. 2a, i. 308. The production of cacao in 1879 amounted to the value of $1,140,050, of which sum $880,000 represents the yield in Tabasco for that year. *Busto*, ut sup. During the decade ending June 30, 1880, $1,306,329 worth of this bean was imported into the U. S. *Brocklehurst, Mex.*, 96. The tree, like the cotton and indigo plants, is indigenous. The finest quality of cacao is produced in Soconusco, the reputation of which was so great that in colonial times a certain number of cargoes were annually sent to Spain for the use of the royal family in conformity with an order from the king. *Robles, Prov. Chiapa*, 33–4. Its production in that district is now small, and confined to the natives. In Chiapas, the price varies from 2, 4, and 5 to 6 reales a pound, according to the abundance or scarcity of the crops, of which there are two a year, one in May and the other in Sept. The price in the Mexican capital varies from 5 reales to 10 reales per lb. *Mex. Financ.*, March 14, 1885, 373–4.

into Mexico at the commencement of the present century, but little attention was paid to its culture until 1818–19, when large plantations were laid out in the neighborhood of Córdoba and Orizaba in Vera Cruz. Shortly afterward this industry was introduced into the valleys of Cuautla and Cuernavaca, and has since gradually extended to Tabasco, Colima, Oajaca, Michoacan, Chiapas, and elsewhere.[31] The encouragement given to the cultivation of this plant by the government has been persistent,[32] but for many years its progress was slow, owing to the limited consumption, chocolate being the favorite beverage of the Mexican. It was only when the advantages offered by the exportation of the article became more evident that the cultivation increased.[33] Of the future development of this agricultural industry, there can be no doubt. Its rapid progress is perceptible from the exportations of coffee by way of Vera Cruz for the years 1877 and 1883, which were respectively 60,000 and 141,493 quintals.[34]

The maguey, or pulque plant—agave Americana—is one of the most important productions of Mexico.[35] Considering the variety of uses to which the plant subserves, the little care and trouble required in its culti-

[31] The coffee of Oajaca is second to none produced in Mexico.

[32] The exemption of coffee from all duties and imposts for ten years was decreed in Oct. 1823, which privilege was periodically extended down to 1858, the govt being advised still to continue the exemption. *Siliceo, Mem. Foment.*, 68–9.

[33] In 1826 there were 1,250 quintals produced. Hernandez, *Estad. Mej.*, 103, makes the total production in 1861 amount to 34,715 quintals, worth $520,725. In 1879 it was worth over $2,000,000. For further details, consult *Mühlenpfordt, Mej.*, i. 121–2; *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, 2d Ep., iii. 349–51; *Mex., Mem. Agric.*, 1843, 18, and 1846, 37–8; *Mex., Mem. Fom.*, 1866, 60–1.

[34] *Voz de Mej.*, Jan. 3, 1878; *Mex. Finan.*, March 8, 1884; *Mex., Diario Ofic.*, June 5, 1883. In 1870 the cultivation of the tea plant was urged, and resolutions for its introduction adopted by the Sociedad de Geografia y Estadistica of Mexico. *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, 2d Ep., ii. 525–9.

[35] There are more than 30 varieties of this plant. An enumeration of them is given by Payno in *Id.*, x., 403–5. A notable one of small size, now called the *lechuguilla*, little lettuce, supplies a fibre as fine as silk, known by the name of *ixtle*. From this variety a substitute used by corset-makers for whalebone is also procured. Its culture is, however, limited as compared with the maguey, which produces pulque and hennequen, a fibrous substance obtained from the central white part of the plant, and used for the manufacture of rope. The production of ixtle is about one third of that of hennequen.

vation, its vigorous growth on soils and in localities where no other plant will thrive, and the enormous returns which it yields for the outlay of small capital, a maguey plantation as a profitable source of income is unsurpassed by any other agricultural industry.[36] The history of the discovery of producing from its juice the intoxicating beverage known as pulque is lost in the obscurity of the past, but traditions are not wanting on the matter.[37]

The consumption of pulque has always bnee enormous, though during the war of independence its manufacture greatly decreased,[38] as also that of mescal, a spirituous liquor obtained by distilling the fermented juice, and produced chiefly in Jalisco.[39] Considerable quantities of both these liquors are manufactured illicitly. Although the maguey grows wild throughout a large area of the country, it is but little utilized except in the districts of which the cities of Mexico and Puebla are the centres, and where it is systematically cultivated.[40] In addition to pulque and mescal, a brandy called *tequila* is obtained from the bulb of the maguey.[41] With regard to the great value of the

[36] Payno estimated that these plantations yield a return of 80 per cent annually. *Id.*, 418–16.

[37] Consult *Id.*, 384–7, and 3d Ep., ii. 282; vol. iii. 608, this series, and *Native Races*, ii. 395, this series.

[38] The revenue derived from its sale amounted in 1808 to $680,604; in 1812 to $250,118, remaining at about the same figure during the next 10 years. For detailed statements, see *Payno, Mem. Maguey*, 94–5.

[39] And to a less extent in Guanajuato, Morelia, San Luis Potosí, and Nuevo Leon.

[40] The Mexican govt offers every encouragement for the production of the henuequen and ixtle fibres for the manufacture of cordage, sacking, and textile fabrics. Permission has been granted a company to utilize for ten years the magueys growing on public lands, and a premium of $30,000 will be paid for each mill put in operation. On maguey plantations it is arranged that one tenth of the plants reach maturity annually. The plant dies after it has yielded its juice, or, when unmolested, has finished flowering. It is propagated by suckers which spring from the parent root, which are not disturbed till they are two or three years of age, when they are dug up and dried in the sun, for if planted green the shoots decay and produce a destructive worm.

[41] Derived from the district of Tequila, in Jalisco. The process of making the liquor dates back to the days of the Aztecs. The bulbs are roasted in a furnace, and yield a sweetish liquor from which tequila is distilled. The value of this brandy produced in 1879 was $1,176,000; of mescal $570,646; and of pulque to $4,589,528. The maguey thus yielded, in liquors alone, $6,336,174. *Busto*, ut sup., ii. 427.

maguey as a producer of hennequen and ixtle, it has been estimated that a machine capable of turning out 200 pounds a day, and costing about $500, will yield a net profit of five dollars daily.[42]

The cultivation of sugar-cane, at the opening of the present century, in spite of the restrictive policy of Spain, had advanced so as to admit of an annual exportation of about 125,000 quintals; but during the struggle for independence most of the finest plantations in the districts of Oajaca, Guadalajara, and Michoacan were destroyed, and the industry languished for many years. Nevertheless, the culture of the cane has gradually spread over a large portion of the country.[43] The consumption of liquors, also, made from the sugar-cane is considerable, the annual value of aguardiente alone exceeding two million dollars.[44]

Tobacco, in its different forms of cigars and cigarettes, is another article of general consumption, being used by both sexes. In colonial times, its monopoly formed one of the principal sources of wealth to the government. In May 1829, however, the cultivation and sale of tobacco were declared free, and have practically remained so, notwithstanding temporary at-

[42] The production of hennequen is chiefly confined to Campeche and Yucatan, when great quantities are annually exported. It is estimated that the increase in the production of this fibre, during the 10 years ending 1884, was was 400 per cent, and that of ixtle 250 per cent. *Mex. Financier*, Oct. 25, Nov. 29, 1884, 62–3, 131.

[43] In 1861, about 2,816 sq. leagues were under cultivation for the growth of sugar-cane. The fluctuations appear from the following figures: In 1803, the export of sugar from Vera Cruz alone amounted to about $1,500,000; in 1813 to only $19,412; and in 1822, to $150,000. While the exportation has never been of great importance, the home consumption is immense. The aggregate exports for four years, 1872 to 1876, were only about 65,000 quintals, worth $256,000; that for the fiscal year 1877 to 1878 being $276,479. Comparing these figures with the value of the total production estimated in 1861 at $5,200,000, and in 1879 to $8,761,317, an idea of the proportion of home consumption to exportation may be formed. *Ward's Mex.*, i. 66 et seq.; *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, 3d Ep., i. 249–50; v. 508; *Mex., Mem. Fom.*, 1836, 55; *Vera Cruz, Mem.*, 1872, annex 43; *Busto*, ut sup., i., Cuad. Agric., no. 30. Though the cane is grown in almost every state, Morelos, Michoacan, and Vera Cruz produce about one half of the total amount.

[44] *Id.*, ii. 426. The district of Cuernavaca alone is said to have produced annually 50,000 barrels of aguardiente and the more ordinary *chinguirito*, Michoacan following with 12,000 barrels.

tempts to reëstablish the monopoly.[45] The result was that its culture spread gradually over the greater part of the country, although the districts of Orizaba and Cordoba in Vera Cruz still retained their former lead, till finally rivalled by Jalisco.[46] Nevertheless, the production, though greatly increased, is little more than sufficient to meet the home demand, and the exportation of tobacco is insignificant as compared with that from Habana, the United States, and Brazil.[47]

The liberal policy introduced after the independence has not had a similar effect on other products of the soil. Olive culture was relieved in 1810 of the restrictions which hampered its development; yet it has made little progress, though exempted from imposts in 1823; and it was only in Guanajuato that it met with any attention, about 7,000 arrobas of oil being annually produced in that state.[48]

It was little better with viticulture, though exempted from taxation by the law of October 1823. There were a few vineyards in Puebla and Oajaca, but it was only where the expense of transportation precluded competition by imported wines that those of native manufacture became of any importance, the district of Parras, in Coahuila, being the most famous locality.[49] Vast tracts of land in Mexico are suitable

[45] The law of 1829 will be found in *Mex., Col. Leyes*, 1829–30, 27–32. Details of the discussions about the reëstablishment of the monopoly in *Mex., Dictámen*, Mexico, 1831; *Mex., Legisl. Mej.*, Jan.–June 1858, 31–3; *Esteva, Apunt.*, 87–9; *Mex., Mem. Fom.*, 1866, 77.

[46] In 1879, Jalisco produced tobacco to the value of $710,000; Vera Cruz, $884,376; and Yucatan, $229,500. The total value of the production for the same year was $2,006,153. *Busto*, ut sup., i., Cuad. Agric., no. 30.

[47] In the fiscal year 1873–4, leaf tobacco to the value of $66,866, and manufactured to the value of $35,520, was exported. The corresponding figures for the year 1877–8 were $58,882 and $31,260. *Id.*, i. 4a pte, 97.

[48] Busto, however, gives the total annual production in the republic as only 2,210 arrobas, worth $27,629. *Id.*, ii. 426. A full treatise on the cultivation of the tree will be found in *Geog., Soc. Mex.*, 2d Ep., i. 905–17. Lately the government has endeavored to give an impulse to this industry, and in 1885 the governor of Aguascalientes was notified by the department of fomento that 80,000 olive plants would be sent to be planted in that state by any one who might wish to set them out. *Mex. Financ.*, June 13, 1885, p. 165; *Diario Ofic.*, 16 En., 1883.

[49] The parent of these vineyards was that planted by Hidalgo at Dolores, in Guanajuato, at the beginning of the century. *Mex., Mem. Fom.*, 1866, 62; *Hist. Mex.*, iv. 109, this series.

in soil and climate for the cultivation of the vine, and its progress has doubtless been retarded by the aboriginal pulque and mescal, and aguardiente from the sugar-cane. Its development will probably assume important proportions during the present generation, the success which is attending viticulture in California acting as a stimulus. The state of Sonora especially, from its similarity to California in the necessary conditions, offers inducements to enterprise in this industry. Besides Parras, Paso del Norte, in Chihuahua, has gained a good reputation for wine-producing requisites.[50]

Different in class to the preceding productions are others connected almost exclusively with foreign commerce. Prominent among them is cochineal. The culture of the insect which yields this dye was, and still is, almost confined to the state of Oajaca, where a great proportion of the Indian population used to find employment in the nurture of the bug and its preparation for market.[51] This production in colonial times was considerable and very valuable, as also during the earlier years of the republic. More lately the culture of cochineal has greatly declined, owing to the discovery and extensive use of cheaper mineral dyes which supply its place.[52]

The indigo plant grows wild in many parts of Mexico, especially in Yucatan and Tabasco, the extraction

[50] The total value of wines produced in 1879 was $2,662,671, of which sum $1,307,174 represent the production of Chihuahua, and $1,301,742 that of Coahuila, these two states thus yielding the total amount, with the exception of $53,755 worth. *Busto*, ut sup., i., Cuad. Indust., no. 3.

[51] For accounts of the propagation of the insect, its life and habits after being transferred to the nopales, or plantations of the cactus on which it is nourished, and the drying process by which it is converted into the dye, the reader may consult *Ward's Mex. in 1827*, i. 83–6; *Mem., Insecto Grana*, in *Mex., Col. Mem. Instruc.*, no. 9; *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, iii. 82–6; and *Humboldt, Essai Polit.*, 456–65.

[52] In 1810 the yield was 545,000 pounds, worth about $2,000,000; during the period from 1821 to 1832 the registered production of Oajaca was 5,175,000 lbs., representing $10,260,000; the value of the amount exported in the fiscal year 1873–4 was $494,124, while that of the year 1877–8 was only $78,155. In 1844 the crop of Oajaca was worth $1,000,000. *Mühlenpfordt, Mej.*, i. 157–8; *Siliceo, Mem. Fom.*, pt v., doc. 3; *Mex., Mem. Agric.*, 1846, 18; *Busto*, ut sup., i. 3a pte, 75, 4a pte, 95.

of coloring matter being known to the Aztecs before the conquest. In time, the superiority of the indigo produced in Guatemala caused a corresponding demand for it in European market and a decline of the industry in Mexico, which now receives but little attention, though extensive tracts of land are preëminently adapted to the production of this dye.[53]

Cotton holds the fifth place in the list of Mexico's productions, its annual value exceeding $6,500,000. The cultivation, however, of hemp, ramie, and flax might be proportionately developed.[54] Owing to the importation of foreign fabrics, and the inability of Mexican manufacturers to compete with those of Europe and the United States, cultivation of cotton has declined, until at the present date the supply is hardly equal to the demand for home consumption.[55] When increased facilities for transportation offer an inducement to capitalists to engage in the production of cotton with a view to exporting it,[56] the cultivation

[53] The decadence of the native cotton manufactures had a great effect upon this industry. The annual average value of the exportation of indigo for many years through the port of Vera Cruz was calculated by Humboldt to be $280,000. In 1802, an exceptional year, the value of this article which passed through the same port amounted to $3,229,796, and in 1803, through fear of war, it fell to $263,729. *Essai Polit.*, 446, 697, 701, 706. The total production in Mexico for the year 1879 amounted to 422,941 lbs., valued at $358,002. *Busto*, ut sup., i., Cuad. Agric., no. 30.

[54] Successful experiments with regard to the ramie plant are already leading to its increased cultivation. Flax and hemp are successfully cultivated in Michoacan, especially the latter, which grows spontaneously in that district. Seed was imported in 1832 from the U. S., and distributed among farmers. *Mex., Mem. Rel.*, 1832, doc. ii. 23, in *Mex., Mem. Rel.*, 21. In 1845 plantations were established in Zamora, Querétaro, Toluca, and San Martino, with good result. *Mex., Mem. Agric.*, 1846, 28. The facilities for growing and manufacturing cotton have retarded this industry, the plants having been cultivated chiefly for their seed, which is used for medicinal purposes. *Mühlenpfordt, Mej.*, i. 129; *Mex., Mem. Agric.*, 1843, 13.

[55] In 1841 the manufacturers of cotton presented a memorial to congress, calling attention to the detrimental effect of foreign importations on the industries connected with its production and conversion into fabrics. *Mex., Espos. al Congreso*, 1841, in *Pap. Var.*, xix. no. 5. The quantity produced in 1845, according to official tables, was a little over 20,000 quintals ginned. *Mex., Mem. Agric.*, in *Id.*, xi. no. 4, 40-51, and table no. 6. During that year the supply was not equal to the home demand. In 1863 a law was passed exempting cotton-planting from duties for ten years, in order to encourage its cultivation. *Mex., Col. Ley. D. C.*, 63-7, i. 199-200.

[56] In the economical year of 1877 to 1878, the amount of cotton exported was represented by the insignificant sum of $218. *Busto, Estad. Rep. Mex.*, 4a pte, 94.

of the plant will probably become extensively developed. In the United States frosts necessitate the annual labor and expense of forming new plantations. In the tierra caliente of Mexico, the cotton plant is perennial, and only requires being kept clear of weeds and other vegetation.

Sericulture has made little progress during the present century. About the period from 1830 to 1850 some attention was given to this industry. Treatises were published from time to time,[57] and societies formed for the promotion of it, and establishments were erected in different parts of the country,[58] and by the year 1845 some little progress was perceptible. At the present time, only a small quantity of silk fabrics is manufactured out of the native article, the bulk of them being imported from foreign countries.[59]

The vanilla plant is a parasitic evergreen creeper, indigenous to Vera Cruz, Tabasco, and Oajaca. Its aromatic flavor and perfume were known to the Az-

[57] *Mex., Col. Mem. Instruct.*, nos. i., vi., and vii.

[58] Particularly in Michoacan and Guanajuato. *Pap. Var.*, xi. nos. 3 and 4; *Bustamante, Diario Mex.*, MS., xliv. 3; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, iii. 518–19; *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, iii. 285.

[59] Mexico in certain parts seems to be exceptionally adapted for the production of silk. The mulberry-tree thrives in the country to perfection, and there are indigenous trees, the *ailantus* and *palma christi*, which have been considered superior to it as nurturers of the worm. *Jimenez*, in *Id.*, 2a Ep., ii. 504–9. Ramon Martinez, in a letter to Bustamante dated Alvarado, August 24, 1830, called attention to an extremely prolific silk-worm which matures and propagates upon the *encino prieto*, rejecting the mulberry-tree in preference to it. *Bustamante, Voz de la Patria*, no. 24, 2–5. During the last few years, much attention has been attracted to this industry throughout Mexico, and the government has done much to encourage it. Between 1870 and 1875, sericulture was introduced with success into the state of Puebla, and in 1882 a concession was granted to José Fulcheri to enable him to organize a company for the purpose of growing the mulberry-tree and erecting twenty establishments in different parts of the country, the government engaging to grant a subsidy of $12,000 annually for the term of ten years to each establishment that should be founded. In the following year a favorable concession was also granted to Juan Fenelon for the production of silk in Oajaca, and a society was established in Monterey, for the same purpose, in Nuevo Leon. In 1885 the governor of Guerrero secured 100,000 mulberry plants from Italy, in order to introduce silk culture into that state. Consult *Puebla, Var. Ley.*, no. 75; *Diario, Ofic.*, 5 Jun., 1875; 5 Feb. 1878; 28 Mayo, 21 Ag., 1883; 28, 29, 30 En., 1 Feb., et seq., 1884; *Estad. de Sin.*, 28 Ab., 1883, p. 1–2; *Anderson, Mex. Stand-point*, 92–3; *Mex. Financ.*, May 2 and June 13, 1885, pp. 70–1, 165–6.

tecs, who used it in their chocolate. Little care is required in its cultivation, it only being necessary to suppress hardier creepers around it. The pods which constitute the vanilla of commerce are first dried in the sun, then sweated in woollen cloths, and again dried.[60] Humboldt estimated the annual average export of the article through Vera Cruz at $60,000, since which time its production has increased fivefold.[61]

From another parasitical plant is procured the drug jalap, which derives its name from the city of Jalapa. The medicinal properties are contained in the root, the virtues of which the Spaniards obtained a knowledge of from the Aztecs. Cultivation of the plant was not commenced before 1865, when exhaustion of the wild species growing in the forests of Jalapa, Orizaba, and Córdoba doubtless necessitated its culture.[62]

Among the numerous contributions of the Mexican forests to the pharmacopolist,[63] mention can only be made of the sarsaparilla, ipecacuanha, rhubarb, gentian, sassafras, valerian, and verbena. But these forests, which yield in such lavish abundance timber, dye-woods, and other useful produce,[64] in some parts

[60] Much care must be taken in the process, as a single blemished pod will ruin a whole box in its transportation from America to Europe. *Humboldt, Essai Polit.*, 438–41.

[61] In the two fiscal years of 1873–4 and 1877–9, the exportations amounted respectively to $284,710 and $346,133. The amount produced in 1879 was 55,118 kilograms, worth $651,958. *Busto*, ut sup., i., Cuad. Agric., no. 30, 4a pte, 97. When exportations of Mexican produce are spoken of, the reader should bear in mind that the figures quoted do not represent the true amounts, owing to contraband trade.

[62] At the beginning of the century, the annual exports amounted to about $60,000, while now they do not exceed $7,000. *Id.*, i. 4a pte, 96; *Humboldt*, ut sup., 967. M. R. Gallo was the first to engage in cultivating the plant. *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, 2a Ep., i. 7; *Mex., Mem. Fom.*, 1866, 69.

[63] Busto supplies a list of 113 medicinal trees and plants. *Id.*, i. 1a pte, 3.

[64] Among which I may mention the India-rubber or hule tree, and the vegetable wax-plant, both of which have suffered extensive destruction by unnecessary mutilation in the extraction of their produce. There still exist vast wooded districts in Chiapas, where the former grows in abundance, and the world is now looking to that portion of Mexico for a supply of rubber which is getting scarce in its old quarters. Consult *Poumian, Notic.*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, 2a Ep., iv. 502–3; and for particulars about the vegetable wax-plant called by the Mexican Indians *copaltzihuitl* and by the Spaniards *limoncillo*, see *Id.*, 2a Ep., i. 889–91, and ii. 115–16; *Mex., Col. Mem. Instruct.*, no. 4.

the country have been improvidently destroyed. Early in the present century attention was called to the serious inroads upon forests, and steps were later taken to prevent the entire denudation of the country by offering inducements to plant trees.[65]

Stock-raising, during the present century, has considerably progressed, and the capabilities of Mexico for the future increase of horned cattle, horses, sheep, and hogs are incalculable.[66] Though cattle and sheep can be reared with advantage in most states of the republic, the plains of the central plateaus are peculiarly adapted to stock-raising. Even Chihuahua with deserts and barren mountain regions would become wonderfully productive of pasturage all the year round by the use of artesian wells.[67]

Horned cattle seem to thrive equally well at all altitudes, but the horse thrives best at an elevation of from 5,000 to 8,000 feet, while sheep are reared principally in the mountains. Special mention must be made of the raising of hogs, which are bred in great numbers all over the country. Indeed, the animal is ubiquitous.[68]

Great encouragement has been given to the development of agriculture by the government during this century. Schools and societies for its promotion have

[65] Plantations containing from 50,000 to 100,000 trees were to be made of ash, willow, poplar, eucalyptus, acacias, and other varieties. The cost of the government will be $200,000. *Diario, Ofic.*, 28 Mayo, 1883.

[66] In 1860, the total number of stock comprising horned cattle, horses, mules, asses, sheep, and hogs was estimated at 15,172,725, having a value of $75,631,846. *Hernandez, Estad. Rep. Mej.*, 122. The corresponding figures in 1879 were 25,610,000 and $122,060,000, including 4,600,000 goats, at $1 a head, a decrease in the value of horses, and an increase of $2 a head in that of hogs being observable. *Busto*, ut sup., iii. 422.

[67] In the northern states, cattle-stealing on the frontiers and depredations by Indians have been a great drawback to stock-raising. These evils will presently disappear. English companies have already purchased large ranges in Tamaulipas, Nuevo Leon, and Sonora.

[68] In value, hogs far surpass the other classes of domesticated animals. The figures representing the numbers of cattle, horses, sheep, and hogs for the year 1879 are respectively 4,460,000, 2,500,000, 6,800,000, and 6,200,000. The corresponding values are $35,680,000, $25,000,000, $6,800,000, and $43,400,000, cattle being valued at an average of $8 a head; horses at $10; sheep at $1; and hogs at $7. *Busto*, ut sup., ii. 422.

been established;[69] botanical gardens have been laid out, and exhibitions held of the floral, horticultural, and agricultural productions of the country. Nevertheless, the mode of cultivation in many districts remains in the backward condition which prevailed a century ago. The causes of this tardy progress have been, the facilities for raising on a small patch of land all the wants of a household, the decadence of the manufacturing industries, and the absence of means of cheap transportation. This last is the principal one. The cultivator would not extend his labor when he knew that the result would be that he could not convey his surplus crop to a market. Improvidence and shiftlessness followed, and the inhabitants in many parts of Mexico have frequently suffered great misery from failure of the crops through drought or floods, the devastations caused by hurricanes, and the ravages committed by locusts. Another cause is a chronic disinclination to change. The introduction of steam and other improved machinery is regarded by the lower orders as an innovation fatal to the means of support. But Mexico's prospective rise in the scale of nations will elevate her working-classes, and vast tracts of land will be put under cultivation, affording well-paid employment to a rapidly increasing population.

The value of agricultural real estate and lands, exclusive of forests and uncultivated wilds, as supplied by Busto in 1880, was estimated at $583,000,000.[70] What it will amount to at the end of the next generation it would be vain to conjecture.

[69] In 1828 a society was formed, and an agricultural school was established by law in 1843. In 1856 the national agricultural school was organized. During later years, numerous institutions of the kind have been founded.

[70] *Estad. Rep. Mex.*, ii. 5a pte, 422. Garcia Cubas, in 1876, estimates the value of landed property at $322,000,000, 'without taking into account that of the streams, grazing lands, orchards, and other rural property of less importance.' *Rep. Mex.*, 24–5.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

1800-1887.

RELATIONS OF CHURCH AND STATE—DEMORALIZATION OF THE CLERGY—THEIR INFLUENCE WANING—MEASURES TO CURTAIL THEIR POWER—INTRIGUES—THE CLERGY AND THE REACTIONISTS COÖPERATING—SEQUESTRATION OF CHURCH PROPERTY—BANISHMENT OF BISHOPS—CREATION OF NEW DIOCESES—CONDITION OF THE CHURCH DURING THE REGENCY—DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE POPE AND MAXIMILIAN—POLICY OF THE LATTER—LIBERAL CHANGES—FREEDOM OF WORSHIP A FACT—MONASTIC ORDERS—THEIR SUPPRESSION—RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES—PROPERTY AND REVENUE OF THE CLERGY—CHURCH FEASTS—SUPERSTITIONS—INTELLECTUAL IMPROVEMENT.

THE Mexican church, after the country became independent, was for a number of years in an abnormal state. Archbishop Fonte abandoned his post, and the pope refused to declare his see vacant. Several of the suffragan dioceses had been bereft of their pastors by death, and others had been forsaken. The ecclesiastical government devolved on the chapters. The pope endeavored to induce the faithful[1] to renew allegiance to the Spanish crown, in which he failed. For a long time he refused to confirm bishops, or to do anything toward relieving the condition of Mexico, because of his political relations with the Spanish court. At last, after the final triumph of the Mexican arms over the Spanish expedition at Tampico, the pope confirmed the bishops nominated

[1] Encyclical letter of Sept. 24, 1824, extolling Fernando VII. *Gaceta, Mex.*, 1825, i. no. 39; *Ward's Mex. in 1827*, 327-8; *La Cruz*, vi. 524-5.

by the Mexican government.[2] In 1861 there were in the republic, besides the prelates of the seven sees, the abbot of the Colegiata de Guadalupe, 13 provisores, 81 canons, 46 racioneros, and 13 masters of ceremonies, making together 154 ecclesiastical dignitaries; 64 vicarios foráneos, 1,468 parish priests, 72 capellanes de coro, 113 capellanes sencillos, aggregating 1,717, and a grand total of 1,871 priests, outside of the regular orders.[3]

The secular clergy of Mexico have ever been the subject of remarks detracting from their respectability. The whole organization, and the manner of obtaining their revenue, as well as of performing their ministerial duties, have tended to nullify their prestige, and the veneration which should be, and is in many countries, felt toward ministers of the gospel. The revenue has been unequally and unfairly distributed; the country priests being poorly compensated, while the bulk of tithes, fees, and emoluments in the wealthy dioceses have gone to the high clergy, namely, bishops and chapters, and to keeping up splendor in the cathedral churches.[4] The dioceses, as they were divided till the sixth decade of this century, were so extensive

[2] Pablo F. Vazquez was confirmed as bishop of Puebla. His predecessors in this century were Man. Ign. Gonzalez Campillo and Ant. J. Perez Martinez. His successors, J. L. Becerra, Pedro Ant. de Labastida y Dávalos, Carlos M. Colina, appointed March 16, 1863. Bishops for Michoacan, Guadalajara, Durango, Chiapas, and Nuevo Leon were also confirmed in 1831. Other dioceses were provided for later: that of Yucatan in 1834; Californias about 1836; and those of Guadalajara, a second nomination, and Sonora in 1837; so that at the beginning of 1838 Mexico and Oajaca were the only churches without prelates, owing to their voluntary absence. *Bustamante, Cuadro Hist.*, iii. 360–5; *Zavala, Revol. Mex.*, i. 370–1; *Iglesias y Conv.*, 177; *La Cruz*, v. 562–3; *Alaman, Hist. Méj.*, iv. 441–4.

[3] According to this there was a decrease since 1826, when there were 3,677 clergymen. The number given in the text does not include priests engaged in teaching or holding no particular office. *Rivera, Mex. in 1842*, 125–6.

[4] In some dioceses, where the prelate was getting from $100,000 to $120,000 a year, many parish priests received the pittance of $100 or $120 yearly. *Ward's Mex. in 1827*, i. 385. Matters were not better in 1858, when the bulk of the property and revenues was monopolized by a few corporations and the upper clergy. *Diario de Aviso*, June 4, 1858. It is but just to say that bishops applied a part of their income to the relief of the indigent, hospitals, and asylums. Then again, some bishops had small incomes, and the more recently created bishoprics had no cathedrals. Those of Sonora, L. California, New Leon, Chiapas, and Yucatan had government pensions, amounting together to $32,000. *Rosa, Juicio Imparcial*, 4–5, 34.

that only a few bishops were known to visit all their towns, and then perhaps only once. It appears also that a number of the bishops were not conscientious pastors, and usually neglected their duties. In the cathedral chapters were many incompetent men, who had obtained their places by simony. Not a few of the priests were living examples of immorality, who disgraced their cloth, and were sores in the body social. Many of them lacked the proper educational attainments. On the other hand, there were those, unfortunately a small minority, who by their virtues, learning, and devotion to duty did honor to their calling, and yet had to suffer for the evil courses or failings of the others. A large portion of the more intelligent people came to feel an aversion to the clergy in general, who consequently lost their influence. It was not that they had become irreligious, as the ecclesiastics and their partisans would have the world believe. There were, however, a number of the educated class who rejected all religion, and called themselves naturalistas.

The encyclical letter of Leo XII., to which I have alluded, cruelly wounded the self-respect of the Mexicans; harsh sentiments were fearlessly uttered, at times unjust, and at others founded on exaggerated reports, but always containing some grains of truth, tending to lower the priests in public estimation. The patronato, an irritating matter—made so by the papal policy—was warmly discussed, and led to the adoption of principles deeply affecting the mind and heart, and which never lost their hold. The facilities for procuring books, the treatment freely in the press, at public meetings, and private conversations, of the evils imputed to the clergy, and other things, account for the great change which had already taken place in the early years of the republic.[5] It must not be supposed, nevertheless, that their influence wholly

[5] *Mora, Rev. Mex.*, i. 115; *Richthofen, Rep. Mex.*, 198–9. The clergy then applied themselves to retain their influence among the ignorant Indians.

disappeared. Intolerance continued to exist de jure, and political parties fighting for supremacy would seize that handle, but only to drop it again as soon as they had gained their object. Had it not been for parties anxious for the support of the clergy, the reformation of the latter would have been easily accomplished, and much future trouble saved to all concerned. It is a fact that the leading men of all parties desired the reformation, though they differed as to the time and manner of securing it.[6]

In order to form an idea of the power wielded by the clericals to counteract that of the republican government at the time of its organization, and in later years, it should be borne in mind that it was a power coetaneous with the colonial system and deeply rooted. Aside from all the privileges and prerogatives the clergy had possessed from the earliest days, they directed the consciences of men and women, not only on religious matters, but also on social, conjugal, and general domestic affairs, dress, and public amusements. Superadded to which was the fact that thousands of men and their families derived their support and comforts of life from the revenues of the clergy, and upheld them as a matter of interest if not of principle. The republic has therefore had to contend against a power older than itself, directed by the ministers of the almighty.[7] The liberal party in 1833 and 1834 labored to crush the politico-theocratic power, and thus save democratic principles and institutions on the basis of an absolute independence between the civil

[6] The clergy systematically opposed the govt, were hostile to religious toleration, to freedom of thought and to free expression in the press; they strenuously objected to equality before the law; made war against civil marriages and registrations; opposed foreign colonization, and public or any other education unless it was wholly under eclcesiastical control. Many of the difficulties Mexico has had with foreign powers were partly originated and encouraged by the clergy.

[7] They demanded every aid and support from the laws and govt, and yet disallowed all subjection or responsibility to them, such as they had been forced to recognize during the royal rule. They had large pecuniary resources, which they used freely to accomplish their ends, constantly availing themselves likewise of the low elements of ignorance and superstition.

and ecclesiastical jurisdictions. Several salutary measures were adopted, and there was some prospect of their successful execution, when Santa Anna resumed the executive authority and undid what had been done to reform both the clergy and the army. However, the reforms partially remained in force, but not those connected with the patronato. The plan of Iguala was no longer a shield for the church's temporalities.[8] In 1835 there arrived in Mexico two bishops in partibus infidelium, appointed by the pope de motu proprio, with an entire disregard of Mexico's right of patronage. This question remained in statu quo, until, upon the resignation of Archbishop Fonte of the mitre of Mexico in 1838, the choice of his successor was made by the Roman pontiff in 1840, from a list presented by the chapter of the diocese under an act of the Mexican congress. The right of the national government on the subject of nominations of bishops was further sustained in an act of congress of April 16, 1850.[9]

The clergy had invariably disclaimed all intervention as a body in the political disturbances of the country. It might not be always easy to disprove this assertion, but their struggle for power became clear and well defined in the act proclaimed at Guadalajara in 1852, known as the Plan del Hospicio, which bore the signatures of high ecclesiastical dignitaries. The clergy supported Santa Anna in power, believing thus to secure their own; but the revolution of Ayutla put an end to their golden dreams by overthrowing the dictator.

[8] The property controlled by the clergy was now constantly menaced, and was much diminished by the govt seizing portions of it at different periods.

[9] The supreme govt was to nominate bishops to vacant sees out of ternary lists laid before it by the respective chapters, through and with the approbation of the respective governors. The govt could reject the first list and call for another. The civil authority was empowered to bestow ecclesiastical preferments. *Mex., Col. Ley. y Dec.*, 1850, 88–90; *Mex., Legis. Mex.*, 1850, 82–4; *Mex., Col. Ley.*, 1850, i. 57–8; *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1850, 267–8; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Legis. Mex.*, v. 690–1. Santa Anna, in his anxiety to have the support of the high clergy, gave the archbishop and bishops the honorary title of councillors of state. *Rivera, Gobern. Mex.*, ii. 445; *Id., Hist. Jalapa*, iv. 442.

Among the reforms initiated by the leaders of the new administration, that of checking the clergy was foremost; and as a matter of course, the patronato question was a prominent one.[10] A law of November 23, 1855, deprived the clergy of several of their old privileges, against which the archbishop protested on the 27th, without effect.[11]

The new federal constitution created much commotion among the ecclesiastics. They would not give up the contest, but kept constantly agitating from the pulpit, in the press, and, of course, the confessional. Conspiracies were in order among the reactionists, the women being also made the docile instruments of their spiritual advisers.[12] All efforts of the government to allay the trouble, even through an ambassador accredited to the pope, proved unavailing. The clergy forbade their supporters from taking the oath to support the constitution, alleging that it contained articles hostile to religion or the church.[13] The pope issued a declaration to the effect that the church was persecuted, and would have to suffer still more under the new constitution.[14] This was all untrue. Neither religion nor its priests were assailed. It is a fact, however, that a very large number of faithful catholics desired mortmain on church property removed,

[10] At the time of Santa Anna's overthrow, negotiations in Rome for a concordat were in an advanced state. Under that arrangement, the church was to have restored to it all its former prerogatives.

[11] *Mex., Legis. Mej.*, vi. 559–60, 565, 589–91; *Garza, Pastoral*, no. 5; *Apuntam. sobre derecho púb. eccles.*, 8; *Id., Nuevas Contest.*, 7.

[12] In the midst of all this, the archbishop and the bishop of San Luis Potosí, a see created in 1854, assured the govt that their clergy were taking no part in illegal acts. *Vigil, Ensayo Hist.*, 7–10; *La Bandera de Ayutla*, Feb. 16, 1816; *Archivo Mex., Col. Ley.*, iii. 250–3.

[13] The diocesan of Guadalajara enumerated them: the 3d establishing freedom of public instruction; the 5th proclaiming man's inalienable right of freedom, which was not to be curtailed by reason of labor, education, or monastic vows; the 6th and 7th on free speech and free press; the 27th declaring civil and ecclesiastical corporations incompetent to hold or administer real estate; the 123d conferring on the general govt exclusively such intervention in ecclesiastical affairs as the laws might designate. This was merely intended to secure public peace. The bishop also protested against the omission in the constitution of the Roman catholic faith as that of the state.

[14] This enabled the reactionists to pose before the country as the defenders of the true faith. *Buenrostro, Hist. Seg. Cong. Constituc.*, i. 56–9.

and ecclesiastical reforms for the honor and prestige of catholicism. The government, in adopting the reforms, had submitted to an unavoidable necessity for the good of both the church and the national sovereignty. And indeed, after years of disasters,[15] these reforms have become accomplished facts, and the church at this late day exercises its legitimate influence unrestrained, and the morals of the clergy have undergone a change for the better.

The triumph of the liberal party over the reactionists in 1861 is a matter of history, and has been fully detailed elsewhere. During the three years' struggle, several important decrees were issued by President Juarez further to curtail the power of the clergy.[16] These decrees did not, however, stop the clergy. As a last resort, they despoiled the churches of valuable jewels and plate which the confiscation law had spared.

Among President Juarez' first acts on his reaching the capital was to expel Monsignor Luigi Clementi, archbishop of Damascus, papal delegate; also the archbishop of Mexico, and bishops Madrid, Munguía, Barajas, and Espinosa. Bishop Loza had been banished from Sinaloa by the governor.[17] On their arrival at Vera Cruz, their carriages were stoned, and the populace demanded that the Mexican bishops should be confined in jail. However, they were protected by

[15] Libertad on one side, Religion y Fueros on the other, were fought for; and the while the fight lasted the peaceful citizen got for his share fire, bloodshed, death. *Payno, Mem. Revol. Dic.*, 77–8.

[16] Nov. 3, 1858, to stop their procuring money on the security of their real estate; June 25, 1859, a severe decree; but that of July 12, 1859, confiscated and nationalized all their property. *Pinart, Col. Doc. Mex.*, no. 1167; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Legis. Mex.*, viii. 675–88, 696, 702–6, 756–9; *Baz, Ley.*, 14, 33–64; *Mex., Cod. Reforma*, 145–60, 169–71; *Mex., Col. Ley.*, 1861, ii. 61–72, 75–94, 97–112; *Archivo Mex., Col. Ley.*, iv. 164–72; *Garza, Pastorales*, nos. 6, 10, 13–14.

[17] Clementi had been in the country exercising his functions under an exequatur of Pres. Lombardini to the papal brief of Aug. 26, 1851. The above orders of expulsion were dated 12th and 17th Jan. 1861, and the blood spilled in the war is attributed to the clergy, 'por el escandaloso participio que ha tomado el clero en la guerra civil.' *Dublan* and *Lozano, Legis. Mex.*, vi. 335–50, ix. 12; *Garza y Ballesteros, Opusc.*, 3–33; *Variedades Jurisp.*, vi. 309–38; *Archivo Mex., Col. Leyes*, v. 5–7, 42–3, 72–4; *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, ii. 604; *Richthofen, Rep. Mex.*, 199.

the civil authorities, and in February embarked for Europe. During their exile, they were summoned to Rome for consultation on the needs of the Mexican church; the result of which was that the bishoprics of Michoacan and Guadalajara were made archbishoprics, and several new dioceses were created, to all of which appointments were made by Pius IX., on the 16th of March, 1863.[18] The newly created prelates were Pelagio A. de Labastida y Dávalos, archbishop of Mexico;[19] Francisco Suarez Peredo, Juan B. Ormaechea y Ernaiz, and Ambrosio Serrano, bishops respectively of Vera Cruz, Tulancingo, and Chilapa; Clemente de J. Munguía, archbishop of Michoacan; José A. de la Peña, J. M. Diez de Sollano, bishop of Troade in partibus infidelium; Bernardo Gárate, and Pedro Barajas, bishops respectively of Zamora, Leon, Querétaro, and San Luis Potosí; Pedro de Espinosa, archbishop of Guadalajara; Ignacio Guerra, bishop of Zacatecas.[20]

Juarez' government adopted other severe measures to cripple the ecclesiastical foe.[21] Priests were placed under strict surveillance, and subjected to many annoyances. On the other hand, after the imperialists had the capital, an attempt was made to restore them their property, as they had rendered very efficient aid in erecting the monarchy; and yet, in 1864, the church, under the so-called regency of the empire, was in a worse plight than under Juarez' sway. So

[18] To the archbishopric of Mexico were given, as suffragans, the dioceses of Puebla, Oajaca, Vera Cruz, Chiapas, Yucatan, Chilapa, and Tulancingo; to that of Michoacan, San Luis Potosí, Querétaro, Leon, and Zamora; and to that of Guadalajara, Durango, New Leon, Sonora, Zacatecas, and the Apostolic *vicarías* of Lower Cal. in charge of Juan F. Escalante, bishop of Anastasiópolis in partibus infidelium, and Tamaulipas in charge of Francisco de la C. Ramirez, bishop of Caradro, also in partibus.

[19] His predecessors in the present century had been Francisco J. de Lizana y Beaumont, 1802–11; Antonio Bergosa y Jordan, 1812–15; Pedro J. de Fonte, 1816–38; Manuel Posadas y Garduño, 1840–6; Lázaro de la Garza y Ballesteros, 1851–62.

[20] *Méx., Col. Ley. y Dec.*, 382; *Iglesias y Conv.*, 5, 151, 169, 226–347, passim; *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, ii. app. 22, and many others.

[21] Among them the seizure of two thirds of the tithes, and the suppression of the ecclesiastical chapters, excepting that of Guadalajara.

said Archbishop Labastida to the French general Neigre, who had treated him disrespectfully.[22]

Monsignore Meglia, papal nuncio, was publicly and cordially received, with the highest honors accorded at royal courts to ambassadors, by Maximilian, whom he assured of the holy father's confidence in the monarch to protect religion. Maximilian expressed himself as highly satisfied with the fulfilment of promises made him in Rome. These friendly expressions came to little or naught eventually. Maximilian was powerless to effect any change. It is true that he surrendered the cemeteries to the church, but on the other hand, he enforced the law suppressing the ecclesiastical fuero, which of course brought out a strong protest from the bishops. In fact, Maximilian, in his efforts to win the good-will of the liberals, acted imprudently, and alienated the churchmen.[23] At several conferences with the nuncio, nothing definite was arrived at to please Rome. The latter would accede to no reforms, and her nuncio finally quitted Mexico. Maximilian's envoy near the pope succeeded no better, for all the fair promises which had been made him. Maximilian went so far, in 1866, as to appoint a commissioner to confer with the prelates assembled in Mexico about a concordat.[24]

[22] 'La Iglesia sufre hoy los mismos ataques que en el tiempo del gobierno de Juarez, en la plenitud de sus inmunidades, y de sus derechos....jamás se vió perseguida con tanto encarnizamiento....nos encontramos peor que en aquel tiempo.' *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, 182–5.

[23] *Periód Of. Imp. Mex.*, Dec. 13, 1864. He said openly that the pope was ill advised, and that he cared but little if his holiness was displeased with his acts in Mexico, his responsibility being only to God and his own conscience as a sovereign; that the Mexican prelates did not understand the spirit of the times, nor of true catholicism; that many of them lacked a Christian heart. If the pope excommunicated him, he would be the fourth Austrian archduke that had been so treated. Carlota, his wife, had used even stronger language, and had shown much antipathy to the high clergy. *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii. 341–2.

[24] He wanted confirmed all the measures of the liberal administration, and was desirous of adopting others, to wit: payment of the clergy by the state, religious toleration, revision of parochial fees by the govt, and exemption of the people from some ecclesiastical imposts. He instructed his minister to act on the principle of an ample and free religious toleration, though recognizing the Roman catholic as the religion of the state. *Voz de Méj.*, March 18, Apr. 25, 1865; *Rivera, Gobern. Mex.*, ii. 649–59; *Domenech, Hist. du Mex.*, iii. 318; *Martinez, Hist. Revol. Mex.*, i. 235–7; *Diario del Imp.*, Feb. 27, 1865.

The end of the empire, and of ecclesiastical efforts to hold sway in Mexico, has been fully treated of in other chapters. Freedom of religion has been secured in a manner that renders all opposition to it out of the question. The law of December 4, 1860, made it so, and subsequent decrees in following years further strengthened it. The government made its measures practical, ceding to protestant congregations buildings in Mexico, Puebla, and elsewhere. From this time several protestant sects established missions in the country, and though beset with difficulties—from the opposition of the catholic clergy, and from old-standing beliefs and prejudices not easily eradicated—made considerable progress.[25] Even the Mormons established colonies in Mexican territory, and an association of free-thinkers was formed in Mexico in 1870. The government maintains friendly relations with the ecclesiastical authorities, there being now an understanding that church and state are separate, independent of each other, and free to exercise their functions within their legitimate orbit.[26]

The popular dislike of monastic institutions began in the reign of Cárlos III., and increased with the development of thought among the masses. The bishops seem to have encouraged this dislike, and audiencias and magistrates exercised unstintedly the patronato, carrying out the royal instructions to crush the power of the clergy, more particularly that of the

[25] Violence, and even murder, has been resorted to in several places, but in later years the dissenting sects have not been interfered with. In April 1883 was opened in Jerez a protestant church, and another the following month in Toluca. *Alaman, Catól. Hist.*, 1884, 162–3. The following authorities also treat of the subject: *Am. and For. Christ. Union*, xvi. 247–8; xvii. 179–80, 272, 311–19; xviii. 28, 181–3, 285–6; *Tovar, Hist. Parl.*, iii. 553, 577–8; *Mex. Diar. Ofic.*, May 4, 1870; June 29, Oct. 7, 1871; *Harper's Mag.*, xlix. 177–8; *Diario Debates*, 7th Cong., iv. 5–6; *Pan. Star and Herald*, Jan. 20, Feb. 11, March 10, Apr. 12, 1875; June 19, 1876; *Salv., Diario Ofic.*, Apr. 19, 1876, 741.

[26] In 1871 the clergy were deprived of the right of suffrage. Under the amended constitution of 1873, 1st, church and state are made independent of each other; 2d, marriage is a civil contract; 3d, no religious corporation may possess real estate, nor capital secured thereon, with the sole exception expressed in art. 127. *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, viii. 397; *Diario Debates*, 7th Cong., 189, 193, 1266–7; *Mex., Diario Ofic.*, March 29, 1871.

regular branch. At the time of the grito de Dolores in 1810, the old prestige of the friars had almost entirely disappeared. Many of their number joined the revolution, throwing off the monk's habit, and donning the soldier's uniform. The most crushing blow the clergy received at the hands of the Spanish crown was in depriving their revolutionary members of their priestly fuero,[27] and heaven did not come to their relief. From that time the decadence of the religious orders rapidly progressed. Members of families in good social standing had ceased to join, and the few recruits they obtained were generally from the lower classes. Civil laws, authorizing co-action to enforce the fulfilment of monastic vows, were repealed in November 1833. The religious of both sexes were permitted to leave the cloister if they so desired.[28] Organizations of friars were suppressed by the law of July 12, 1859; the priests were to secularize themselves, and be pensioned. The same law extinguished all ecclesiastical congregations, and prohibited novitiates for nuns; the existing nuns being allowed to remain as such with the dowers they brought with them at the time of taking the veil; but such as wished to leave the cloister were to be reimbursed the full amount of their dowers. In 1861 it was ordered that all nuns should be concentrated in one convent.[29]

Santa Anna permitted the Jesuits in 1843 and 1853 to settle in some parts of the republic, and organize missions in order to civilize savage Indians. It seems that the order established some houses, and

[27] It will be remembered that many were tried by court-martial, and sentenced to death and other penalties. Viceroy's decree in *Gaceta*, June 30, 1812; *Alaman, Hist. Méj.*, iii. 395; *Mendivil, Resúmen Hist.*, 137–40, 268.

[28] This decree was annulled by Santa Anna in 1854 and 1855, but given renewed validity by Pres. Comonfort in April 1856. *Archivo Mex., Col. Ley.*, ii. 33–6; iii. 98–9; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Legis. Mex.*, vii. 266–7, 482–4; viii. 154; *La Bandera de Ayutla*, May 24, 1856.

[29] It was carried out Feb. 12th, and though some care was had, the sisters are said to have suffered much. It is related that the nuns of Puebla in 1857, being without resources and starving, refused the proffered aid of the govt, preferring 'death to dishonor!' *Diario de Avisos*, Aug. 24, 1857; *La Cruz*, v. 407.

that some of its former property was restored; but there is no account of their opening missions. Santa Anna's decree of September 19, 1853, was repealed on June 7, 1856, congress ordering the expulsion of the Jesuits from the country.

The society of Saint Vincent de Paul had been allowed in 1845 to found establishments in the republic. The orders of San Juan de Dios, Bethlehemites, and other hospitallers had been suppressed since 1820. The Franciscans proper, barefooted Franciscans of San Diego, Augustinians, Dominicans, the order of Mercy, and others continued till the final general suppression took place.[30]

The advent of the sisters of charity was in 1844, and with the special favors shown them soon spread throughout the country. In 1861, when stringent measures were adopted toward the religious orders, the sisters of charity were allowed to continue their work under government inspection, made amenable to the civil laws, forbidden to act as a religious order, and warned to attend strictly to their legitimate duties. In February 1863 nunneries and communities of female devotees were suppressed, and the next year regulations were decreed for repaying them their dowers. In 1877 all communities of nuns were dispersed.[31]

The mission system, formerly so extensive, in the course of time became reduced to small proportions. In 1834 the government decreed their secularization;

[30] The Franciscans then had six colleges de propaganda fide; namely, San Fernando of Mexico, Guadalupe of Zacatecas, Santa Cruz of Querétaro, Nuestra Señora de Zapopam, San Francisco of Pachuca. In 1861 the force of the religious orders was as follows: Provincials 28; Priors 122; Procurators, Masters and Lecturers 375; other members 947. Total 1,472. Convents, Guadalupans 6; Franciscans 31; Dominicans 14; Augustinians 13; Dieguinos 14; Carmelites 16; Mercenarios 19; Jesuits 14; Paulists 6; Felipenses 8; Fernandinos 3; and Camilos 2. Nuns: there were monastertes of Carmelites, Capuchins, Teresas, Claras, Isabelinas, Catarinas, etc., numbering 64. The personnel consisted of 63 abbesses and prioresses, and 1,463 nuns. There were also 42 sisters of charity, 792 girls, and 858 maid-servants, making a total of 3,228. *Hernandez, Estadist. Méj.*, 248–9.

[31] *Dublan* and *Lozano, Legis. Mex.*, iv. 625; ix. 594–5, 598–601; *Tovar, Hist. Parlam.*, iii. 248, 254; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, xvi. 306–15, 361–5.

but the order was not carried out at once. Many of the missions had ceased to exist for the want of means and missionaries. At last the government sold the mission property, and disposed of all funds which had been provided in early times for their support.

Among the several religious fraternities worthy of mention that existed in 1861 were the following: Siervos de María, Archicofradía de la Purísima Concepcion, San Juan de Dios, excloistered; Archicofradía de San Miguel, Muy Ilustre Congregacion de Esclavos, Esclavos Cocheros del Santísimo Sacramento; Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento, and another of the Inmaculado Corazon de María—all of which had their constitutions and by-laws, and had had a recognition and the protection of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. Their names indicate the chief object for which they were respectively instituted. Most of them were also mutual aid associations.

Of the immense wealth possessed by the clergy in the first decade of this century, the Spanish government seized a portion in 1805 and 1806; other large sums in money and plate were taken from time to time for the requirements of the war in supporting troops in the field to uphold the royal sway;[32] and still another slice was swallowed up by the directores de obras pías during the ensuing confusion. The values set by many writers on ecclesiastical estates were much exaggerated even for the period preceding 1833. They probably were so in several cases from that time to the year of the final sequestration.[33] From 1832 to 1860, the clergy sold many estates, both urban and rural, whose former value was estimated at $85,000,000,

[32] *Córtes, Diario,* 1811, v. 6, 19, 23–5; xxii. 212; *Córtes, Col. Dec.,* i. 155–9; *Alaman, Hist. Méj.,* v. 519–20, 525–6.

[33] Some of the property had been seized in 1829 for public defence. *Dispos. Var.,* ii. 72; *Mex., Doc. Import.,* 1–53. The estates depreciated after 1832, particularly in 1833, owing to the large mortality from cholera of tenants who had brought buildings and lands to a ruined condition, and owed largely for rents. The law of Oct. 27, 1833, doing away with civil co-action in the collection of tithes, together with a scarcity of laborers, disenabled the clergy to repair the buildings or improve the lands.

for less than $42,000,000.[34] The clergy had voluntarily donated large sums, and also paid their share of forced loans levied, nearly the whole of which was never reimbursed. On the 25th of June, 1856, the government decreed that real estate of the church, or property administered by ecclesiastical corporations, should be conveyed to the tenants at a value corresponding with the rent they were paying, estimated at six per centum per year.[35]

The revolution of Puebla, San Luis Potosí, and Tacubaya, cost the clergy in three years nearly nine million dollars; and the constitutional party took from them about 10½ millions more, making a total loss of nearly twenty millions. It was therefore computed that the property on the date of the decree for its sequestration was worth about 184¾ million dollars,[36] exclusive of churches and temples. Allowing for possibly unknown sales, and other confiscations to the aggregate amount of 40 millions, we may say that the whole had become reduced to 124 millions. Taking off one third to facilitate sales, we have 83 millions. The fact is that the sales yielded much less.[37] Most of the property had been already sold in 1869.

The chief source of revenue the church had was the tithes. It was subject to vicissitudes for several years,[38] and it is supposed that, in the last years of the clergy's

[34] In 1847 the clergy were no longer able, their friends said, to support themselves genteelly. In 1856 matters had grown worse. Cathedrals were in a decayed condition, the revenues greatly reduced. The members of chapters suffered for want of means. The cry that the clergy owned from 60 to 80 millions was unfounded. The property had fallen to an insignificant amount. *Rosa, Juicio Imp.*, 4–5; *La Cruz*, iii. 396. Richthofen, *Rep. Mex.*, 4–5, estimated the income from gifts, tithes, fees, sales of images, etc., from nine to ten millions, and perhaps twice as much with the income from landed property.

[35] The principal remaining as a lien on the property might be redeemed at convenience. The govt derived an excise duty of 5 per cent on such conveyances. *Apuntam, sobre derecho púb. ecles.*, 10; *Mex., Col. Ley.*, 1861, ii. 1st pt, 1–18, 125–6, 178–200; 343–53, app. 377–445, passim; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Legis. Mex.*, viii. 197–201; *Zarco, Hist. Cong.* i. 117–20, 183–205, and many others.

[36] Details in *Hernandez, Estadíst. Mej.*, 250–4.

[37] Maximilian revised the operations of Juarez' govt till April 1866, and the value of nationalized property as appearing on the books was $62,365,516. *Mex., Mem. Hac.*, 1870, 566, 642.

[38] From 1806 to 1810, between 10 and 11 million dollars; from 1829 to 1833, only from 5¼ to 5½ millions. *Mex., Mem. Agric. é Ind.*, 1843, annex 2.

privileged existence, the tithes were only about 3¼ million dollars. Other sources were the fees and emoluments, and other devices, all exorbitant and demoralizing to the Indians. The laws on parochial fees and emoluments were reformed by a decree of President Comonfort, in April 1857, which greatly displeased the bishops. The archbishop of Mexico passed a circular to his clergy not to demand in future any fees, but to simply accept whatever the faithful chose to give as alms for the support of their pastors. In 1874 a law was enacted annulling all donations to ecclesiastical corporations.

Outside of the official feasts proper, such as the celebration of the nation's patron saints and royal days, coronations, etc., in colonial times, and of national anniversaries after the independence, all of which went under the name of fiestas de tabla, but also had a religious character, the clergy taking a very prominent part in the ceremonials, there were numerous other festivals, exclusively of the church. The number of feast-days at one time was so great that the industries of the country and the laboring class suffered severely; one half the year or more being made up of Sundays and holidays. In view of this, the Roman pontiff in 1835 authorized the diocesans of Mexico to reduce the number. Doubts occurred, and discussions ensued with considerable disagreement among the bishops, until, on the 25th of May, 1839, the pope issued his brief ordering the decrease, to which the Mexican government affixed its exequatur on the 14th of September of the same year.[39]

According to the testimony of many intelligent as well as impartial writers who have visited Mexico, the masses of the population never had a rational idea of the Christian religion, or a just conception of its founder; hence their proneness to regard the external symbols and ceremonies practised by their church as

[39] *Breve Pontiff. autoriz.*, 1–9; *Arrillaga, B., Satisfac.*, 1–20; *Mex., Col. de Leyes y Dec.*, 1840, 250–2; *Breve Pontif.* (1839).

religion itself. In their ignorance, they never could possess themselves of its true spirit, and the result has been the adoration of images, and blind fanaticism and superstition. The fact is, that the benighted Indians, forming the great bulk of the population, have been taught to worship images; the well-informed bowed the knee, perhaps, but in private derided the superstition they were obliged outwardly to conform to. It must be acknowledged, however, that in late years, with the spread of education, the people have been arriving at a better conception of christianity, and throwing off many of their former stupid beliefs.

General kneeling in the streets, when the parish priests were carrying the host to the moribund,[40] and ordering of masses for the dead, to save their souls from torture, or to hasten their exit from purgatory, were common practices, and from the latter the church derived immense revenues.[41] Ridiculous exhibitions were often made by the devout, such, for instance, as parading a figure of Christ in a green silk robe, with a large white handkerchief fastened across the shoulders to protect his back from the sun; and the virgin Mary following with a fashionable French hat, worn jauntily. The feasts of the crucifixion at Pueblo Viejo de Tampico, and of Santiago de Compostela, were evidences of a mixture of barbarism with civilization.[42] Still other proofs might be given had I the space. I must therefore refer the reader to the authorities.[43] I cannot omit, however, two instances of the worst species of ignorance and superstition occurring in late times. In 1869. in a town of the district

[40] Persons failing to do it, even from ignorance, were imprisoned. *Niles' Reg.*, xlviii. 314.

[41] After the enactment of the reform laws, all religious manifestations or ceremonies outside of the churches were forbidden under severe penalties. *Mex., Cod. Ref.*, 229; *El Derecho*, iii. 420; *Diario Debates*, 6th Cong., iv. 303, 349–50.

[42] The latter was a regular Indian masquerade, with dancing after the banquet, in and out of the church, at the sound of a drum and some other instrument. *Beltrami, Le Mexique*, i. 31–40, 523–4; *Córtes, Diar. Cod. Pen.*, 1822, iii. 53; *Ward's Mex.*, i. 661.

[43] *Thompson's Recoll.*, 101; *Perry's Trav.*, 30–6; *Heller, Reisen*, 277; *Mühlenpfordt, Mejico*, 326–35; *Rautzel aus Mex.*, 203; *Stephens' Yuc.*, ii. 331–3; and numberless others.

of Jonacatepec, state of Mexico, not far from the capital, a woman accused of witchcraft was burnt to death, after suffering much torture, by means of which the acknowledgment was wrung out of her that she was really a witch.[44] On the 7th of April, 1874, two men were burnt at the stake, under a regular sentence of court, in San Juan de Jacobo, district of Concordia, in Sinaloa, for having, during the period of six months, bewitched another man. The authors of the outrage were arrested and subjected to a trial for murder.

Among the festivals which upon their yearly recurrence obtain a strict observance with a most marked devotion are the following: New-Year's day, epiphany, septuagesima, sexagesima, and quinquagesima Sundays, Shrovetide, Ash-Wednesday, lent, feast of the seven Dolours of the blessed virgin Mary, passion Sunday, palm Sunday, the holy week, and easter. During the holy week, the tragedy enacted in Syria nearly nineteen centuries ago has been reproduced almost to the life, even to the inflicting of lashes on the man personating the saviour. Christ's act of washing his apostles' feet was one of the ceremonies, and was generally performed by a person in high position, official or social, on twelve poor men who were afterward given generous alms. Maximilian did it in 1866. It has been for centuries a season of display of wealth as well as of piety. The lower classes, however, have ever devoted their special worship to the virgin Mary under the many names faith has given her. To the saviour, her son, they show a respectful pity, an humble and more distant adoration; but to Mary they give their whole confidence, looking up to her as their powerful intercessor in heaven. Hence her shrines are always well tended and filled with men and women on their knees, addressing themselves to her images with faces expressive of the most intense love and devotion.[45]

[44] *El Derecho*, ii. 59. This is a journal of jurisprudence, published in Mexico.

[45] *Arroniz, Manual*, 144–5, 151; *Tudor's Tour*, ii. 352–3; *Calderon's Life in Mex.*, i. 197–214; ii. 42–5, 133–6, 143–52; *La Cruz*, i. 27; ii. 21–2; vii. 252–3; *Informe Secreto*, 1–8; *Diario del Imp.*, March 31, 1806, 333.

Then there were ascension day, Whitsunday or pentecost, and corpus christi. The virgin de los Remedios and the virgin de Guadalupe have always been objects of the highest regard, and gorgeous ceremonies have been dedicated to them by all classes. Unfortunately, these feasts were made occasions for speculation by both the clergy and laymen in the sale of images, and for excesses, drinking, and gambling especially.[46] The fact is, that so much devoutness, so much time devoted to religious festivals and ceremonies, did not appear to have a beneficial effect on the masses, not over-virtuous at best, and still less so when the occasions for the public indulging of vice came round. Christmas eve has been every year made much of by all classes: by the educated with attendance in church, and suppers at their homes; by the lower classes with debauchery, winked at by the authorities at times, and not infrequent crime. The government has in late years made great efforts to check all such excesses.[47] Christmas is in Mexico, as it is in almost every Christian country, a day of universal rejoicing, giving and receiving of presents, and family reunions. In connection with it, the people have a custom of commemorating at their homes during nine consecutive nights, under the name of *las posadas*, Mary's eight days' journey from Nazareth to Bethlehem. The feast of all saints and the commemoration of all souls are also observed with appropriate devotion as well as honors.

To the festivals above named, we must add the patron saints of the nation, states, and towns, of high officials or public benefactors, and of members of families. It will thus be seen that the Mexicans have never lacked for opportunities to devote their time and earnings to the church.

[46] *Thompson's Recoll.*, 103; *Mayer's Mex. as It Was, etc.*, 65, 68–9, 143–5, 148; *Bustamante, Gabinete Mex.*, i. 62–3; *Id., Gran. Dia.*, 1–11; *Diario de Avisos* (1856, Nov. 22, 1858, Feb. 17, 18); *Mühlenpfordt, Mejico*, i. 334–5; *La Oposicion* (1834, Nov. 15); *La Nacion* (1856, Nov. 19, Dec. 28).

[47] *Mex., Legis. Mej.*, 1848, 539–40.

CHAPTER XXV.

SOCIETY.

1887.

EVOLUTION OF A NEW RACE—INDIANS AND MEZTIZOS—CLIMATE AND EPIDEMICS—BENEVOLENT INSTITUTIONS—THE MEXICAN OF THE PRESENT TIME—SLAVERY AND PEONAGE—NEGROES AND LÉPEROS—ORDERS AND TITLES OF NOBILITY—SOCIAL MANNERS AND CUSTOMS—ARTISANS AND RANCHEROS—CONDITION OF MEXICAN WOMEN—MARITAL RELATIONS—INNOVATIONS ON THE NATIONAL COSTUME—HOLIDAYS AND FESTIVALS—OBSERVANCE OF HOLY WEEK — GAMBLING — THEATRES AND COUNTRY AMUSEMENTS — HORSE-RACING — POPULAR DRIVES AND WALKS — HIGHWAYMEN—TRAVELLING IN THE INTERIOR—IMMIGRATION UNSUCCESSFUL —RELATIVE POSITIONS OF FOREIGNERS IN MEXICO.

THE peaceful, semi-dormant times of colonial rule were undoubtedly favorable to the evolution of a race which is rapidly absorbing the Indian and Spanish parent stock and advancing toward a fixed type. What this will be is wholly a matter of speculation. If left to themselves the mestizos must in time become the national race, as already represented by a large body among them,[1] but our age is not one of exclusiveness, and growing intercourse is opposed to strict conservatism. Mexico is exposed in an exceptional manner to the encroachments of universal progress, lying as she does on the borders of a nation impelled above any other by the spirit of the age. The territory ceded by the treaty of 1848 is rapidly transforming

[1] Many writers regard the type as already stamped in the majority of the mestizos, while Jourdanet and others still look for modifications, either toward Indian or white, although they fail to present any well-defined argument. Pimentel, *Econom.*, 186–8, joins Alaman in a despairing wail at the prospective disappearance of the present races like the builders of the present ruins in Central America.

itself, and now railroads are opening wide paths into Anáhuac for an irresistible advance, prompted by material interests, and to be welcomed from similar motives, despite the warning cry of patriotic mentors. Here lies, then, a modifying influence toward a white race, even if a counteracting element for political preservation is introduced in the form of European colonists. Even this, however, does not point to a fixed type, which depends upon geographic environment. I will here merely allude to the national type unfolding in the United States, with its several marked Indian features, for the purpose of assuring the champions of the aborigines, that although their protegés are disappearing, they may yet be avenged upon their conquerors by nature herself. Yet must they not overlook the powerful factor presented by universal intercourse, which is affecting, in a greater or less degree, all the nations of the earth.

Statistics regarding the changes in a population so remarkable and prominent in its progress must be of particular interest. Unfortunately, those that exist are not very reliable, for no complete census has ever been taken,[2] owing above all to the continual political disturbances, the fear of levies for taxes and military service, and the periodic movements of populations between towns and country for employment and gathering of fruit.[3] Hence the figures are widely

[2] Although several have been ordered and many taken with great exactness in certain districts. *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1829, 190–2; 1831, 216–17; *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1854, vii. 38–44; 1855, viii. 80–7; *Archivo Méx., Col. Ley.*, v. 491–8; *Bib. Mex., Amen.*, i. 280, and other authorities. Registration, like other official duties, suffered from the prevailing negligence and political disorders. Among the regulations issued in this respect may be consulted those in *Archivo Méx., Col. Ley.*, v. 528–9; *Código Reforma*, 171–8; *Diario de Debates*, Cong. 9, i. 708–10.

[3] It has been estimated that two thirds of the people can be classed as more or less shifting, and Garcia Cubas, *Escritos Div.*, 6, assumes that half the inhabitants escape the census-takers, so that their figures are widely estimated. Among the tendencies shown by the state authorities is one to swell the figures in order to increase the representation in congress, and the counteracting one of seeking to escape tax and army levies. It must be considered, however, that the changes in the constitution and government policy have at different times so modified one objection or another as to lay bare most deceptions.

based on estimates, according to which the number of inhabitants may now be placed at over 10,000,000. The period of the independence war is generally regarded as stationary, but after this the increase is reckoned at about eight per mille, a figure far below those given by Humboldt and Navarro, and lower still when we consider the greater lease of life attained to some extent in Mexico with the aid of modern conveniences and medical knowledge. Yet their ratio does not appear extravagant for the peaceful colonial era,[4] as compared with republican times, with its constant revolutions, and consequently unfavorable condition for rearing families. To this must be added the withdrawal from Indians of the protective measures of a paternal government, leaving them exposed to a competitive struggle with races possessing superior advantages and ever ready to abuse them.

The contact with the Europeans is undoubtedly prejudicial to the aborigines, though less rapid in its effect than in the United States. During colonial times, new and intensified epidemics appear as prominent annihilators, by which a large population was reduced to about three millions and a half at the opening of this century. Since then, other less direct causes must be regarded as mainly contributing to the decrease of their number, a decrease which becomes very marked on comparing it with the growth of the other occupants of the soil. With a fairly strong constitution, and fecund women so generally attributed to them, they should have participated to some extent in the increase of over fifty per cent, exhibited by the total population. Instead of this they declined, thus swelling the proportionate rate of growth for the other races to double or even treble.

An official report ascribes this to some hidden evil,[5] which, however, reveals itself distinctly on one side

[4] Both Cortina and Garcia Cubas so accept it. Jourdanet assumed not long ago an average increase of ten per mille, with a possible addition of two per mille under a peaceful government.

[5] *Méx., Mem. Minist. Fomento*, 1857.

in a criminal lack of care during the periods of maternity and childhood. This is proved by the enormous death rate among children below the age of ten, which in some districts reaches fifty per cent or more of the total.[6] In bringing forward their array of retarding causes, as given in the foot-note, most writers overlook that most of the injurious features complained of have nearly always existed, and are shared by the fast-growing mestizos, who, moreover, expose themselves more to the vicissitudes of war than any other class. It must be admitted that the contact of races with its active and passive influence is entitled to greater consideration, although not to the same extent as in the United States, where the relative conditions of life are so widely different.[7]

In this connection must be weighed the effect of absorption by the mixed race, generally embraced under the term mestizo,[8] which has grown at a comparatively enormous rate, at the expense of both Indians and whites. Its former proportion of twenty-two per cent to the total population has now expanded to about forty-three, while the whites have increased only to twenty per cent, and the aborigines declined from sixty to thirty-seven. The negro mixtures are practically merged in them, and the greater part of

[6] Consult Reyes, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, ep. 2a, i. 180 et seq. Among the causes enumerated are, the metate grinding and other hard work imposed on women, early marriages, the liquors and medicines taken by prospective mothers, abortion, the lack, in the provinces at least, of lying-in hospitals and foundling asylums, neglect of vaccine and other precautions, injudicious feeding of children on boiled maize and other vegetables and sugar-cane, combined with insufficient exercise and ignorant treatment, and the use of lime in preparing the universal tortilla. As a result, the children are said to become pot-bellied and scrofulous; and growing up weak, they perpetuate their diseases, and fall ready victims to epidemics and famine, both aided by intemperance, improvidence, and filth. It may be observed that pulmonary diseases make terrible inroads, partly owing to the high elevation of the plateau. Reyes shows that they exceed one eighth of the total death ravage. *Id.*, 172; *Sartorius, Mex.*, 10; *Hernandez, Mex.*, 71; *Garcia Cubas, Escritos Div.*, 54; *Rosa, Mem.*, 15; *Tylor's Anahuac*, 306.

[7] In some of the northern states along the United States border, the disappearance of the Indian is very marked.

[8] For names of castes and Indian tribes, see *Garcia Cubas, Mex.*, 61 et seq.; my *Native Races*, i., passim; *Orozco y Berra, Geog.*, passim; *Mühlenpfordt, Mej.*, 199, 208; *Tschudi, Peru*, 15; *Mayer's Mex. Aztec*, ii. 37.

the so-called whites are really mestizos of a lighter hue.[9] The eagerness to be classed among the fair-complexioned race is nearly as strong as in colonial days.

An interesting study is the effect of climate on a population here scattered throughout three different zones. The belief is general, especially abroad, that the tierra caliente, or coast region, is less adapted to either natives or foreigners than the tierra fria of the plateau. This rests mainly on the prevalence in the marshy shore districts of fevers which attack newcomers, and on the preponderating ratio of inhabitants on the uplands. But it has been found that where malaria is absent the coast region, and above all the intermediate tierra templada, permits a more perfect development of mind and body, even natives finding relief here from the languor that grows upon them in the rarefied atmosphere of the table-land.[10] Statistics show a greater proportion of births in the low and intermediate zones than above, and if the increase of population does not exactly correspond, it must be ascribed to movements in favor of the uplands.[11]

With the spread of vaccination and other remedial agencies, the ravages of diseases have been restricted, here as elsewhere, with the result of prolonging somewhat the average lease of life. Unfortunately, like all public measures in this country, efforts in this direction have been too spasmodic to produce much good, in face of the prevalent indifference and conservatism.

[9] 'Hay por lo ménos medio millon que rebajar en favor de la raza mezclada,' says a writer in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, xi. 244; and others, like Geiger, *Mex.*, 315, believe that of the number classed as whites less than half a million are of pure blood—perhaps much less!

[10] Jourdanet has dwelt considerably on this subject.

[11] In *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, xi. 228, are given figures which indicate an annual increase in the colder zone of 3.06 per mille for the 47 years ending in 1857, while the low and intermediate regions show 6.50 per mille. The percentage stands at 8.57 and 9.84, respectively, for the last twenty years of that period, showing the effect during the preceding 27 years of the war strife which prevailed, especially on the table-land. Cortina, in *Id.*, i. 14, places the excess of births in hot regions at 1.5 per cent, but his statistics are not extensive enough to be satisfactory.

Thus small-pox, for instance, has inflicted grievous havoc at different times; and impelled by dread, both the government and the public have then taken rather tardy precautions.[12] The matlazahuatl has been merciful, but a new scourge came instead in the form of Asiatic cholera, which, during its first attack in 1833, carried off, at Mexico, 1,200 or 1,400 daily, and at other places in proportion.[13] During later more or less severe visitations,[14] energetic measures were taken as regards cleanliness and sale of certain articles of food; and scientific investigations were made into the nature of the epidemic.[15]

Yellow fever, at first confined to the gulf of Mexico, has extended to the Pacific shore, as shown by the severe visitation of this disease in 1885.[16] Other malignant fevers have at different times left a sad memento, notably one which, in 1813, carried off about 20,000 persons at the capital alone.[17] Of leprosy, there is one modified type known as *tina* or *pinto*, which has shown alarming symptoms of increase, although confined to a belt which extends from Tabasco and Chiapas northwestward by the Pacific, and is especially prevalent in Guerrero and Oajaca, so much so that people from this region are often known as Pintos.[18] The symptoms are a cough, lustrous skin, with

[12] Instance those in 1830, as described in *Atleta*, 125–7, 131.

[13] At Guadalajara, over 200 died daily during the height of the ravage. *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, vi. 293.

[14] Notably in 1849–50, 1853–4, 1857, 1866.

[15] *Méx., Col. Ley.*, 1850, 1843–9, 123–7; *Id., Legis.*, 133–5; *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1832–3, 26–7, 475–80; 1833, 7, 17; 1849, 66. The investigations resulted in a number of speculative pamphlets with recommendations or proclaimed remedies, as *Cólera, Preceptos*, 1–8; *Método Cur.*, 1–15; *Varios Impres.*, ii. pt ii.; *Chabert, Apuntes*, 1–20; *Dávila, Refut.*, 1–16; *Martinez, Refut.*, 1–16; *Pap. Var.*, cxliii., clxxi., cciii., cxiii., passim.

[16] In the comparatively high-lying district of Jalapa, there were, in 1853, 1,300 deaths from yellow fever and small-pox. *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, iv. 427.

[17] 'Quedando desde entónces desierto el barrio de Santiago,' says Alaman, ascribing the source to the siege of Cuautla. *Hist. Méj.*, iii. 414. A writer in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, ii. 76, gives the deaths at 20,385, and in *Niles' Reg.*, vi. 320, we find 27,000 mentioned.

[18] 'Porque es muy raro el individuo que no lleva en el cuerpo alguna mancha.' *Leon*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, viii. 507. This author speaks of an entry into Tabasco, in 1858, of a band of 500 Chiapanec soldiers, of whom 296 were marked. Shortly before this, Gen. Álvarez had entered Mexico with an army from the Guerrero region, whose aspect created no little com-

irregular spots of reddish, white, and notably blue colors, sometimes advancing into scab and ulceration, with bad odor, but confined to the skin alone. It is most common among mestizos and mulattoes, next Indians, and least among whites and negroes.[19]

The medical board of colonial days, which exercised beneficial control over the profession, was quickly curtailed in its jurisdiction under the federal system. The government of each state formed its board of health,[20] and regulated the recognition and practice of medical men, and each municipal community had its committee to watch spasmodically over sanitary measures.[21] Inferior colleges began to issue certificates, and abuses crept in by different ways. On the other hand, a good tone has been imparted by the influx of practitioners, such as French doctors and German apothecaries, and by the resort of students to Paris and other continental schools, so that the foremost practitioners are not far behind the Europeans in medical knowledge. The numerical increase of the profession has not had the effect of reaching a proportionately larger number of sufferers, for it must be borne in mind that friars and curates used to practise the healing art in a limited degree; and with the decline of their influence were lost many of the benefits flowing from their hands.

Another blow at this source of charity was the secularization of all benevolent institutions, notably

ment there. The causes are variously ascribed to uncleanliness, sexual contagion, with hereditary symptoms, insect bites, especially from the *gegen*, eating certain unclean fish, and 'acceso del hombre con la lagarta,' as a curate declared. *Id.*, iii. 75. The water is also looked upon as a cause, and the smilax sarsaparilla plant; but Leon is rather inclined to attribute the origin to a disease of the maize, the *honyo*, particularly common in the afflicted belt, where less care is used in preparing this grain for food.

[19] It may appear at any age, but children between four and six years are most liable to it. Goitre also prevails in Tabasco, and certain other districts of the belt referred to, and Leon is inclined to attribute it to decaying vegetable and other matter disseminated chiefly through the water used for food. *Id.*, x. 345–53. See also *Registro Trimestre*, ii. 85–95.

[20] As inaugurated already by a decree from Spain of June 23, 1813, and continued in 1820. *Gaz. Méx.*, xii. 69–72.

[21] As regulated by state governments, *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1836, 437–40, and subsequent laws. In Tamaulipas, extensive drainage canals were planned. *Eco de Esp.*, Oct. 8, 1853, 4.

hospitals, by decree of February 2, 1861, in accordance with the anti-clerical constitution of 1857, the government taking charge of their management, as well as estates, by a board of officers subject to the secretary of the interior.[22] A politically created body could hardly enter into the spirit of benevolence, like those who gave their lives to it, and consequently the aims of an institution were often misdirected, and the wishes of donors neglected; yet a certain gain accrued from a united administration, guided by advice from the managers of the establishments concerned. Of still greater importance was the government protection which now interposed against the loss and neglect occasioned by political and other disorders. Previous to this new régime, we find laments from all directions about the decline or abandonment of charities. Few of the minor asylums, which churchmen had ever made it a duty to sustain, remained. Now and then, an appeal obtained aid from private or public source, toward reëstablishing some institution, perhaps only temporarily.[23]

The capital has suffered less than many other towns, owing to the concentration there of wealth and prodigality; and yet of hospitals alone seven have disappeared with their vast estates, a few being merged in the seven more poorly endowed houses that now exist.[24] One of

[22] See *Méx., Cód. Reforma*, 300–4; *Arch. Méx., Col. Ley.*, v. 226–8, 648–53; *Méx., Col. Ley.*, 1861, ii. 187–95, 204–9. By decree of January 23, 1877, a Junta Directiva de Beneficencia was created in its place, but this was set aside in 1881 for a department under the Secretaría de Gobernacion. See *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, ép. 3a, v. 719–21; *Diario Debates*, Cong. 9, i. 301, and passim; iii. 259.

[23] With such responses as two per cent of confiscation fund. *Méx., Col. Ley.*, 1844–6, 84–5, 114–15; *Méx., Mem. Corp. Municip.*, 237–59, 271–2, and no. 307.

[24] For an account of present and extinguished hospitals, see the lengthy though incomplete review of Peza, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, ép. 3a, v. 524–721. Comparative accounts may be found in the ayuntamiento reports. *Pap. Var.*, lxxxvi. pt xix. 17; *Soc. Anales, Humboldt*, 148–59, 193–200, 255–61, 451–8; *San Miguel, Rep. Mex.*, ii. 58–68; *Trigueros, Mem. Ram. Municip.*, 47–55; *Dicc. Univ.*, ix. 561–2; *Mex., Col. Ley.*, 1848, i. 647–51; *Album Mex.*, i. 44. A few leading provincial hospitals are noted in *Balbotin, Est. Quer.*, 92–3, 187; *Dicc. Univ.*, i.–x., passim, under towns and states; *Mosaico Mex.*, v. 505–7; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, i. 156; xi. 312; *Jal., Not. Geog.*, 18–19; *Id., Mem. Admin.*, 42–4; *Pap. Var.*, cxli. pt vii. Also *Testimonio á la Letra*, 1–22; *Hospital Div. Salv.*, 1–16; *Arch. Méx., Col. Ley.*, v. 642–5; *Pap. Var.*, xlvii. pt ii., lxxxviii., pt x.; *Guan., Mem. Gob.*, 1871, 7–8, 41.

these is a lying-in hospital, and two are for insane persons. The asylum, with its schools for the blind and deaf-mutes, is of recent creation, and there is an ophthalmic institute.[25] The foundling hospital has an invested capital of nearly $300,000, besides rich gifts, and supports about 300 children, which are rapidly adopted even at an early age. The consideration for bereaved children is further manifested in other orphan asylums not under government control.[26] There is also an industrial school at Santiago for training children in useful arts, and another of a penal character at Momoluco. The asylum for the poor remains, and there has recently been founded one for beggars, with a view to abate this pest in the city.[27] In addition to all this, there are benevolent bodies, as they always have, to seek out the suffering, aided by private and even government funds. Mutual associations have been formed, including two founded by Spanish and French residents.[28] In this connection may be mentioned the continuous good service rendered by the Monte de Piedad, or public pawn-shop, now extended to several branches, with discounting and commercial loan department, safety deposit, and savings bank.[29]

The restrictions imposed by the colonial government against interring bodies within the precincts of towns had to be renewed in republican times on more

[25] *Peza*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, ép. 3a, v. 610–21, 679–83; *Trigueros, Mem. Ram. Municip.*, 69–70.

[26] And in a home where parents may leave their offspring temporarily. *Peza*, ut sup. At one time a fixed tax was set aside for foundlings. *Méx., Col. Ley.*, 1853, iii. 60–1. For regulation of their hospital, see *Arch. Méx., Col. Ley.*, v. 550–1. In *Calderon's Life in Mex.*, ii. 277–80, is an attractive account of a visit to it.

[27] For rules, see *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, ép. 3a, v. 582, 591, et seq.; *Ordenanza, Hospicio Pobres*, 1–16; *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1830, 410–11.

[28] Dating from 1842, the latter embracing Swiss and Belgians. For details, see *Soc. Mex. Geog., Bol.*, ép. 3a, v. 668, 710.

[29] The latter allows three per cent on deposits. The charges are very low, differing somewhat according to the nature of the security and other conditions. For rules, etc., see *Id.*, 698 et seq.; *Id.*, ép. 2a, i. 444–5; *Méx., Col. Ley.*, 1829–30, 19–20; *Brocklehurst's Mex.*, 42. Trigueros comments on the abuses practised by private pawn-shops, particularly before the improvement of the public establishment. *Mem., Ram. Municip.*, 83–6.

than one occasion, with a few exceptions in favor of certain distinguished officials.[30]

The mestizo is the most flourishing branch of the population. The mixture from which he springs, with its European blood and dashes of African fire, favors rapid development. It is perhaps too rapid, too forced, to allow of a sound maturity. Hence a lack of depth and earnestness which is revealed to the world in the inconsistencies of the government, with its additional traits of conceit, bombast, and irresolution—all tending toward those weak and half-way measures that have promoted anarchy. The Mexican —the mestizo being now dominant and representative —has remained in a state of adolescence, as indicated by his capricious, thoughtless, and even puerile traits. While tenderly susceptible, he can be ferociously cruel; treachery and fidelity go hand in hand; his generosity degenerates into prodigality; lofty desires sink for want of patience and determination; in short, he lacks reflecting prudence and sustained purpose, and yields more than the Indian to passions and prejudices.

The assumption that the half-breed of Mexico inherits the worst traits of their progenitors is hardly correct. If these characteristics appear conspicuous, with a stronger stamp of the inferior race, it is due rather to his equivocal position which places obstacles, especially of a social nature, against his efforts for higher models. Like the mediocre parvenu he lacks certain essential elements, above all sound principles; and failing to reach the higher level, a blind race pride urges him to grasp tenaciously for the lower, with its many objectionable features. A sense of inferiority,

[30] Members of monastic orders could also be buried within their convent ground. *Arch. Méx., Col. Ley.*, ii. 721–39; *Méx., Col. Ley.*, 1861, ii. 230–9. No clerical interference was allowed, and no distinction on account of faith. *Méx., Bol. Ley.*, 1864, 130; *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1833, 338–45; 1834, 1–2; *Méx., Legis.*, 1849, 20–1; *Mex., Cement. Sta Paula*, 1–16. Separate sections were assigned for children, clergymen, and other classes, and Americans had one. *U. S. H. Ex. Doc.* 84, vi. 1, Cong. 32, Sess. 1; *Id., Journal*, 464, 666–7; *U. S. Sec. War Rept*, i. 7–8, Cong. 42, Sess. 2. The former exorbitant burial-fees have been regulated and reduced. *Bustamante, Medid. Pac.*, MS., ii. 39–41; *Id., Hist. Santa Anna*, 76–7; *Arch. Méx., Col. Ley.*, v. 351–2.

as among the Indians, might originally have saved him from this mistake, and promoted a healthful earnestness. The type is now approaching a national uniformity, subject to modification by semi-dormant traits inherited from either side.

The best attributes transmitted from the white progenitor are sprightliness, energy, unsustained though it be. Thus is the mestizo raised conspicuously above the Indian, compensating for many of the drawbacks that hamper his competition with the pure white race. It tends to make of him the inflammable, turbulent element to which is mainly due the protracted civil wars; but it also makes of him that amiable, jovial being, ever ready for convivial amusements and gallantry. He is a brave fighter, but given to lawlessness, yet less to stealthy acts and cunning thefts, which belong rather to the Indians. Unfortunately, his energy is spasmodic, and insufficient to rescue him from the all-pervading indolence. This renders him too easily content, and indifferent to the need for bettering his condition. The general improvidence, which so many ascribe wholly to a generous climate, is fostered by the indulgence of passions, and by the political and social disorders thereby engendered. The impulsive, fitful temperament requires above all early restraining discipline by prudent parents; but these have yet to be formed. Brightness and good-nature are two strong elements, however, ever ready to aid improvement when the impulse shall have been given.[31]

The characteristics indicated serve in themselves to explain the antipathy which still exists between the races. Republican laws have abolished caste distinc-

[31] The mestizo, says Pimentel, can be readily cured of his vices by discipline. *Raza Indíg.*, 236. Mora blames a despotic gov. for national defects which he acknowledges but does not name. *Rev. Méx.*, i. 81. A native writer under *Méx. Nacion Indep.*, 12–13, 22–4, severely scathes the character of the mestizo. See also *Pap. Var.*, cxliii. pt iii. Thompson, *Recol. Mex.*, 172, comments on the feebleness of the race, and Jourdanet has strong objections to the plateau climate. *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, xi. 239, etc. Geiger considers that inherited Spanish arrogance and Indian indolence and callousness have spoiled the mestizo. *Méx.*, 316. Valois calls him Quixotic. *Mex.*, 84–7.

tions, but what avail codes against nature and customs. The white men still retain the lead by virtue of wealth, education, and intelligence, and the mestizos, while seeking to level the wall between the two, widen for the same reason the gulf separating them from the oppressed Indians. The latter retaliate for the contempt bestowed upon them by nicknames, the mestizo being generally alluded to as a jackal.[32] They submit patiently to indignities, and tacitly acknowledge their inferiority, yet this admission tends to hold them aloof, and to confirm them in tenacious adherence to aboriginal customs, even to partial idolatry. They care little for the strife of political parties, and fight on any side. The slaughter among other races affords them a secret satisfaction, perhaps the lingering hope that it may bring them nearer to a restoration of their ancient rights as owners of the soil. The prolonged war of extermination in Yucatan has cruelly reminded the whites that the sentiment is not passive. Thus race feeling, as well as political and other difference, serves to split this unhappy nation. Yet a brighter prospect is opening with the rise into prominence of such men as Juarez, whose ability and efforts cast a redeeming lustre on their race, and serve to lessen the social obstacles.[33]

Any relief for the Indian would tend to raise also the grades above him. Spanish policy had partly through misdirected kindness reduced him to a state of tutelage, or even worse, that of an irresponsible being. This was his condition when a republican government suddenly took from him the substantial protection and privileges on which he had relied, gave in exchange certain rights, which to him were empty terms, and sent him forth to compete with men who

[32] Coyol. *Sartorios, Méx.*, 31. The contempt of the whites is implied by the common reproof. 'This is unworthy of a man with a white face.' *Pimentel, Raza Indíg.*, 203. Distinctions before the law were long maintained, the charge for imprisoned whites, for instance, in Oajaca, being two reales, or double the Indian rate.

[33] The intermarriage of Juarez, Indian army officers, and others with white women has tended greatly to narrow one gap.

held every advantage. On one side he fell a victim to political intriguers, on the other to masters who, with the aid of a debtor's law, managed to hold him in the slavery known as peonage, sometimes so oppressive that his wife had to toil in the field with him, and his children serve like beasts from their early years.[34] And yet the tax collector overlooked him not, as he often does the richer man. In this his own land, where the law grants him the title of citizen, he is regarded by the few as a useful machine only, and by the mass either as an undesirable intruder, an incubus, a dead weight, or as an outcast.[35]

No wonder, then, that he draws back in sullen stubbornness, and clings to old memories and customs. A striking illustration of this lies in the fact that more than a hundred aboriginal idioms are still spoken after three centuries and more of national mingling.[36] During the war of independence, the Spanish authorities were induced to court Indians as well as others with exemptions from forced service and tribute, and other privileges[37] which promised to lift them in the social scale; but republican laws have not yet effectually promoted this desirable aim, leaving them unprotected against the political schemers and selfish employers, who swindle, flog, and otherwise maltreat them with connivance of abject or interested local officials. The same spirit prevails as in colonial times, when the aborigines were considered a fair prey. Their only true friend, the benevolent friar, has dis-

[34] Consult *Garcia Cubas, Mex.*, 63. Pimentel, *Raza Indíg.*, 206, prints a letter from a native, depicting in graphic terms the thraldom of his people. Cruel serfdom, however, does not extend very far, and the material lot of the mass is not so hard as that of the laboring class in many parts of Europe. Their mode of life as described in a preceding volume, iii. 740 et seq., answers for republican times.

[35] Zavala, *Rev.*, introd., Prieto, *Rentas Gen.*, 4, Pimentel, *Econ.*, 180–1, *Raza Indíg.*, 234, etc., and others, speak of him as dead, useless, incapable of regeneration.

[36] *Id.*, 201. See also *Garcia Cubas, Mex.*, 65–6, and note 8 of this chapter.

[37] Flogging was prohibited under strict penalties, by Spain, *Córtes, Diario*, 1813, xxii. 410, and by the republic, *Méx., Col Leyes, Ord. y Dec.*, ii. 59–60. Compulsory labor was stopped in 1812. *Córtes, Diario*, iii. 161–2; xv. 451; *Córtes, Col. Doc.*, i. 45–6.

appeared. Still, there are a few men who earnestly advocate their redemption, regarding them as capable of improvement, and as citizens entitled to every consideration. The measures proposed affect all the humbler classes, embracing as they do the extension of public schools, the abolishing of any enslavement for debt, the discouragement of isolated communities, and the distribution of land in small proprietary holdings, the government purchasing large tracts and selling them in parcels by instalment.[38] This would give impulse to dormant ambition and political pride, and direct the plodding patience which prevails to some extent among the Indians.[39]

Although only an insignificant percentage among them attain any prominence, a considerable proportion accumulate money; not for adding to their comfort, however, but to invest in herds, or in some stately though useless dwelling; or to secrete it, even from their descendants. They prefer the garb of poverty and the humble life of their own people, perhaps with the esteemed position of leaders, to an equivocal standing among others, subject to the contemptuous slurs of the lowest half-breed. Even Indian women show little of the common feminine desire for finery.[40] As for the mass of villagers and laborers, they live from hand to mouth, content with a mere shed, or even the free sky for a roof, with a scanty covering for the body, and for food, maize, frijoles, and chile. The least possible labor provides for these wants, and careless for

[38] Measures like these have been recommended ever since colonial times, and later most earnestly by Bustamante. *Medidas Pac.*, MS., i. 69–73, ii. sup. 9–10.

[39] It is affirmed that their indolence is due chiefly to oppression, which has made it undesirable to accumulate the products of labor. *Mühlenpfordt, Méj.*, i. 239. Geiger believes them to be willing workers if encouraged. *Mex.*, 318.

[40] Castellanos relates as an instance of their extreme conservatism: In 1851 a friend of his rewarded some of his laborers with a more complete suit of clothing than they possessed. The following day they returned the gift, stating that their people had threatened to stone them for departing from the inherited custom. This occurred in Cuernavaca district, not far from the capital. Castellanos himself was requested by a village municipality to demand from the king of Spain protective measures in their behalf. Such was their knowledge of political affairs in 1854. *Defensa*, 20–1; *Miscel. Mess.*, pt vii.

the morrow, they squander any surplus in drinking, usually in the neighboring town. On the approach of feast days, there is a general effort to accumulate a small sum with which to join worthily in the religious processions and other customary celebrations,[41] to say nothing of the drunken orgie which follows.

Slavery, in the legal sense, never prevailed to any extent in Mexico,[42] and it may be said to have ceased in 1810, with the outbreak of the war for independence, both parties offering freedom to gain the adhesion of their bondsmen.[43] Nevertheless, a few remained, and it was not till 1829 that the republic formally declared slavery abolished. A more powerful bondage existed, however, in the debtor's law, whereby persons without property were required to render service in payment of debt. It was applied only to Indians, whose careless, stupid, and feast-loving disposition readily induced them to accept the yoke for a small advance, especially on the occasion of marriage. The creditor, usually owner of a plantation, takes care that the small wages agreed upon shall be paid in food and other articles from his own supplies, and in such a manner that the bonds increase till the children are within the coils. The debt may be transferred, and with it the enslaved.[44] Love for the home region and stubborn conservatism stand in the way of liberation, and so they toil away till death relieves them.[45] Repeated protests were made against this abuse, but it did not suit the interest of those in power to yield, and it was only in November 1873 that a constitutional amendment abolished peonage. This has not had full effect,

[41] Mayer, *Mex. Aztec*, ii. 29, Ratzel, *Aus Mex.*, 313, and other travellers, confirm these descriptions as given in the early *Abispa de Chilp.*, 256–68.

[42] Volume iii. 751, this series.

[43] Hidalgo's proclamation was the first. See *Dublan y Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, i. 340. Morelos issued one in 1813. *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, iii. 49, with fac-simile. A royal cédula appeared in 1817. See Bustamante's comments, *Cuad. Hist.*, iv. 919–22.

[44] Pimentel, *Raza Indíg.*, 202–3, relates that the bakers of Mexico would not trust their men abroad without a guard.

[45] Mayer, *Mex. as It Was*, 201–2, describes like other travellers how they are lashed, and maintains that this slavery is in many cases worse than that which formerly prevailed in the U. S. See also *Leon*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, viii. 435–6.

as may well be understood; partly because the Indians can be controlled by honor, family ties, and other means; but the conditions are now less oppressive.

The export traffic in Indians is another evil, which has afflicted especially Yucatan. Here it was begun by the state government with Indians captured during the war of races some forty years ago, as a means to obtain war material, and the feeble protest of the general government only encouraged this infamous slave trade, till at last more stringent laws had to be issued for its suppression.[46]

Negroes can hardly be said to have increased, although they continue to add their infusion of blood into the other races. While their social position here is relatively higher than in the United States, yet they must be assigned to the lowest stratum,[47] unless indeed it is insisted upon that the léperos[48] shall be so classed. The latter are the same lazy, half-naked vagabonds as of old,[49] save that their number has been increased by itinerant hawkers and musicians, vicious idlers and thieves, fostered by political disorder, drink, and gambling, and many of them with fair education and ability.[50] A mild climate with few pressing wants leaves them rather good-natured, and a firm attitude or severe sentence intimidates them. Nevertheless, thieving vagabonds are not desirable, and more than one stringent measure has been taken to suppress them, by forced enlistment, imprisonment, and chain-gang labor;[51] but of course with little effect. Mexico district, and similar large centres, swarm as usual with them, while quieter agricultural regions like

[46] In 1851 and 1861. *Méx., Col. Ley.*, 1850–1, i. 383–4; *Dublan*, ix. 203; *Barbachano, Mem. Camp.*, ap. 192–8.

[47] 'Much more so than in South Carolina,' writes Thompson, *Recol. Mex.*, 6, with prejudiced vehemence.

[48] Zamacois points out that the definition of the academy, 'the lowest of the populace,' and the term lazzaroni, are now less applicable than 'vicious vagabond.' *Mex.*, xi. 287.

[49] See iii. 754, this series.

[50] And including even foreigners. *Rivero, Méx.*, 1842, 230 et seq.

[51] Consult *Méx., Col. Leyes*, 1853, iv. 420–6; *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1834, 296–319, 460; *Ward's Mex.*, ii. 275.

Michoacan and Colima are comparatively free from the pest.[52]

The persistency of race distinction or color rank has naturally tended to intensify the class lines, so widely fostered by inherited Spanish pride and aboriginal conservatism; and this so far as to create no little distress among a shabby-genteel set, whose fair complexion makes them still regard as degrading any labor which is supposed to belong to colored people. During the war for independence, royalty made an appeal to the besetting weakness by granting titles to men worth winning, and by creating the special American order of Isabel la Católica.[53] Iturbide did the same by creating the imperial order of Guadalupe for civil and military services.[54] It fell with the empire, but was revived for a time by Santa Anna, and finally by Maximilian.[55]

Titles of nobility which had received a new lease under Agustin I. were abolished by decree of May 1826,[56] yet the republic maintained the taste for distinctions by granting high-sounding appellations to officials and corporations, Santa Anna during his last dictatorship assuming that of Most Serene Highness. Crosses, coats of arms, and titles like *benemérito de la patria* were also bestowed both by general and state governments, and permission could readily be obtained for receiving them from foreign governments.

Maximilian showed himself most generous in the distribution of honors, in the shape of medals, orders, and patents of nobility. He moreover created the imperial order of the eagle, making it superior to that of the revived Guadalupe,[57] and the order of San Car-

[52] *Cancelada, Ruina*, 63; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, i. 315.

[53] By decree of March 24, 1815. For regulations, see *Isabel la Católica, Instit.*, 1–19; *Constit. de Isabel la Cat.*, 1–92.

[54] See *Gaz. Imp.*, ii. 424–6; *Alaman, Méj.*, v. 452, 625, 639–41.

[55] *Mex., Bol. Ley.*, 1864, 43–5, 121.

[56] *Ramirez, Col. Doc.*, 346; *Gac. Gob.*, May 11, 1826; *Montiel, Estud. Garant*, 97.

[57] It was given to comparatively few, including some European monarchs, while the Guadalupe circulated freely under modified statutes. *Diario Imp.*, Jan. 1 and April 10, 1865, contain the statutes of the eagle order.

los for women,[58] in addition to which a number of foreign insignia were bestowed.[59] With the fall of the empire, these novelties were swept away. The new government has shown a disposition rather for substantial pensions and grants than empty honors.[60] Entail was abolished already in 1820, but several subsequent decrees have been required to enforce the order.[61]

Intercourse with foreigners has since colonial times changed materially the life of the upper classes, who manifest a decided preference for Parisian manners, dress, and ideas. The desire for show remains rooted, and it is not uncommon for a bride to stipulate for a carriage and a box at the theatre, however much the home may suffer by the condition. Others will expend their all upon dress; and while impressing the stranger with their rich appearance, they would not dare to expose its reality by inviting him to their dwelling.

The housewife has few of the English ideas concerning neatness, conveniences, and domestic amenities generally. Slovenliness prevails everywhere, and the mistress mingles freely among her dirty servants, taking her food with them and the children in the most unceremonious form. The home, as we understand it, does not exist, and the absence of fire-places indicates one great obstacle to those family reunions which have so important an influence on our society. Dinner-parties are rarely given, and home entertainments are restricted mainly to the so-called tertulias, with their medley of singing and dancing, forfeit games and gambling, but otherwise with little of our free and

[58] Regulations in *Diario Imp.*, Apr. 10, June 22, 1865.

[59] Gen. Gomez wearing seven. The French legion of honor is also mentioned. *Méx. Bol. Ley.*, Dec. 1864, 83, 186–7.

[60] To judge also from the discussion in *Diario Debates*, Cong. 6, iii. 65, 128, 235–6.

[61] *Méx., Cód. Reforma*, 189–95; *Méx., Col. Ley. Ord y Dec.*, ii. 154–7; *Arch. Méx., Col. Ley.*, iv. 176–82. The laws governing inheritance are to be found in *Méx., Cód. Reforma*, 126–42; *Méx., Col. Ley.*, Jan. 1853, iii. 74–5; *Méx., Legis.*, Aug. 1853, 32–4.

animated intercourse between the sexes. The piazza, or the flat roof of the town-house, is often selected as the scene of these merry reunions. Visiting is exacted with frequency, and on all occasions of interest to a family, and with all the old-fashioned Spanish formality—of manner, at least, yet the conversation falls, as a rule, into society gossip. With the rise of inferior and colored persons, by means of political influence and military intrigues, parties present a greater mixture than formerly. Nevertheless, the innate politeness of the Mexican, and his natural suavity of manner, permit a comparatively easy adaptation of tone. With their fondness for show, it may be understood that the revival of a court under Maximilian was not distasteful to society, at least, however much political writers declaim against its affectation and formalities, forgetting that their own presidents have indulged in most unrepublican pomp.[62]

Besides climate, there are numerous reactionary influences which tend to lower the inducement to labor and advance, especially among the great mass which forms the sinews of a nation. The sway of passions, manifest above all in social and political disorders, the insufficiency of educational facilities, the still abnormal control exercised by a retrogressive clergy, and the absorption of land by large holders, are the principal of these retarding causes.

One instance of this is found in the condition of artisans, which is nearly as low and poverty-stricken as that of the laborer. A main cause hereof is the imitative ability of the Indian, who manufactures excellent articles, and hawks about small lots till he can procure the means for a new venture. Like the other humbler classes, known as *gentalla*,[63] they live from hand to mouth, very much as the Indians, with idling and drinking for chief pleasure, and superstition for mental exercise. Those earning more increase their

[62] As instanced by Mayer, *Mex. as It Was*, 70–2.
[63] Equivalent to the unwashed. *Atleta*, 1830, 329

personal finery; otherwise, the surplus goes to feasts and gambling and drinking instead of adding to home comforts. Under colonial rule, a number of restrictive laws tended to check these propensities, but since then the lower classes have been allowed to drift and yield to the perverting influence surrounding them.[64] A few days' labor now and then, even at low wages, suffices to provide for all their simple wants, and why care for the morrow?[65]

There is one representative element among these classes, of purely national type, whose character and condition form a brighter picture, and that is the ranchero, or petty farmer, and cotter, known in some parts, as in Vera Cruz, by the name Jarocho, and presenting in many respects traits superior to those of his confrère in Europe, especially in manners and accomplishments. He is modest in his belongings, content with an airy shed for dwelling, and a small patch of soil on which to cultivate a little maize and chile, some beans and yams, and sustain a few head of live-stock. Trees laden with figs and oranges, and the plantain and banana, add to his larder, and to the picturesque appearance of his home, with its background of stately palms and variegated undergrowth.

Woman is regarded by the man rather as a toy and ornament than a companion. Nevertheless, she is here above all entitled to the term better half, because she fills better than the man the narrower sphere assigned to her, exhibiting less of the weak effort and half success which characterize him in economical and political affairs.[66] It has been observed that in

[64] Richthofen, *Rep. Mex.*, 124-5, and others, agree upon the deterioration of the Indians and cognate classes.

[65] Thirty years ago the laborer received from 1½ to 2½ reales a day. Food is less cheap than it might be, owing to the indolence of producers.

[66] 'Beaucoup supérieures à leurs maris,' writes Fossey, *Mex.*, 250, with somewhat French exuberance of gallantry; but it is very generally echoed by even Spanish writers. The difference between men and women is no doubt greater among Germanic than Latin races, for among the latter bearded and deep-voiced women are not uncommon.

the Orient the seclusion of women has tended to make the men more effeminate. She avenges herself for the injustice, as a French writer happily observes, by wielding greater influence on the temperament. This appears to be the case also here to some extent, for the men certainly display a sensuous indolence and irresolution, with an undue fondness for dress and other feminine vanities. They also assume a multiplicity of menial and light tasks which we delegate to the other sex, and among the lower classes there is a reversal, by imposing heavier labor on women. With the growth of culture, however, there will doubtless appear that proper division of labor and freer intercourse between the sexes prevailing among the most advanced nations.

The existing relationship naturally reduces love to a lower level, lacking as it does certain sustaining elements of social culture and strong character. The fault lies partly in higher circles with the duenna system, which imparts the idea that the temptation of opportunity is not to be resisted, partly with the frivolous conduct of the husband; for the woman is modest in language, dress, and manner.[67] Finally she yields to an indulgent opinion and to the flattering idea of conquest, and accepts a lover,[68] with little effort at concealment. So contagious an example set by the upper classes fails not to increase the influences which affect the people in general, such are the lack of real homes and proper education, the frequent limitation of families to one room, in small and flimsy houses, the

[67] And this Thompson also admits, while referring to an occasional trick in adjusting a reboso for the sake of giving a glimpse of the usually well-formed busts. *Recol. Mex.*, 164.

[68] 'No hay matrona distinguida que no tenga su chichisveo,' says a Mexican writer. *Revista Amer.*, ii., pt ii. 24. Otherwise she remains faithful to the husband, and domestic peace is seldom disturbed. French writers like Valois, *Mex.*, 84–7, blame nature alone for these vagaries, or see nothing remarkable in such love passages. *Vineaux, Mex.*, 466–7. The verdict is widely disseminated, as may be judged from *North Am. Rev.*, xxxii. 337–40; *Beaufoy, Mex. Illust.*, 129–35, the latter too full of sneers, however. In *Cincinnatus, Trav.*, 76, rises a champion, however, to sustain the defence of many native writers, as presented in *Pap. Var.*, clvii., pt vii. 25–6, and other works.

union of the sexes at an immature age,[69] and the restrictions against divorce; but climate and national characteristics must be considered, and even more so the caste distinctions whose great social barriers are a standing encouragement of illicit relations. So tolerant is the public to the prevalent looseness, that pseudo-wives find the doors of almost any family open to them, while husbands not infrequently maintain several households without much attempt at concealment. A redeeming feature in all this, however, is the comparative absence of mercenary motives, love being the impelling cause.

Spanish laws were not very strict in these respects, as we have seen, nor the more liberal republicans;[70] but a better tone is spreading with foreign influence,[71] as manifested also in more guarded utterance on delicate subjects, perhaps with a tendency to that extreme English euphemism which only intensifies the significance. The smoking habit among women is declining, and the government has taken steps to check obscene songs and disorders attending wakes and other reunions.[72]

A greater measure is the institution of civil marriage,[73] in accordance with the spirit of the liberal constitution of 1857, and on the ground that the clergy fostered immorality by their exorbitant fees and

[69] These are among causes pointed out by Mexicans, in *Id.*, cxlii., pt iii. 23; Mexican supplement to *Dicc. Univ.*, x. 329–31. The civil marriage law of 1859 limits the marriage age at 12 and 14 for women and men respectively, but exacts guardians' consent when the parties are below the ages of 20 and 21.

[70] I need here only instance one of 1818, wherein the king recommends admonitions and fines rather than more severe measures. *Fernando VII., Decretos*, 228–9. Republican efforts relied even more to exhortation, as instanced in *Méx., Col. Ley.*, 1848, i. 47–8; yet they sought to check the indulgent regard for the claims of illegitimate children. Laws of Mexico state, for example, had favored inheritance by natural descendants, but they were annulled by the general government. *Id.*, 1853, 27.

[71] Notwithstanding the loose personal conduct of foreign residents.

[72] *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1834, 544–5, 554–6. Unnatural crimes are rare, and comparatively few public prostitutes exist; a fact which leads a native writer to draw some flattering conclusions, *Instit. Geog. Estad.*, i. 25–6, forgetting that the general laxity obviates certain social evils.

[73] By law of July 23, 1859. *Arch. Méx., Col. Ley.*, iv. 116–32, with regulations.

other restrictions, and by abusing this sacrament for political purposes.[74] The law naturally met with great opposition from the clergy and their adherents,[75] but has been sustained, to the increase of legal unions, if also of divorce.[76] The extravagant habits and inefficient education of the higher classes will ever prove an obstacle to marriage, and the unceremonious intrusion and meddling of a wife's mother and sisters is a custom which foreigners, at least, seek to guard against by seemingly harsh restrictions. Yet mothers are not given to match-making schemes.[77] Lovers must sigh at a distance, and even after betrothal their intercourse is exceedingly formal.[78] Children are bright and well-behaved in a remarkable degree, although left too much to the servants, and treated in an over-indulgent manner.[79]

The influx of French fashions has almost wholly transformed the dress of city folk, even to some extent among humbler classes;[80] and although certain Spanish features, like the mantilla and capa, remain, we must go to the country for the old national costumes, which remain comparatively unchanged. Men affect dress relatively more than the other sex, with a closer adherence to Parisian models. They are also less slovenly than women. Their position in this respect seems the reverse of English. Indian women are

[74] Refusing to grant it to those who favored the anti-clerical constitution of 1857.

[75] Bishops issued circulars against it, and so forth. See *Espinosa, Pastorales*, pts iv.–v.

[76] That is, with power to marry again.

[77] According to Calderon de la Barca, whose *Life in Mexico* contains so many excellent pictures of Anáhuac society.

[78] In *Furber's Volunteer*, 436, is a detailed account of betrothal and marriage ceremonies; in *Mühlenp.*, i. 336, is given a baptismal feast.

[79] Hence also the striking familiarity between them and their masters. Children do not leave the maternal breast sometimes till the age of six, before which time they often begin the use of the cigarette. For additional points on social subjects, I refer to volume iii., *Hist. Mex.*

[80] Fossey thinks that there is not a sufficient distinction between the attire of maidens and mature women. He admires their coquettish use of the fan. *Mex.*, 245–7. Calderon alludes to their dignified position when seated, although the attitude is rather uniform, *Life in Mex.*, i. 127; and Mayer, *Mex. Aztec*, ii. 250, dwells on their queenly walk, which, with pinched toes and tottering, high-heeled shoes, I should call anything but queenly.

strikingly deficient in the so common feminine weakness for display.[81] The sex shows an unequal appreciation for certain parts of dress, regardless of their fitness or conformity; and this applies especially to jewelry, for which political disorders have fostered a taste, as a safe and convenient means of investment, alike against petty and recognized marauders.[82]

Holidays and festivals have undergone a certain change with the substitution of republican ideas and the decline of religious influence. Days dedicated to royalty were replaced by anniversaries connected with the independence,[83] notably September 16th,[84] on which Hidalgo proclaimed the revolution. The national holidays, which are somewhat numerous, are opened with artillery salvos and ringing of bells, followed by high mass, attended by the authorities and government officials. Then follows a formal audience at the palace, in front of which the people gather to listen to national speeches and music. Everywhere may be seen floral and other decorations, here and there a triumphal arch. Then follow performances by athletes and actors, and general merry-making, with illuminations. Many of the ceremonies are prescribed by law, and fees were at times demanded from managers of entertainments, the government allowing in return a sum of money toward public diversions.[85]

Religious festivals have undergone changes in their

[81] 'Ganz frei von der soustigen Neigang und der Eitelkeit des weiblichen Geschlechts,' says Richthofen, *Rep. Mex.*, 123.

[82] For descriptions of dress, see *Linati, Costúme du Mexique; Tylor's Anah.*, 168–70; *Mühlenpfordt*, ut sup., 265–74, *Ind.*, 220–3; *Fossey*, ut sup., 245–7, 384; *Hist. Mex.*, iii. 764–7, this series.

[83] The first regulation by the independent government, March 1, 1822, declared Feb. 24th, March 2d, Sept. 16th and 27th, as national holidays, to be celebrated with salvos and masses. Later was added September 17th, for dead patriots. *Mex., Col. Ord. y Dec.*, ii. 575; *Alaman, Mej.*, v. 491, 506–7, 610.

[84] While adopted in 1822, it was given the first place only after the fall of Iturbide. President Rayon issued in 1812 a proclamation for its observance. See document in *Dicc. Univ.*, ix. 219.

[85] Juarez suppressed in 1861 the allowance of $60,000. *Mex., Cod. Reforma*, 387–8. For various regulations for order and ceremonies, see *Mex., Col. Ord. y Dec.*, iii. 126; *Dispos. Varias*, v. 9, 23; *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1835, 150–1, 226–7; 1836, 293–4; *Mex., Col. Ley. y Dec.*, 1840, 787–8; *Mex., Legis.*, 1853, 453–5; *Mex., Col. Ley. Ord.*, v. 156–7; vii. 179, 229; *Arch. Mex., Col. Ley.*, iii. 953–4, 985–6; *Dublan*, passim; *Album Mex.*, ii. 282–5.

official observance, and consequently in the relaxing estimation of the public; nevertheless, the national disposition for festivities has tended to sustain them, although in a degenerate form, with less attention to their true intent. Lent declined in observance, and Christmas and certain other periods became the occasions of such disorders that the government had to issue restrictions.[86] The most impressive ceremonies are to be seen during holy week, and on the days of corpus christi and virgin of Guadalupe, the Mexican patroness.

Palm Sunday is a day of mirth, with display of palms. On the three following days the churches are crowded, mainly by persons eager to confess and obtain absolution for past derelictions. But all these festivals are more or less degraded by an indecent and boisterous conduct before the very altars, that is due partly to national levity, partly to inherited aboriginal rites. As holy Friday approaches, the abuse of strong liquors abates. A lull falls upon the people. Churches are draped in black; on Thursday the deep-toned organs yield to the subdued harp and violin, and steeple bells are silent. Without, carriages are banished from the streets. On the following day processions issue from the temples, bearing Christ crucified, with a train of saints and paraphernalia. On Saturday noon, after service, the organ bursts forth again, and amid a peal of bells the black curtain before the altar parts to disclose a dazzling scene of brightness. Carriages now throng the thoroughfares; the explosion of rockets, the creaking din of rattles, and all kinds of noise break the enforced quiet; the iniquitous Judas is destroyed in effigy; and fireworks form a brilliant feature of the evening programmes.[87]

[86] *Mex., Legis.*, 1848, 539–40; *Mex., Cód. Reforma*, 204; *Informe secreto*, 1–8; *Pap. Var.*, lxxiv. pt ii.

[87] For the best descriptions of holy week, and other days of observances, see *Mühlenpfordt, Mej.*, i. 255–60, 326–35; *Calderon's Life in Mex.*, i. 197–214; ii. 133–6, 143–52; *Tylor's Anahuac*, 48–54; *Arroniz, Viagero*, 141–8; *La Cruz*, vii. 252–3; *Mayer's Mex. as It Was*, 63, 149; *Bustamante, Gab. Mex.*, i. 62–3; Ratzel, *Aus Mex.*, 113 et seq., presents also animated pictures of street life. Different regulations to guard against disorder during carnival times, etc., in *Arch. Mex., Col. Ley.*, i. 682–4, 690; iii. 240–2; v. 347–8; *Bullock's Across Mex.*, 322–36.

Carnival is celebrated with nearly the same exuberance as in southern Europe, with a predilection for casting flour and breaking egg-shells filled with little bits of colored paper. The masked balls are less vivacious than among the French, but disorderly enough to have more than once called out episcopal remonstrance and restrictive laws.[88] Most of the disorders are due to the excessive indulgence in strong liquors, which is apt to drive the excitable mestizo to the knife and other means of violence. The other passion, gambling, which predominates among both sexes, never carries him beyond the control of his temper. With wonderful nonchalance, he wins large sums or loses perhaps his entire fortune. The utmost order prevails at the tables, a dispute concerning the ownership of a stake hardly ever arising. The only lack of control is over the mania itself.[89] After seeing his last dollar disappear, with beggary staring him in the face, the Mexican never thinks of suicide, but looks around for sources whence to draw future stakes. While this passion lies rooted in the very character of the people, yet the prevalence of mining and the lack of other amusements no doubt foster it.

The favorite game is monte, but roulette and lotto are also much patronized. The government has at times sought to check, or even prohibit, games of hazard, only, however, to yield again, or to leave the laws unfulfilled.[90] At the annual fairs, restrictions have seldom been enforced, so much so that these commercial institutions have become to a great extent mere vehicles for the vice. The Whitsunday festival of San Agustin de los Cuevas, or Tlalpam, near Mexico, is still famed chiefly for its gambling-tables. Owners

[88] *Bustamante, Voz Patria*, MS., vi. 67.

[89] Tylor, *Anahuac*, 258–9, relates a common anecdote about three well-to-do miners who came back to their home a few days after departure, minus their money, horses, and outfit.

[90] *Dispos. Varias*, v. 8; *Gac., Gob.*, Feb. 24, 1827; *Bol. de Notic.*, Jan. 22, 1861, 3–4; *Mex., Bol. Ley.*, 1864, 72–8. During the American invasion in 1847, the United States military commander recognized the public desire by granting licenses to gambling-houses. *Free Amer.*, Jan. 22, 1848.

of secret gambling establishments at the capital, often persons of prominence, now publicly rent houses for their purpose. Among the host of tables the stakes vary from a gold piece to a silver or copper coin, and even children are indulged to try their fortune in securing confectionery or toys. At the gambling-table the woman of wealth and the beggar mingle; and in the cockpit President Santa Anna, for one, hesitated not to bet with the vagabonds.[91]

Lotteries and raffles, more than once forbidden or restricted,[92] flourish in considerable number, some bearing the names of charitable institutions, for which they are working, and all contributing a fair revenue to the state. Of late years the receipts have exceeded two million dollars, out of which the public receive over sixty per cent in prizes.[93]

The days of more frequent and rapid communication with foreign states has had the effect of fostering theatres, by alluring dramatic companies, and adding novelties in a wider range of performances. This encouraged local talent, and within a quarter of a century after the independence, the capital alone possessed three recognized theatres,[94] one of them left exclusively to the populace. Boxes are usually let by the month or year, and serve as reception places for friends of the family. This obviates the necessity of giving parties at home; but such domestication in

[91] Description of life there may be found in *Tylor's Anahuac*, 256–9; *Thompson's Recol. Mex.*, 132–5; *Fossey, Mex.*, 293–5; *Ratzel, Aus Mex.*, 330–2; *Richthofen, Rep. Mex.*, 165–6; *Mühlenpfordt, Mej.*, i. 299–300, 309–12; *Masson, Olla Podrida*, 118–25, with instances of pernicious effects; *Woods' Wandering Sketches*, 355; *Wise, Los Gringos*, 244–5.

[92] *Mex., Col. Ley. y Dec.*, iii. 251–2; *Mex., Ord. Lot.*, 1–54; *Pap. Var.*, lii. pt x.; *Diario Debates*, Cong. 9, iii. 71–2, 579. Lists of drawings may be found in the newspapers from *Noticioso Gen.* of 1817, or earlier.

[93] See references in chapter connected with finance. Also *Ratzel*, ubi sup., and *Brocklehurst, Mex.*, 30.

[94] Mayer names, in 1842, the Principal, patronized by the old aristocracy; Nuevo Mexico, the haunt of newer people, who preferred Parisian dramas; and Puente Quebrada, the resort of the populace. *Mex. as It Was*, 287. The second was in 1844 replaced by the new Santa Anna, later known as the Nacional, which is a fine theatre. *Mex., Album*, i. photo. 13; *Album Mex.*, i. 379–80, with cut; *Casarin, Contest.*, 1–55: *Informe, Comis. Norub.*, 1–28; *Pap. Var.*, lxxxiv., pts vii., viii.; *Fossey, Mex.*, 243–4.

public, as it were, with its attendant flirtation and languid indulgence, can hardly be commended. There is no wide theatrical field in the country, and in the capital the audience at the better theatres is composed mainly of a set; hence a frequent succession of novelties is required, which operates against good acting, and correct representations in dress and scenery. The prompter is constantly in demand, and this assists to reduce the performance too often to mere bad recitation. As in colonial times, the theatres have been subjected to an officially appointed body, to watch over plays and management, and to dispense the fund for public amusements, or the subsidies occasionally granted,[95] especially for inducing celebrated singers from Europe to give a season of opera, which for that matter never failed to receive liberal patronage.

Bull and cock fighting are as much in vogue as ever, notwithstanding the efforts made at times to restrict or abolish the former sport at least. In the country, the people are reduced to a modified form of the excitement, in the form of *colear*, that is, to chase a bull in open field and throw it by a twist of the tail. It requires cool and skilful horsemanship, and the lasso is ever kept ready to save miscalculating *coleador* from the animal's furv. Lassoing is in itself exciting, and much practised by children on smaller animals, which fosters a taste for bloodier realities.

With the independence, restrictions on riding were abolished, and consequently the use of the horse increased more than ever among this indolent, impulsive people. Englishmen introduced regular horse-races, to which the gambling mania readily adapted itself.[96] Owing to the rarefied air, long distances are not in

[95] *Dublan y Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, vi. 508–14; *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1836, 117–18; *Mex., Bol. Ley.*, 1863, 443; *Mex., Legis.*, 1853, 275–6; *Bustamante, Hist. Santa Anna*, 76–7; *Diario Debates*, Cong. 6, ii. 182, 236, 682. A decree of 1861 abolished censorship. *Mex., Cód. Reforma*, 234. Certain boxes are reserved for officials. *Mex., Mem. Ayunt.*, 1879, 211.

[96] Associations for the promotion of horse-racing were formed at an early date at the capital. *Mühlenpfordt, Mej.*, i. 312. Informal races were naturally common enough, with bets and other adjuncts, as instanced also in *Alm. Calend.*, 1839, 30–2.

favor. Hunting, fishing, and cognate sports are little followed by the impatient Mexican, and the climate does not tempt in that direction;[97] but excursions to the country, dias del campo, are a feature among recreations.

With residents of the capital, the daily promenade is now, as formerly, the essential and main exercise. The Paseo de la Vega, toward Chalio, is now less seldom used than the Paseo Nuevo, running in the direction of Chapultepec; and here during the late afternoon may be seen sometimes over a thousand carriages and several times that number of horsemen,[98] a few of whom still appear in the old national riding-dress. The exchange of greetings and flying flirtations goes on continually, as one of the objects of the promenade. Humbler pedestrians line the paseo or resort to the Alameda park, which forms one of the chief sights of Mexico.

In the country may still be seen the heavier travelling carriages, perhaps a dozen feet between the axles, swinging on leather straps, and drawn by about four spans of mules, with postilions. On the Vera Cruz route to Mexico, American stages and drivers were introduced half a century ago, with good effect. Before the present energetic government took control, the proverbial highway robberies were one of the attendant evils of travelling. Robber bands had emissaries along the routes, often in league with innkeepers and officials,[99] or they stalked abroad with impudent reck-

[97] Yet Blazquez of Puebla has been induced to issue quite a book of respectable size on hunting, *El Cazador Mexicano*, 1868, 12mo, 431 pp., although with little information. The love of the horse is enough to afford a welcome to circus companies, and balloon ascents and other daring feats find favor. *Medidas Acordadas*, 1–4; *Pap. Var.*, lxxi. pt vi.; *Bustamante, Hist. Santa Anna*, 54.

[98] Thompson, *Recol. Mex.*, 126, estimated the number in 1842 at 1,000 and 5,000, respectively. The public carriages in 1879 numbered 200. *Mex., Mem. Ayunt.*, 225–38. The comparatively small town of Querétaro had in 1854 87 private and 26 public carriages, besides wagons, the former valued at $67,420, and the latter at $13,000, including horses, it seems. *Balbuena, Quer.*, 120, 196–8.

[99] Instances to this effect are frequent. Thompson, *Recol. Mex.*, 25, relates a well-known story about the conviction of Colonel Yañez, a highly respectable personage.

lessness, confident in the fear entertained of cruel retaliation on those who betrayed or entrapped the member of a band. When the baggage promised good returns, an attack was made, but seldom with bloodshed, for the escort generally managed to be behind, and Mexican passengers on such occasions seldom went armed, in order to afford no provocation for maltreatment. Foreigners as a rule showed more determination, and were consequently less frequently molested.[100] In the northern provinces invested by roaming Indians, travellers combined in caravans, and formed enclosed camps for the night.[101]

Another trouble connected with travelling is the lack of good inns. Along a few of the main routes accommodation has been improved, but elsewhere it is circumscribed by the very moderate ideas of comfort and cleanliness entertained by the class to whom innkeepers belong.[102]

The solution of many evils, such as travelling facilities, hotel accommodation, and a host of greater ones, is looked for by liberal-minded Mexicans in immigration. Hitherto little encouragement has been afforded for settling, and foreigners as a rule are attracted only by the prospect of speedy gain in trade, mining, and other industries, with the ultimate intention of returning home after a few years' stay. Hence, notwithstanding its wealth and beauty, its proclaimed liberality of government, and bids for colonization, its

[100] For causes and prevalence of robbery, I refer to the chapter on government. Among the measures suggested to insure greater safety was an armored carriage. *Adorno, Anal. Males*, 141–4.

[101] See *Hist. North Mex.*, i., ii., this series; also *Tarayre, Explor.*, 71–3.

[102] In the smaller towns the traveller must still, as in former times, depend on the threefold institution of meson, fonda, and tienda, equivalent to lodging-house, restaurant, and general store, the former providing rarely anything better than a windowless and untidy cell, with a few rough planks raised to form a bedstead, a bench, and occasionally a table. His horse is attended to; but his own food must be sought beyond the meson, and the choice is usually restricted to frijoles and tortillas—the latter a leathery substitute for bread—to eggs, chicken, rice, and chocolate; milk is rare, and cheese and butter almost unknown. In the villages lodging may be obtained in houses possessing shops. In the cities the mesones are somewhat more comfortable, although far from approaching even our humbler hotels.

proximity to the enterprising people of the United States, and its one-time occupation by a European court with Germano-Latin armies, this country has until lately received a comparatively small influx of foreigners.

The cause must be sought partly in the many restrictive enactments elsewhere spoken of,[103] partly in the civil and political disorders, bad administration of justice, military and tax levies, lack of ready communications, credit system in trade, inability to recover capital vested in improvements, unreliability of workmen, and general insecurity. Another powerful cause, to which the restrictions are mainly due, lies in the native jealousy of foreigners, whose energy and ability are too marked not to be acknowledged and bitterly felt. Hence, also, the persecution and outrages indicated by numerous and constant reclamations against the government. The least objection is entertained against the related Spaniards and the semi-cognate French, despite the frequent outbreaks in former years against the one—now almost forgotten—and the political troubles with the latter, whose polite and assimilative qualities are favorable features. Then come the Germans, against whom are counted their success as merchants and their protestant faith; while their cold and selfish demeanor tells against the English. The Yankees bear, since 1846, the additional and menacing form of bugbears, from whom everything is to be feared, to the loss of possessions, independence, and nationality itself. In remote districts may still be found lingering some of the old absurd notions about foreigners, as beings excluded from the communion of the faithful, and speaking diabolic tongues. The term Jew, so long applied to them, was in the early days of the republic widely modified to English, who came in considerable numbers to open mines and trade.[104] After 1838 the French became

[103] See chapter on government, wherein colonization is considered.
[104] *Alaman, Hist. Mej.*, v. 880–1; *Ratzel, Aus Mex.*, 380–8.

best known, and lately the North Americans, as citizens of the United States are called.

While tacitly recognizing the danger of foreigners monopolizing industries and usurping territory, yet the benefit of their presence to the people in other respects is admitted by the most intelligent Mexicans in their teachings and example; by developing agriculture, mining, trade, and industries generally; by checking civil wars and increasing general security; by promoting better political and judicial administration; and by invigorating the race, particularly the Indian, both physically and mentally, with an infusion of fresh blood.[105] The preference is naturally for European immigration, with which to counteract the ever-threatening encroachments of the United States; but what avail mere wishes and projects against the force of circumstances, as foreshadowed by the railroads now extending from the north into the very heart of the country? Indeed, many men of deep patriotism seek in the United States the only regeneration for Mexico.[106] The failure of European colonies indicate that the sudden transition to strange soil and climate is a serious obstacle, and one that disappears before the advance from the north, acclimatized as it were in the approximate environments of the border regions.[107]

[105] Garcia Cubas, *Escritos Div.*, 69–71, expresses himself to the latter effect; and Pimentel, *Raza Indíg.*, 240, *Econom.*, 172–88, more widely so. He points out that the scattered distribution of the inhabitants is in itself injurious to advancement and culture.

[106] As did a strong party in California a decade before its annexation. Chevalier looks to the north for the future owners of Mexico, as of Texas. Political movements in the United States are watched with jealous fears in Mexico.

[107] The only problem as regards climate is its effect on future generations.

CHAPTER XXVI.

EDUCATION, SCIENCE, ARTS, AND LITERATURE.

1521–1887.

INSTRUCTION OF THE INDIANS AND MESTIZOS—SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES—MEASURES FOR DEVELOPING EDUCATION—PROFESSIONAL INSTRUCTION—SCIENTIFIC ATTAINMENT — CREOLE UNSTEADINESS — OBSERVATORIES — FINE AND MECHANICAL ARTS—MUSEUM—FIRST PRESS—EARLY BOOKS AND PERIODICALS—LIBRARIES AND LITERARY SOCIETIES—PROSE WRITING—NEWSPAPERS — HISTORIANS—ORATORY—POETRY—MEXICAN PECULIARITIES—REFLECTIONS ON THE PRESENT AND FUTURE POSITION OF MEXICO.

EDUCATION in New Spain during colonial times was confined with few exceptions to a certain class of white people. Those who came from the mother country were rather backward, except when members of professions, and the wealthy creoles stood as a rule far above them. The church and bar were the main allurements to those who desired an active career. Medicine was also taught at the university, and finally at a special college, but obtained little favor. Philosophy was learned only as preparatory to theology, with a persistent adherence to scholasticism. Mathematics received slight attention, and the sciences, political and physical, were discouraged until toward the end of colonial times. No language save Latin received any attention. As for the masses, learning was regarded as not only useless, but prejudicial. Viceroy Branciforte thought only the cathechism should be taught in America.

The best evidence of the low grade of public education was that school-masters were required to pass

examination only in the most elementary reading and writing, and the four simplest rules of arithmetic.[1]

While the Indians and lower castes were steeped in ignorance, the remainder of the population, excepting the highest class and the professions, though low enough, were still above the corresponding classes in Spain. In the last decades of the eighteenth century, theoretic and concrete sciences, industrial and fine arts, advanced with a bound that for a time placed New Spain in the front rank of cultured nations. But wrapping itself in revolution, it was soon left behind in the march of progress.

The friars were always ready to instruct the offspring of princes and nobles, and even some bright youths of the lower classes. Reading, writing, and vocal and instrumental music were the branches taught, though the larger proportion of pupils participated in little more than religious exercises. Some, however, indulged in Latin, drawing, and painting, while others received training in the mechanical arts. The civil powers were satisfied with this policy, and with training natives for the priesthood.[2] The result was the college of Santa Cruz, opened by Viceroy Mendoza, for the teaching of grammar, Latin, rhetoric, logic, philosophy, and other necessary subjects. On the inauguration day, sixty youths, selected by friars from the most intelligent nobles then studying in the several convents, entered the college.[3] But the time soon came when the fears and jealousies of colonists and friars were roused against the elevation of a despised race, and the result was a relaxation of efforts among teachers. Soon the college gave instruction

[1] This mediocre acquirement secured them extensive privileges. 'Go cen de las preeminencias, prerogativas, y exenciones...que están concedidas, y comunicadas á los que exercen artes liberales.' *Cédula*, in *Reales Órdenes*, i. 455–9.

[2] Albornoz, Carta al Rey, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xiii. 69. Friars joined in the recommendation. *Id.*, xii. 125.

[3] The government made ample provision for their support. *Mendoza*, *Carta*, in *Florida*, *Col. Doc.*, 134–5. The king in 1553 added for a time 800 pesos. *Puga*, *Cedulario*, 187.

merely in reading, writing, and religious exercises; and a little later it was taken possession of wholly by the white race, with a higher grade of study. This course was adopted throughout the country. The Indian nobles were allowed to acquire a smattering of Spanish, which sufficed to raise them to the rank of *ladinos.* The mass of their race stood deprived of all instruction; consequently the term *gente de razon,* or rational people, applied to whites and mestizos. Very few of the aborigines attained to a high level of culture. At a later period, however, a concession was made, in yielding such a college as San Gregorio at Mexico to them exclusively. Finally came a feeble effort to erect primary schools in some of the larger Indian villages.[4] For mestizos, the facilities were not much greater. The government, indeed, showed a lamentable neglect in promoting elementary education among the whites and mixed classes, and left the people to provide for themselves. Some free schools were opened by philanthropists, and private academies by secular teachers, wherever encouragement was given. Many of the latter added Latin, algebra, and geography. At one time quite a large number of these establishments were in operation. Many of the wealthy and intelligent preferred, however, to send their children to Spain to be educated, so as to bind them to the mother country.

Later, a general revival induced the crown to recommend the establishment of primary schools.[5] The results, however, were as unsatisfactory as the efforts were spasmodic. No mingling of the sexes was allowed in the public schools, and girls received

[4] Azanza was still struggling in 1800 with projects for schools. Spanish writers try to make us believe that their govt always endeavored to educate the Indians; according to official statistics, the one Indian college at Mexico had in 1790 only 38 students and one solitary teacher, while seven colleges for other castes had two to four times the number of masters. *Gaceta, Mex.*, v. 8.

[5] Parents were urged the need of sending their children to them, but no energetic impulse followed the decree. *Zamora, Bib. Legis. Ult.*, iii. 174–5, wherein are given laws for 1782 and subsequent dates.

instruction in distinct departments, under women. As a rule, they were sent to convents, there to be trained chiefly in feminine accomplishments.[6]

The Jesuits exercised a great influence in favor of public instruction. Their method of teaching was admired, and aid was readily granted them by citizens for establishing colleges. They had enemies, however, who first restricted and finally drove them away. They early established four colleges at Mexico, notably the San Pedro y San Pablo, all of which were by the second decade of the seventeenth century merged into one, under the name of San Ildefonso. Nevertheless, the Jesuits continued their efforts, and at the time of their expulsion in 1767 possessed twenty-three colleges, and a number of seminaries in different provinces, only a portion of which were reopened under other teachers.

The example of the Jesuits was followed by others, and several colleges and seminaries were the result of it. Still, quite a number of provinces were devoid of facilities for anything above elementary training. At Mexico there were in 1790 eight colleges for males, only two of which fell under control of friars.[7]

The deficiency of high schools has been glossed over by directing attention to the founding of the university. Mendoza, the first viceroy, left property for its establishment; and during the rule of the elder

[6] There were six so-called colleges for females at Mexico. Alaman, notwithstanding his Spanish tendencies, contradicts the writers who extol Spain's efforts on behalf of female education. The fact is, that for a long time but one public school for girls existed. *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, iii., ap. 87; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, vi. 488. Even the classes gradually opened by nuns were few, and devoted only too frequently to religious training, sewing, and the like, without even learning to read. As late as 1795 the pope and king ordered the convents to more freely receive girls of good families for care and education. *Cedulario*, MS., iii. 23–6. Nuns de la Enseñanza devoted themselves specially to training girls; but their efforts were limited. *Torres, Sermon; Arteaga, Josias*, pt 11. For Indian girls of noble birth there was a real colegio; but it was really an informal convent, *Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus*, iii. 294, like a few other so-called colegios.

[7] Their names were the Santos, Seminario, San Ildefonso, San Juan de Letran, Infantes, San Ramon, Santiago, Tlatelolco, and San Gregorio. The total number of students was somewhat over 600, a small figure, indeed, for the leading city of the continent. *Gac., Mex.*, v. 8; *Estalla*, xxvii. 260; *Cabrera, Escudos Armas*, 200.

Velasco, a royal cédula of September 21, 1551, ordained its erection, providing an endowment of 1,000 pesos de oro,[8] which was increased by later grants and private bequests. Privileges were conferred upon it. The institution was inaugurated on January 25, 1553. In 1589 it was transferred to the site occupied till modern times on the east side of the Plaza del Volador.[9]

The Jesuit college at Mérida, Yucatan, obtained in 1662 the title and privileges of a university, but it did not long exist.[10] The only other permanent institution of the kind, therefore, in New Spain was at Guadalajara, founded by cédula of 1791 in the former Jesuit college, with incorporation of the chairs and endowments of the Seminario de San José, both of which were increased in numbers and amount.[11] The war of independence broke in upon the educational revival with which the present century opened, and where the kindled flame was not absolutely extinguished it burned low.[12] Once free, the republic became em-

[8] 'Vn Estudio y universidad de todas sciencias.' *Puga, Cedulario*, 137–8. Herrera dates an order for the founding as early as 1539, Dec. vi. lib. vii. cap. vi., dec. viii. lib. vii. cap. xiii.; and Alcedo, v. 139, lends it support by showing that Friar Alonso de Veracruz founded a university at Tiripitio, which was merged 'que despues se trasladó á México,' in that of Mexico, or moved thither. While under royal patronage the title of pontifical was added at a later date. St Paul was first adopted for patron, and Santa Catalina Mártir figured among later additions. *Beleña, Recop.*, i., pt iii. 361.

[9] The studies began with seven chairs; namely, two for theologic subjects, two for law, and one each for arts, rhetoric, and grammar. The number increased rapidly till it stood at 24 at the beginning of the present century, including one for Aztec, and one for Otomí language, respectively. *Villaseñor, Teatro Mex.*, 56; *Alaman, Disertac.*, 216–20, 261; *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 52; *Trat. Mex.*, 32. By 1775 there had graduated 1,162 doctors and 29,882 bachelors. Gonzalez Dávila names the first to pass examination. *Teatro Eccles.*, i. 32. Laws concerning the institution may be found in *Recop. de Ind.*, i. 191 et seq.; *Reales Cédulas*, MS., i. 77–9; ii. 238; *Montemayor, Sumarios*, 61–3; *Zamora, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, vi. 106 et seq. See also *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 592; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 159–61; *Figueroa, Vindicias*, MS., 68–9; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, iv. 207–17; *Disturbios Frailes*, MS., ii. 366. Estalla, xxvi. 350–1, xxvii. 255–74, describes several features of the institution.

[10] *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucatan*, 215–16.

[11] Among the new professorships were those of canon and civil law, with 400 pesos a year, those of medicine and surgery, with 300 pesos; the secretary and others received 150 pesos, and the librarian and porter only 100 pesos each. *Cédula Real; Cedulario*, MS., i. 52–4. By-laws are given in *Id.*, 91–114; *Jal., Not. Geog.*, 15–16.

[12] Yet amid the reigning disorder the subject was not neglected, as instanced by decrees like those in *Córtes, Diario*, xxi. 11–21, xxii. 17–18, directing the governors to establish new schools and promote existing ones.

broiled in party strife and efforts for a political organization, amid which the idea of training the people for its new responsibilities was little thought of. The higher schools, which had so far maintained a fair comparison with those in Spain, suffered both in number and efficiency, owing partly to the decline of clerical influence and guardianship, and to the inferior education of the rising order of ecclesiastics.[13]

In 1833 the necessity for energetic measures became apparent, and public instruction in the federal district and territories was placed in charge of a board of directors, which controlled national art treasures, and was to form a public library. It was to form a new plan for studies, giving prominence to scientific branches, and appoint teachers, yet permit free teaching, subject to certain general rules. All the funds of existing establishments were consolidated and placed at the disposal of the board.

Colleges where modern philosophy and science had entered were allowed to languish. Elementary schools also languished; yet an impetus was given to the Lancasterian or mutual system introduced in 1822.[14] Educational matters were for some years allowed to drift, till 1842, when the Lancasterian association was placed in charge of all primaries in the republic. The government undertook to provide pecuniary means, but scantily.[15]

Little progress was attained, owing to the constant political convulsions and changes of administration. An effort was made by the authorities in 1861, but it

[13] Yet so poorly sustained that one of the two Lancasterian schools in the capital had to be closed in 1830. *Mex., Mem. Rel. Int.*, 1830.

[14] For details, see *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1833, 90–126.

[15] According to the *Memorias de Hac.*, the expenditure by the general government for educational purposes declined from $62,873 in 1840 to $54,253, $57,007, $31,126, and $32,522 during the following four years. See also *Mex., Mem.*, xiii. docs. 1–2; *Pap. Var.*, lxxx. pt xix. Notwithstanding the difficulties in the way, the number of primary schools had increased to 1,310 in 1843, with 59,744 pupils, while colleges numbered 40, with 6,018 students. *Mex., Mem. Just.*, 1829, ap. 14; *Id.*, 1844, ap. 18–20; *Diario Deb.*, Cong. 10, iii. 35; *Mexican. Zustände*, i. 352 et seq.; *Comp. Lancast., Espos.*, 13; *Diario Gob.*, Dec. 19, 1842; *Bustamante, Diario*, MS., xlv. 273.

failed, mainly through the absorption of funds for the war of intervention.[16] Maximilian, with his German ideas, introduced some measures which left seeds that show signs of being developed into flourishing plants.[17] Amid all the vicissitudes of the republic, however, with its disorders, neglect, and inefficient legislation, illiteracy has been greatly reduced. The proof lies in the growth of primary schools, and of the number of pupils in attendance.[18] Besides these schools there were 134 public establishments of higher grade and colleges. In 1883–4 the federal government expended $353,080 in public instruction and kindred branches, and appropriated to the same purpose $701,420 for the fiscal year 1885–6.[19] The propensity for separating the sexes is strong in Spanish American countries, hence only a small portion of the schools are of a mixed order.[20]

The clergy for a long time tried to retain control over the higher schools, there to perpetuate scholastic and other old-fashioned ideas. Gradually, however, the states assumed control, and managed to introduce

[16] *Mex., Mem. Sec. Hac.*, 1868, 12; *Mex., Cód. Reforma*, 369–82; *Arch. Mex., Col. Ley.*, vi. 97–119.

[17] For imperial regulations, see *Mex., Col. Ley. Imp.*, viii. 21–84; *Diario del Imp.*, Apr. 14, May 4, Sept. 16, 1866. Professional diplomas issued under the empire were annulled by Juarez' government. *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, x. 59.

[18] 1,310 schools in 1843, 2,400 in 1860, 5,000 in 1870, 8,100 in 1875, and still rapidly increasing, there being in 1884 at least 8,586 primary schools, of which 2,116 were for girls. The attendance has been from 59,744 pupils in 1843 to 349,000 in 1875, and 441,453 in 1884, of whom 115,147 were girls. Covarrubias in 1875 showed that only one fifth of the school population received primary instruction. *Mem. Instruc. Pub.*, lxxxiii.–iv. The minister of public instruction in 1851 had classed three fourths of the population as illiterate; later figures patriotically reduced this to more than one half. Both statements should be taken with allowance. Stanch little Tlascala stands foremost in education, as the ancient republic stood in battle. Chiapas, Chihuahua, and L. Cal. stand lowest according to Covarrubias' admirable work.

[19] The instruction in the primary schools is as a rule limited to reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, conduct, and the duties of citizens. Girls are taught, besides, certain feminine work. In a large number of schools, however, geography, history, drawing, geometry, and French are added, and many teach branches that approach those of our high branches.

[20] The attendance at girls' schools is comparatively less than at the boys' for obvious reasons. Moreover, a large number of girls are retained by cautious parents at home, where they receive a certain amount of instruction.

a more practical and modern range of studies.[21] The medical school of Mexico stands foremost in the country for excellence, and is, indeed, the only one enjoying a decided reputation.[22] Many prefer to study in France and Germany, in the latter specially in the mining schools; yet they run the risk of meeting on their return with a cold reception, and in any case of having to maintain an unequal struggle with foreign professionals who are more energetic and regarded, as well as more thorough and efficient.

The most popular of the colleges, by reason of the profession taught, is that of jurisprudence. The profession was always favored by teachers and government, and with the wider range of official life opened by the republic, its attractions have increased.[23] The military college, with a fixed membership of 200, is directly under the control of the minister of war. Among other special schools is one for fine arts.[24] Several naval schools have been founded at different times, one at Tepic as early as 1822.[25] The conservatory of music and declamation is sustained by the

[21] At Mexico the preparatory school imparts in a course of five years the following branches: Mathematics, physics, chemistry, cosmography, geography, national and general history, natural history, logic, ideology, ethics, drawing, grammar, literature, French, English, Latin, and the Greek roots. This is for law students. Those intending to apply themselves to engineering, mining, or architecture study German in lieu of Latin, and give more attention to drawing. There are also classes for Italian, music, tachygraphy, and gymnastics, and several collections and laboratories. Boys enter here as early as the 8th year. In the study of languages about 40 per cent prefer the dead, 35 per cent French, 1½ per cent English, and a sprinkling the German and Italian. There are also an agricultural and a veterinary college.

[22] The several branches to be studied in the five years' course are properly apportioned. The regulations of 1843 required a sixth preparatory year of study in natural history and medicinal chemistry. The veterinary school, connected with the school of agriculture, received some excellent regulations in 1853. *Mex., Regl. de Euseñ. Méd.*, 1–24; *Soc. Méd. Regla.; Soc. Filoiätrica, Regla*, 1–8; *Pap. Var.*, li. pt xviii., cxlvii. pt x.

[23] The studies offered for this career are undoubtedly more complete in their way than the others in provincial colleges; yet a large number of students prefer at least a finishing course at Mexico. The full term is six years, two of them attending at the college of advocates, and practical experience in a lawyer's office and before the courts.

[24] To teach drawing, engraving, painting, sculpture, architecture, and decorative art. Biennial exhibitions are held, and medals awarded. The library and galleries of the school form a veritable museum of arts. For regulations, see *Dublan* and *Lozano, Legis. Mex.*, v. 642–66, 681–8.

[25] *Guat., Gac.*, 1822, 393.

philharmonic society, with a government subsidy. Of the attendance of pupils, about 40 per cent are females.[26]

The school of arts and trades, with its five-year course of mathematics, physics, chemistry, industrial inventions, political economy, Spanish, French, drawing, and mechanical arts, is attended by a large number of students.[27] The school of commerce and administration, and those for the blind and deaf-mutes, are objects of special care and attention.

For women there are several superior schools, and their number and attendance is increasing with the general progress.[28] In the school of arts for women at Mexico, instruction is given in photography, telegraphy, printing, and other branches, with a view to open a path for them in useful careers. The boarding-schools, which absorb a comparatively large number of girls, also impart several advanced studies.[29] Special primary schools exist for women as for men, besides evening classes.

In view of the rapid spread of education and the demand for teachers, the creation of normal schools has hardly grown apace. The smallness and uncertainties of the pay, and the rather equivocal position of primary teachers, have neutralized the aspirations of candidates.[30] Primaries will, no doubt, be surrendered more and more to the charge of women.

The national university, once the pride of Mexico, has disappeared before the encroachments of professional colleges. The similar establishment at Guada-

[26] An orchestra and theatre are attached. Besides the branch mainly attended in the school, mathematics, book-keeping, geography, history, French, Italian, and even drawing and painting are taught.

[27] Laboratories and workshops are attached. The semi-penal school at Tecpan is similar in range.

[28] With rare exceptions, the branches are limited to mathematics, domestic hygiene, book-keeping, botany, history, modern languages, painting, and feminine work. *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 3d pt, v. 684, etc.; *Arch. Mex., Col. Ley.*, ii. 7–10; *Romero*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, ix. 124–6.

[29] These schools gained by the closing of convent schools, of which 21 are mentioned in *Mex., Mem. Sec. Just.*, 1844, doc. 19, and others in *Id.*, 1829, docs. 12 et seq.

[30] In colleges, the pay varies from $300 to $2,000; but in primaries it is as low as $6 to $10 a month. In the large towns, $50 is considered a high rate.

lajara has suffered reverses, but it may be said to still live in one of the two seminarios controlled by the clergy of this diocese, and so with that of Chiapas.[31] With the advance of education, however, we may safely predict the speedy reopening of one or more of these institutions, and on a basis, it may be hoped, that will serve to stimulate the growing love for education throughout its branches, and serve to retain at home the many young men who now deem it necessary to seek European schools.[32] Mexicans are undoubtedly promising pupils, the mestizo being remarkably quick to apprehend, and the Indian holding out bright promises of adding to the list of men like Juarez and Altamirano, the latter one of the foremost scholars in the country. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that as the youth grow up docility yields to indolence at the time when the reflective powers could be best trained. Hence self-culture is not widely developed, and where it is followed we find the national lack of thoroughness interposes serious obstacles to the regeneration of a loose and shallow mind.[33]

[31] The córtes of Spain were in 1820 discussing the expediency of establishing more universities in America, *Córtes, Diario,* Oct. 20, 1820, ix. 9–10, and the Mexican congress proposed one for Oajaca in 1822. *Abispa Chil.*, 303–8. In 1843 the ministerial report alludes to the university staff of the capital as a mere text-book board, and gives the universities of Chiapas and Guadalajara 114 and 145 students respectively. *Mex., Mem. Sec. Just.*, doc. 720. For decrees of suppression and revival in 1833 and 1834, see *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1833, 90; *Pap. Var.*, lxxiii. pt 8. Elaborate regulations were issued in 1855 for curriculum degrees. *Mex., Col. Ley.*, 1855, viii. 14–17, 30–3. Then came the law of suppression in September 1857, *Dublan y Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, viii. 625, and the repeals in 1858 and 1861, and the final closing. *Id.*, ix. 17–18; *Diario Avis.*, March 12, April 12, 15, 29, 1858; *La Cruz*, vii. 287, 440–8; *Arch. Mex., Col. Ley.*, v. 120–1; *Arrangoiz, Mej.*, iv. 47–8. In April 1881 a bill was introduced in congress for creating a new national university. *Diario Deb.*, Cong. 10, ii. 289–91.

[32] A law of 1850 required various colleges to send to European colleges, and there maintain for three years a certain number of their students. *Mex., Col. Ley.*, 1850, 214–16. The ministerial report of 1835 points out lack of higher education, and explains the reasons for such a decree. In pursuance of this the educational law of 1843 extended the range of studies for law, particularly in the humanities. Richthofen observes that this was needless, since the new studies were utterly superficial and fragmentary. *Rep. Mex.*, 226. It was also very easy to shorten both studies and term. The above writer gives an interesting account of the cost and ceremonies attending matriculation, to which Wappäu, *Geog.*, 119, adds several points.

[33] For a special account of education in the different states, I refer to José Diaz Covarrubias, *Instruccion Pública en México,* Mex., 1875, sm. 4to, ccli. and 218 pp., with chart, the most complete of the subject so far published. He

Science, either abstract or concrete, has not been greatly fostered in Mexico. But in spite of obstacles, the old scholasticism so much affected by the church is gradually disappearing. Medicine had been more favored for obvious reasons, there being several chairs in the university, including one of anatomy and surgery, medical students being compelled to attend lectures on botany.[34]

A brilliant course of investigation was instituted into the flora of New Spain under Sesse and Mociño. The latter and a co-laborer named Echeverría were natives of Mexico.[35] To further encourage medical study a school of surgery was established in the royal hospital in 1770. However, the profession was more hampered even than in Europe by old-fashioned schools and ideas.[36] The profession of the church and bar had a greater attraction, and a large number of chairs was provided for these studies in the university; in addition thereto a royal academy of jurisprudence was established in the college of San Ildefonso, and lawyers were formed into a corporation named Real Colegio de Abogados. No mining school was founded before 1783, and this in a country where the mines formed the chief and almost solely appreciated wealth.[37]

It does not seem, however, that the creoles were suited for the steady application demanded by a course

had all the needed material for his subject at command. A review of more historic character is presented by E. Montes in *Diario de Debates*, Cong. 10, iii. 22–51, in connection with a project for a new law to regulate public instruction.

[34] A botanic garden on a little scale was established therefor.

[35] The result was the first important addition to this branch of science, made by Doctor Hernandez, sent out by Felipe II. to study the plants and animals of New Spain, which he did on a large scale, and at an expense of 60,000 ducats. And yet Hernandez' work was allowed to remain in manuscript.

[36] Father Agustin Farfan wrote a text-book on medicine in 1579, new editions of which appeared in 1592, 1604, and 1610, with some changes and additions. Other treatises appeared in later times. Regular doctors did not figure till the 18th century.

[37] A really practical course of study was given, embracing French, mathematics, drawing, natural philosophy, chemistry, and mineralogy. Many imperfections hampered the usefulness of the school, notwithstanding the efforts of José Fausto Elhuyar, the founder, and of Andrés del Rio, his co-laborer.

of regular training, and the results were not adequate. Their ardor was probably also dampened by the inroad of professional scientists and artists. The disorders of the succeeding war for independence and republican rule were not conducive to the advance of arts and sciences.[38] The best treatise on mineralogy in Spanish was issued by Rio of this school. The first Spanish translation of Lavoisier's chemistry appeared at Mexico, and the *Gacetas de Literatura* of the learned Alzate, begun in 1788, form no mean index to the growing taste, as specified in the varied philosophic and scientific subjects of its pages. The range of Alzate's studies was very wide, and he published numerous works of the highest value, among which may be mentioned two valuable contributions on cochineal culture and antiquities respectively. Also a number of miscellaneous writings, wherein are noticeable his assaults on the vicious and old-fashioned methods and ideas of the time, which evoked no little enmity of as caustic though less generous a nature.

Alzate also attained honorable distinction in astronomy, though he was excelled by two contemporaries, Joaquin Velazquez Cárdenas y Leon, and Leon y Gama, the former ranking as the foremost geodetic observer of New Spain, and as chief promoter of the mining court and its school; and the latter hardly less prominent, though leaning, in addition to astronomy, to antiquarian subjects.[39] Astronomical science had not been wholly disregarded in earlier colonial days. Sigüenza y Góngora, in 1681, published a val-

[38] It is certain, however, that the study of natural history and physics, introduced at the mining school and elsewhere, led to a more general diffusion of scientific knowledge, shallow though it may have been; and Humboldt declares that in this respect New Spain surpassed many a district of the mother country. He comments on the chemical laboratory, geologic collections, and scientific instruments, and models of the mining school, and alludes to more than one private mineral cabinet.

[39] Less favored by fortune than his co-laborer, Velazquez, he had to sustain a constant struggle with stern necessities, and his efforts shine with greater lustre, as manifested in the several learned treatises from his pen, which have been published, notably the *Descripcion Histórica y Cronológica de las dos Piedras*, a learned dissertation on the Aztec calendar stone, discovered in 1790, which had remained hidden for nearly three centuries.

uable treatise on comets. He was also the editor of the *Mercurio Volante*, and was a man of sound judgment and high attainments. Pedro Alarcon and others afterward distinguished themselves in mathematics and astronomy.

It is wonderful how both government and people neglected the relics of New Spain, superior, in many directions, to those of Egypt, and worthy of comparison with those of the middle epoch of Greece. Indeed, they were looked on as devices of the devil, and devoted to extermination. A few papers and figures were, however, sent to Spain, and roused a spirit of inquiry, which, in modern times, has had brilliant results. The follies of vandalism, such as Zumárraga's, Sahagun redeemed by collecting from Indians of the conquest data on their manners and customs, modes of education, and knowledge. Much of his work was mutilated by narrow-mindedness, but Torquemada, in his *Monarquía*, saved much of it. The mestizo Father Duran's work met with the same fate as Sahagun's. Acosta brought the result of his labors at an earlier date before the world.

Collections of original documents, in the hands of native nobles, like Ixtlilxochitl, were allowed to be scattered, and only remnants escaped destruction, through the more enlightened care of Sigüenza, Veytia, Ortega, Pichardo, and a few others. Boturini spent six years in gathering several hundred papers and curiosities, which are partly preserved in Kingsborough's great work.[40] Mariano Veytia, a learned

[40] The task of utilizing Boturini's unearthed documents was reserved for Veytia, Clavigero, and subsequent modern students, better fitted for it than himself; for his *Idea* is a curious medley of interesting facts and puerilities, connected by a thread of fantastic speculation. He had completed, in 1749, the first volume of his *Cronología de las Principales Naciones*, which, owing to his death soon after, was never published. But a *Cronica Mexicana, Teoamóxtli*, was issued by Bustamante at Mexico, in 1821–2, and shows the primary motive which impelled Boturini to undertake his task, and which must have unfitted him for writing history—a pious zeal to substantiate the apparition of the virgin of Guadalupe. Of his apologetic dissertation on the subject, a fragment remains in Latin. Some of his acts, regarded as unwarranted by a foreigner, led to his arrest, the confiscation of his papers, and his being sent to Spain, where, his motives being declared pure, he was appointed historiographer of the Indies. His death occurred soon after, and his papers became scattered or destroyed; but a few remain in the museum of Mexico.

creole and true friend of Boturini, consulted his fast-fading treasures, and wrote a number of treatises on aboriginal history and relics, of which only one has been published directly under his name. It is confined almost wholly to history, particularly the Tezcucan, and unfortunately gives but little concerning manners and relics. Meanwhile, the clear-headed Clavigero, a creole of New Spain, furnished a work on aboriginal history and institutions, comprehensive, concise, and able, which has been translated into all languages.

The discovery of Palenque roused public attention to the ruins existing all over the country, and stirred government action. Descriptions of such remains may be found in different chroniclers,[41] but they had created little attention abroad, and the peculiar policy of Spain tended to secrecy on matters concerning her colonies. However, the creoles after a time took interest in the subject, and governors of provinces, and even the supreme government, promoted investigation, and the ruins began to be studied with zeal.[42] The results incited the crown to a thorough study of New Spain antiquities, and during the years 1805 to 1808 Dupaix overran the southern provinces, and collected immense treasures, as appears by his reports,[43] which were published in 1843.

Provision has been made in this century for the acquirement of scientific knowledge, with satisfactory results. The various professions justly pride themselves with possessing members entitled to a high standing, not solely at home, but also abroad, where many of their number have been enrolled in various societies, and their productions have been accepted with honor. A national academy of science was established in Mexico in 1857, and another in Puebla in

[41] Bernal Diaz, Landa, Burgoa, Villagutierre, and down to Clavigero's time.

[42] As instanced by Rio's undertaking in 1786 for the examination of Palenque.

[43] His reports are on the regions from the latitude of Tezcuco into Chiapas, and are illustrated by 145 drawings from the hand of Castañeda.

1861. During the existence of Maximilian's throne, his government decreed the foundation of an imperial academy of science and literature.[44] The erection of a national observatory at Chapultepec, decreed in December 1876, was carried out in May 1878. The establishment, also comprising a meteorological and magnetic observatory, maintains relations with the chief observatories of foreign nations, and with many scientific associations. It has thrown lustre upon the men who manage it.[45] In 1877 was established in Mexico a meteorological observatory to be the centre of observations made throughout the republic, and to be kept in relations with others of the same kind in foreign nations.[46]

There is a geological society which was established in 1875, and the work of the Mexican Geographical and Statistical Society, which counts among its members many notable scientists both foreign and national, for many years past has contributed to the diffusion of knowledge on many subjects, particularly in connection with Mexico.[47] The conclusion arrived at after a fair investigation of facts is that many sons of Mexico have made great strides in the acquisition of science; that a number of them have excelled in its several branches, and are doing their part well in the transmission to others of the knowledge they possess.

[44] It was inaugurated July 6, 1865. *Mex., Col. Ley. del Imp.*, viii. 15–19; *Mex., Diario del Imp.*, Apr. 10, 1865, suppl. 340–1; *Acad. Imp. de Ciencias*, 1–27. An academy of physical sciences went into operation June 3, 1878. *Mex., Diario Ofic.*, May 30, 1878.

[45] In 1875 a commission presided over by F. Diaz Covarrubias was sent to observe the transit of the planet Venus in Japan, and fulfilled its mission with honor and profit, its members winning the respect and esteem of the commissioners of other nations. *Rivera, Méx. Pintor.*, i. 321–2; *Anguiano, Anuncio*, 1–358; *Mex., Diario Debates*, Cong. 6, ii. 257; *Covarrubias, Com. Astrom. Mex.*, 1–12; *Id., Viage de la Comision*, 1–448; *Riva Palacio, Hist. Adm. Lerdo*, 461; *Mex., Mem. Sec. Fom.*, 1882, i. 181–334.

[46] It was installed in the national palace, and began its labors March 6, 1877. They are published in the *Boletin del Ministerio de Fomento*. There was likewise installed in the palace a central astronomical observatory. *Diaz, Datos Biog.*, 238–9. Both establishments, as well as those at Oajaca, San Luis Potosí, and Zacatecas, are doing good work.

[47] The society has had a long life, and its labors have been given to the press from year to year.

Their native land is thereby given an honorable position among the learned nations.[48]

The foundation of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Cárlos, in 1773, inaugurated the promotion of the fine arts in New Spain. Its main object was to facilitate the study, free of expense for the pupils, of architecture, sculpture, and painting. Among the teachers were Manuel Tolsa, sculptor, Rafael Jimeno, painter, Gerónimo Antonio Gil, engraver, and Antonio G. Velazquez, architect. Humboldt speaks of the great interest taken, adding that here all ranks were levelled. National taste in architecture became developed; but the same can hardly be said in regard to painting and animate sculpture. The patronage of the church failed, there were faulty methods, a rigid adherence to stagnant features of Spanish art, and a suppression of originality. Superior models were not to be had. Many, indeed, were the causes that defeated the objects of the academy, among others the disturbed condition of the country.

Baltasar de Echave, the elder, has been by many regarded as the founder of the art of painting in New Spain.[49] His contemporary, in the beginning of the 17th century, was Luis Juarez, who must have been his pupil. An impressive idealism pervaded this artist's subjects. José Juarez excelled all of his predecessors in drawing, and showed a promising originality. He must be classed as the equal of Echave. Friar Herrera was called the divine—praise due rather to striking features of expression than to general merit. The opening of the 18th century was marked by two artists, the brothers Rodriguez and Juarez, of whom Juarez was called the Mexican Apelles, and compared

[48] The following authorities furnish information on the subject: *Navarro, Oracion Fún.*, 1–15; *Gagern, Apelacion de los Mex.*, 64–5; *Sosa, Los Contemporaneous*, 75–87, 155–66, 185–200; *Id., Biog. Mex., Disting.*, 57–879, passim; *Arroniz, Biog. Mex.*, 57, 109–11, 116–18; *Ilustracion Mex.*, ii. 443–50; *Mosáico, Mex.*, 279–80; *Diaz, Miscel.*, no. 15; *Zavala, Discurso*, 1–16.

[49] He was happy in the massing of colors, though the composition is confused, and the striving for effect too marked.

to Carracci. Nicolás was inferior and less known. José Ibarra, called the Murillo of New Spain, though with glaring defects and profusion of brilliant colors, stands next in rank to Cabrera, the central figure of colonial art. Cabrera was a Zapotec Indian, and by his excellencies deserved the name of the Raphael of Mexico, though, perhaps, with greater propriety that of Michael Angelo, for he was also an architect and sculptor.[50]

Animate sculpture was too much subordinated as a part of architecture, and confined almost wholly to conventional imitation. Special mention is, however, due to the equestrian statue in bronze of Cárlos IV., by Manuel Tolsa, which, for its perfection, has been compared with the finest European work of the kind. Tolsa, for all his splendid talents and his being a teacher in the San Cárlos academy, failed to exercise any influence in the country. In fact, plastic and constructive arts had never enjoyed consideration. The two Coras, who before Tolsa's time were the only sculptors of note, were poorly paid, though some of their work was of a high order. In this respect the feather-work of the aborigines has a claim to recognition. It presented figures with such skilful blending of color as to equal the painting of European masters. In sculpture, some of their figures must be placed above similar conventional specimens of Egypt, while some of the decorative elements in their architecture can safely compare with advanced Greek forms, for beauty of design at least.

Architecture in New Spain may be classed with later Romanesque, with early renaissance,[51] or with the Rococo style. In early days, buildings were erected with a special view to strength. As time

[50] His heads were well drawn, and characterized by touching expression, but there was a lack of delicacy in coloring, and faulty drawing in outline and proportion, together with strained attitudes, stiff draperies, etc. The church was to blame for this, in excluding the study of form in the nude.

[51] Such as in Spain, combined with Moorish types and classic forms, assuming a distinctive feature in its bold, light, and luxuriant outlines.

advanced, strength gave way to mere utility, without any regard to the ornamental.[52] In modern houses, the decorative element has greatly increased. My remarks herein apply almost exclusively to the colonial period.

The cathedral of Mexico presents striking peculiarities in the bell-shaped domes of the towers, the heavy reversed consoles, and in other ways. That of Guadalajara differs in its heavy steeples. On the square at Colima stands a most striking arcade edifice of a Moorish stamp. In the medley of styles, one may even see a Doric frieze over capitals of a different order. In a private house may be seen tapering shafts, like the Maya, with pyramidal base and conic capital. In several convent interiors they have spiral, striped, and Moorish pillars. The spiral appears in the fountain which terminates the Chapultepec aqueduct. In several buildings may be noted the fantastic Churrigueresco style so common in Spain.[53] In several churches of this order the façades are entirely covered with ornamentations, interspersed with niches and statuary in the so-called Jesuit style. After presenting other forms in windows, portals, and elsewhere, above the main buildings its two or three receding stories resume the Churrigueresco embellishments. In one instance the annulated surface of the lower stories has imparted a Moorish stamp.

As a rule, the country churches form a Basilica in one body, with two towers enclosing a gable façade of ogee outline, or with voluted wings—less frequently circular or plain gable—enclosing either star window or niche, and topped by a pedestal for the cross. The portal has a circular arch with double architrave, the

[52] The only exceptions were the public edifices and churches, nearly all due to the skill and labor of friars, who set an example to promote taste.

[53] It may be classed as a Rococo, with rustic walls and mouldings, highly ornamented pilasters with floral fringes, surmounted by Atlantes upholding the capitals. The frieze presents an undulating border, enclosing floral bunches, and over the windows it expands into broken rectilinear mouldings, with foliated and volute ornaments. The portal arch is also voluted, with curved border.

outer resting on simple pilasters or columns, and on either side rises an additional pilaster to the cornice, which seldom extends unbroken along the tower. Frequently only one corner is finished with a plain two-story tower, provided with arched windows and a dome. The whole bears a stamp of the utmost simplicity. In the cities a tower can be seen at each corner, with a large dome in the centre, somewhat defaced by tasteless painting. The clustered columns of the interior are fluted Doric, with heavy chaptrels, and here also the balustrade forms a prominent feature.

Among Mexican architects, the only creole of real prominence is Francisco Eduardo Tresguerras, born at Celaya in 1745, who has left monuments of his skill and taste in temples, theatres, bridges, and other public structures, and who showed proficiency also in sculpture and painting. He died in 1833.

The Academia de Bellas Artes de San Cárlos, which political commotions had allowed to languish, was revived on the 6th of January, 1847,[54] with such happy results that the first exhibitions of the pupils' works took place in 1849, a number of the latter showing a marked excellence. After Mexico went into the throes of revolution, in which even the life of her republican institutions was imperilled, her people could have no thought but for war, and the academy went to decay again since 1858.[55] Its name was changed in 1868 to Escuela Nacional de Bellas Artes, and a new impulse was given to the development of fine arts. The collection of paintings, sculpture, and engravings became large and precious. Since 1861 it has comprised the best works found in the convents.[56]

[54] Under the tuition of the painter Clavé, the sculptor Vilar brought from Rome three engravers from England, and a landscape painter named Landesio, also from Italy.

[55] The decadence was almost complete from 1863 to 1867. *Rivera, Méx. Pintor.*, i. 171.

[56] The sculpture gallery has fine specimens in alabaster, marble, agate, and terra-cotta. Art schools have also been established in other towns. *Bárcena Estudios Pres. Sec. Fomento*, 139–58; *García Cubas, Rep. of Mex.*, 28, 38; *Couto, Diálogo*, 1–123; *Mendoza, Catál.*, 40; *Hombres Il. Mex.*, ii. 41, 225–7, 274–80, 335–9, 375–81; iii. 8–13, 105–26.

The institution has well answered the purposes for which it was created, and it is evident that there is good material in Mexico for artists of a high order.[57]

There is at the capital a national museum containing many valuable works, the most important part being the Mexican antiquities. It was founded in 1825, and reorganized in 1831. A law of 1829 forbids the exportation of antiquities, reserving to the government a prior right of purchase.[58]

There is a national conservatory of music at the capital to give instruction in vocal and instrumental music.[59] The country has produced a number of excellent musicians, both vocal and instrumental, and not a few fair composers.

Mexico was the first city on the American continent to have a printing-press, and to publish a book. The press came hither with Viceroy Mendoza in 1535. It is believed that Juan Pablos was the first printer.[60] The first book issued was the *Escala Espiritual para llegar al Cielo, Traducido del Latin en Castellano por el Venerable Padre Fr Ivan de la Madalena, Religioso Domínico*, 1536. This work no longer exists.[61] Two books are said to be extant, with the date 1539 and 1540, the former being a *Doctrina Christiana*, and the

[57] It is made evident at the annual exhibitions. *Busto, Est. Rep. Mex.*, i., 3d pt, 63–72; *Bancroft's Obs.*, MS., 78–81; *Caballero, Hist. Alm.*, 91–7; *Bishop's Old Mex.*, 126.

[58] The museum has a library on natural history, archæology, and history. *Bustamante, Nota*, in *Leon y Gama, Tres Piedras*, 89; *Calderon's Life in Mex.*, ii. 3–4; *Anales Museo Nac. Mex.*, i. 2, 226–41; *Thompson's Mex.*, 116–24; *Rivera, Mex. Pintor.*, i. 175–81; *Gobern. Mex.*, ii. 124; *Mex., Mem. Min. Justicia*, years 1831, 1878–81. There is also a public museum at Guadalajara. *Mex., Diario Ofic.*, Jan. 20, 1876. The country possesses many monuments of modern art, the production of Mexican artists as well as foreign. *Diaz, Datos Biog.*, 241–4; *Mex., Mem. Sec. Fomento*, 1882, 319–51; *Manero, Monum.*, 1–77; *Rivera, Mex. Pintor.*, i. 186.

[59] Many branches of a common education are also taught there.

[60] 'Juan Pablos, primer impresor que á esta tierra vino.' *Dávila Padilla, Hist. Fund. Méx.*, 542. 'El primer Impresor fué Iuan Pablos.' *Gonz. Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 23; *Medina, Chrón. S. Diego*, 233.

[61] The author was Estrada, the son of Gov. Estrada, successor of Cortés, a feature which lends interest to the work.

other a *Manual de Adultos.* Fully ten other books printed before 1550 are known to bibliographers,[62] and there are about 70 more with dates of the 16th century. A few others may have been brought out of convents. They were chiefly religious, partly in native tongues, and vocabularies and grammar of those tongues.[63] Printing was too much restricted to flourish, and only the leading towns had presses. It appears that there were six in Mexico in 1761, while at the beginning of the present century there were only three.

Periodicals were strictly watched, and were comparatively of little historical value.[64] After the country became independent, newspapers began to flourish; and notwithstanding restrictions established at different periods, they have become numerous throughout the republic, especially at the national and state capitals, many of them being conducted with marked ability. Not a few are noted for scurrility, fiery tone, or bombast. There are many political papers, and not a few of literary or scientific periodicals.

Collections of books were not numerous, during the Spanish rule, outside of the convents, where more or less extensive libraries were formed, almost wholly theologic. However, the few colleges accumulated large lots.[65] Foreign books were strictly excluded, and churchmen discountenanced light Spanish literature. The standard authors of Spain formed the

[62] My Library contains a remarkably well-preserved copy of *Doctrina Cristiana* of the imprint of 1546.

[63] The type is Gothic, Italic, and Roman, with frequent abbreviations and rare wood-cuts.

[64] The first regular periodical was the *Mercurio Volante* of Sigüenza, begun at Mexico in 1693. The *Gaceta de Mexico* appeared in 1722; for some reason it was stopped the same year, but it resumed in 1728. It continued till 1739, when the *Mercurio* succeeded for three years; then came a long interruption until 1784, when the *Gaceta de México* reappeared permanently, in semi-monthly, weekly, and semi-weekly numbers, the last in 1805. A few others were issued early this century in Vera Cruz and elsewhere. The *Observador Americano* was printed at Sultepec in 1810 with wooden types.

[65] The San Juan de Letran, Jesuit institute, and the university. The former Jesuit college had 4,300 in 1797, and the Letran had grown in modern times to more than 12,000.

gem, the nucleus of the sets, but the number of local writers was large.[66]

At the close of the last century an impulse was given to literature, which in the present one manifested itself, among other forms, in the accumulation of books, and later in the issue of periodicals. Unfortunately, the revolution and subsequent disorder checked the one, and gave an irregular and less desirable direction to the other. Archives were destroyed, and most valuable libraries, such as those of Andrade and Ramirez, were lost to the country, being exported and sold in Europe. The extinction of the religious orders involved the disappearance of books and manuscripts which their convents contained. A few zealous persons in some of the states saved a remnant as a nucleus for public collections, but the general government took no effective steps to establish a national library until 1857.[67] The largest collections in the country, those of the university, cathedral, former Jesuit college, and others, were included, so that over 100,000 volumes were collected within a few years. A number of private collections have also been formed.[68] Men of letters have organized literary societies for the accumulation of books, the fostering of taste, and the publication of meritorious efforts.[69] These societies have also assisted to spread French ideas and methods. Mexico surpasses the mother

[66] Particularly the Franciscans, who inflicted upon mankind their verbose and monotonous narratives up to 1800. There were more than 400 of them, and very few could by any stretch of conscience be called learned. A notable exception was Torquemada, who though a bigot managed to manipulate some knowledge.

[67] *Mex. Archivo, Col. Ley.*, vi. 709–10, refers to appointments of officers in 1861, and the grant of aid.

[68] Such as J. G. Icazbalceta's, including many early and rare Mexican books; others exhibit a wide range of subjects.

[69] The first was the *Instituto de Ciencias, Literatura y Artes*, opened in 1826, but did not long survive. An informal *Arcadia* had existed before the revolution. The next was the Academia de San Juan de Letran, which also sank to rise again in 1850 as the Liceo Hidalgo. Several others with less ambitious aims and less known members appeared in other state centres. None, however, have shown the vigor of the Instituto Nacional de Geografía, which, since its creation in 1833 has done great service in collecting historic, descriptive, and statistical data. *Album Mex.*, ii. 62; *La Cruz*, iii. 469; *Méx., Col. Ley.*, 1848, 270–1, and many others.

country in the liberal reception of foreign ideas. Indeed, she has remained a mere copyist, it is presumed because her best men devote their attention mostly to politics.

The creoles are precocious and impulsive, but unsustained and not persevering. Indolence of spirit, added to the non-reflective bent of the Castilian, imparted a shallowness to their efforts. It must be acknowledged, nevertheless, that the catalogue of prominent writers presents many Mexicans of the European race who obtained transoceanic fame. The Indian element furnished from early days a long list of writers who redeemed their race from the unjust obloquy cast upon it by a short-sighted and brutal policy; and while the Indian mind in those early times was almost wholly imitative, lacking in breadth and subtlety, and strikingly devoid of imagination and invention, yet its aptitude for mastering mechanical details tended to hide many imperfections. In an early volume, I have given the state of advancement in literature and the fine arts of the Aztecs before the Spanish conquest.[70] With the advent of the Spaniard, a more perfect language came to the aid of native thought. At first it could not throw off the shackles of the former language; the Indians' Spanish poetry, for instance, indicating crudeness and mediocrity; yet these defects may have resulted from submissiveness and bigotry.[71] Among the more prominent writers, deserve special mention three bearing the princely name of Ixtlilxochitl—Fernando Pimentel, his son Antonio, and Fernando de Alva, who recorded the glories of their ancestors.[72] The last named, notwithstanding his faults of construction, won the name of the Cicero of Anáhuac. Juan de Tovar, to whom

[70] *Native Races*, ii. 486–98, this series.

[71] Most of the contributions by aboriginal writers were translations into native tongues of religious discourses, grammars, vocabularies, ancient history, and rites.

[72] Alva stands high among the earlier Indian historians for style and copiousness, as shown in his *Historia Chichimeca*, and his *Relaciones*.

was applied the same cognomen for his proficiency in Aztec, like his father Antonio, and Tezozomoc, liberally contributed to the history of different sections of the valley of Mexico. The brave Tlascaltecs found less finished recorders of their annals in Tadeo Niza, Camargo, Zapata y Mendoza, Pomar, Agüero, and the brothers Ortega.[73] There is noticeable in their productions a lack of embellishment, implying poverty of language. Indian characteristics often crop out. Religious influences have impressed upon the mind its littleness in self-abasement. In the course of years, the defects of language have disappeared, the educated Indian of Mexico using the Spanish language with the same perfection as his fellow-citizen of pure European descent. Peculiarities of character possibly remain, but must have been greatly modified by changes in social and political condition.

The most conspicuous white writers on history of the 16th and 17th centuries, aside from Cortés, Bernal Diaz, and others among the conquerors, were fathers Mendieta, Torquemada, Vetancur, and Tello, Mota Padilla, and Friar Beaumont.[74] Contemporary with Vetancur were the friars Baltasar Medina and Dávila Padilla, both Mexicans, and ranking as Franciscan and Dominican chroniclers, respectively, both verbose and involved. Their worst features appear in the Jesuit chronicles of the same period by Francisco de Florencia. Prose, except that of Sigüenza and Tello, made little advance in the first two and a half centuries of colonial rule, either in treatment or style. The rarer mestizo element evinced less appreciation for letters, with a marked prevalence among them of aboriginal traits. This is apparent in Duran, *Historia de las Indias*, and Suarez Paralta, *Noticias Históricas*. Toward

[73] For information on those writers, and a host of other literary lights among the Indians, I refer to *Eguiara, Bib. Mex.*, i.; *Beristain, Bib. Hisp. Am.*, i.–iii.: *Boturini, Catálogo*, passim; *Alcedo, Bib. Am.*, MS., i.–iii.; *Granados, Tardes Am.*, 145. Clavigero gives a long list of writers in Indian dialects in his *Storia, Mess.*, iv. 262; *Gallo, Hombres Ilust.*, i.–iv.

[74] Torquemada's *Monarquía Indiana* obtained the distinction of the standard history of New Spain, and for its author the appellation of Livy.

the end of the last century, a more classic and sedate tone appears, notably in the writings of the Jesuits Alegre, Clavigero, and Cavo, and Mariano Veytia.[75]

A few remarks on the historians of the present century will not be out of place here. The revolutionary condition of Mexico prompted the issue of political pamphlets more or less imbued with partisanship, ridicule being a weapon commonly used with telling effect. But higher aims animated other men, resulting in efforts at history writing. Several comparatively less important productions appeared at first,[76] and from time to time more ambitious efforts began to see the public light, the first one worthy of notice being that of Mier y Guerra, which exhibits research and erudition, but is unfortunately marred by lack of discrimination and by strong bias. He was followed by Mora, Zerecero, Zavala, Alaman, Bustamante, Suarez y Navarro, Portilla, Payno, Tornel, Filisola, Iglesias, Cuevas, Arrangoiz, Alvarez, Rivera, Ancona, Martinez, Zamacois, and others.[77] A number of them have given us narratives of events at certain periods, others have attempted a general history, and still others confined themselves to biography. All of them are entitled to more or less credit, and yet leave a vacuum, either for lack of comprehensiveness, arrangement, or impartiality. Every one seems to have been biassed by religious, political, social, or personal considerations. Prescott's work on Aztec culture and the conquest roused many distinguished Mexicans, Ramirez, Icazbalceta, and Larrainzar, and others, to the study of those subjects. Notes, documents, and essays began to appear. Orozco y Berra went fur-

[75] All creoles and the foremost historians of the period. Clavigero eclipsed every previous attempt. Cavo is concise and orderly, though too strictly chronological; Alegre's style is less pure and rounded, yet not redundant. His pages show research. Veytia arranged and published the material of Boturini, adding much research of his own.

[76] Those of Cancelada, who was more of a journalist, Aleocer, Villa Urrutia, and others.

[77] Bibliographical notices of most of their works have been given in different volumes of my work, and need not be repeated here.

ther, undertaking a new examination of the whole subject. The result was a work which for comprehensiveness and value in this respect surpasses any other native effort.[78]

The circulation of prose fiction was strictly restricted in colonial times. Mexican novelists, who may be said to have come into existence within the last few decades, find comparatively little encouragement. The most pretentious of these are historic novels, by Juan Mateos and Riva Palacio.[79] Toward the end of the last century figured Gama, Velazquez, Becerra, Alzate, and the earlier Sigüenza, in archæology and aboriginal astronomy.[80] About the same time figured Villarroel, the essayist, and Fausto de Elhuyar, on coinage.

The most noted bibliographers of New Spain have been Eguiara y Eguren, *Biblioteca Mexicana, etc.*, Mexico, 1755, and Beristain, *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana Septentrional*, Mexico, 1816–21. Oratory was cultivated from the earliest colonial days, its chief efforts proceeding from the pulpit. The discourses were usually interspersed with Latin quotations, metaphors, mysticisms, and occasionally with anecdotes—all conveyed in florid redundancy.[81] There were, nevertheless, honorable exceptions of pure and pointed eloquence, such as that of Archbishop Nuñez de Haro, and the Cuban Conde y Oquendo, who distinguished himself both in the forum and temple. The forum was also a proper field for the display of oratory.[82] But after Mexico became a nation, with democratic institutions, the field for oratorical displays was greatly widened, and the number of men who

[78] Unfortunately, the arrangement and treatment of the material shows insufficient attention.

[79] Riva Palacio deals chiefly with the lower classes, and introduces a number of stirring events. Mateos rises to a higher social order, and keeps close to the military leaders; his digressions are not always such as hold the attention strained.

[80] Sigüenza was a historian, philosopher, essayist, and journalist. His writings, though most valuable, were not free from bigotry.

[81] I have in my Library a number of such specimens.

[82] Among the most noted was Francisco Javier Gamboa, a native of Guadalajara.

have won national renown for their eloquence, as well as purity of diction, is quite large.[83]

Spanish poetry is strongly national, despite the successive influence of Italian and French schools. The language is remarkably suitable for versification, notably in forming rhyme, not only consonantal, but alliterative and assonantal. While the ballad has ever retained its hold on popular taste, sonnets were even more frequent in Mexico than in Spain. Epigrammatic verse is common, though inclining to erotic sentiment.

The first attempts at describing the events of the conquest were merely rhyming chronicles.[84] Among descriptive poems must be mentioned *Grandeza de México*, by Bishop Balbuena, who earned bright fame in his *Bernardo* and his pastoral *Siglo del Oro*, both among the finest of their class in the language. Two other subjects engaged the ambitious; namely, the passion of Christ, and the miracle of the virgin of Guadalupe.[85]

Among the authors of shorter poems, odes, sonnets, elegies, satires, and epigrams, deserves special mention Francisco de Terrazas, who figured in 1574, and was honored with praise by Cervantes. Zapata's elegy on the death of the brothers Ávila was noticeable for many sweet lines. Church festivals, public inaugurations, celebrations connected with the royal family or prominent citizens, and reunions, gave occasion for displays on this field.

Before closing my remarks on the poetry of colonial

[83] There is a bulky manuscript in my Library, *Discurso Critico sobre la Oratoria Española y Americana* of the last century, in which the author seeks to analyze the elements of the art and the proficiency exhibited by different nations, notably the Spaniards, on both continents. He is full of learned references, but also of cumbrous quotations, and wanders sadly from his subject, so that but little is gained by the reader.

[84] Such as *El Peregrino Indiano* by Saavedra y Guzman, *Hernandia* by Ruiz de Leon. A cruder effort were the quatrains of the Zapotec Antonio Lopez, which in MS. are on my shelves. In the same style is the *Conquista de Galicia*, by the Dominican Francisco Parra.

[85] *La Primavera Indiana*, by Sigüenza, full of puerilities and extravagance, and others equally foolish. *Poema Sacra de la Pasion*, by Antonio de Oviedo Herrera, is far superior.

days, I must make special mention of the nun Juana Inés de la Cruz. Her name had been Juana Inés Abajé y Ramirez, who obtained a recognition far above any other truly national poet of colonial times. Even contemporaries of the peninsula gave her the appellation of the tenth muse.[86]

Among the few writers for the stage are named Vela, Arriola, Salazar, and Soria; all of whom were eclipsed by Juan Ruiz de Alarcon, a creole of Mexico, though he wrote in Spain.[87]

During colonial times, home productions were not much esteemed, even by those who ranked with the creole party. This was mainly due to the authors' subserviency to Spain. The opening of a wider field toward the end of the last century, with the admission of French, English, and Teutonic literature, could not fail to prove beneficial. The Franciscan Manuel Navarrete shines alone during the opening decade of our century, with such lustre as to win him the cognomen of the American swan. Tenderness and purity breathe in his every line, as well as religion and reflectiveness.

Many other Mexicans deserve a place in the roll of poets. Unfortunately, being cramped for space, I am unable to do justice individually to their merits.[88] Their more ambitious compositions have been as a rule translations from the classics. Yet epics have been attempted, like the Anáhua of Rodriguez y Cos. In

[86] Her compositions were numerous. She is compared to Camvens by Pacheco, and Feijos lauds her for a critical and philosophical mind. She was indeed a prodigy. Her works, however, show that they were produced at a time when Spanish literature had become corrupted. Some of those works, unknown to our bibliographers, are represented on my shelves.

[87] He stands forward as one of the most original and varied writers, though less prolific and imaginative. His diction is more formal and his versification purer than Lope de Vega's. Indeed, he ranks as a classic; but his efforts to improve moral tone in comedy were too strongly drawn for that age, and he failed to attain popularity. Twenty of his comedies were issued in 1628 and 1634, in collected form at Madrid. They by no means include all his compositions, all of which were ascribed to his greater rivals.

[88] As a mark of respect to her sex, I make an exception in favor of Ester Tapia de Castellanos, a poetess of no mean order, far superior to the average of more pretentious and better known singers. Her *Flores Silvestres* appeared in 1871.

dramatic poetry, three names appear most prominent; namely, Manuel Eduardo de Gorostiza, ranking with the foremost of his time, Fernando de Calderon, and Ignacio Rodriguez Galvan, who produced the first national historic drama.

The strength of Mexican poets lies above all in amatory poems, to which should be added a tendency toward elegiac strains, which was so marked among the aboriginal ancestry. It is not deep, for the Mexican is after all a sprightly individual, inclined to frivolity, and little intent on the cares of to-morrow. He is fond of the Castilian proverb and epigram, united to the native bent for satire. He affects a suggestive humor of a picaresque order, which to a foreigner smacks of puerility. It is innocent, however, for it attacks classes and traits rather than individuals. The ode is with him a favorite form of verse, but his efforts generally fail of their aim; the will is there, but not the power. Exceptions only sustain the rule. Patriotic lines are usually pitched too high. In philosophic themes, the shallow treatment is either broken in upon by rash utterance, or left unfinished. Incompleteness marks the portrayal of character or individuals, and the description of scenery. The old national redondilla and the ottava rima measures may be regarded as the favorite, notably the latter. The leaning toward *versos de arte mayor*, or longer lines, is greatly due to affectation. With all the study of models, the laws of prosody and euphony are so frequently invaded as to confirm the opinion regarding the impetuous temperament of the creoles, impatient under sustained regulations. However, the wide and choice range of words, strikingly manifested in comparing the vocabulary of the lower classes with that of corresponding Anglo-Saxon ranks, and this facility combined with easy rhythmic flow and natural vivacity, impart an undeniable attraction.[89]

[89] For important information on Mexican literature, the reader is referred to *Pimentel, Hist. Crit. Literatura*, passim; *Sosa, Biog. Mex., Disting.*, passim; *Riva Palacio, Méx. á través de los Siglos*, 1–38; *Mex. Financier*, April 5, 1884.

The problem of interoceanic communication has been one of grave importance also to Mexico since the

Appended are bibliographical notices of important works that contribute a wide range of information on the history of Mexico, followed by a list of the principal authorities consulted in writing the final chapters of this volume.

Boletin del Instituto Nacional de Geografía y Estadística de la República Mexicana. Mexico, 1852–73. The society which has issued this valuable series was founded in 1833. Each member, directly or indirectly, contributed articles which, during the earlier years, were confined to the limits of the first design. At a later date the discussions and contributions were extended to outside countries and continents. Among the contributors are many of the most prominent and learned men in Mexico, including not a few foreigners. Articles written by non-members also appear, and a good deal of borrowed but useful matter is reprinted in these volumes. The publications of this institution are divided into three epochs, corresponding with the vicissitudes of its existence, the society, owing to political turmoils, having been compelled at periods temporarily to discontinue its labors. The first period is represented by 11 folio vols., the last of which was published in 1865. The publications of the 2d epoch were issued during the years 1869–72, in four volumes. Those of the 3d epoch commence in 1873. The society has received considerable aid from the Mexican government, which took great interest in its reorganization after a temporary collapse. The volumes were issued during the period 1852 to 1873, but the events described and the statistical reports are of different dates from the time of the conquest. The geographical, scientific, and statistical information is as fully detailed as the disturbed condition of the republic would allow. Much information, as regards the aboriginal races and their languages, is supplied. The flora and fauna of the country, and its mineral productions, are well described. Remarkable epidemics and destructive natural phenomena are mentioned; while endemic diseases, devastations by locusts, etc., are the subjects of able essays; as also those vegetable productions which contribute particularly to Mexico's prosperity. The church and leaders of the secular clergy are ever supported from the earliest times, though the inefficiency of the priesthood in certain districts is not denied. Strong comparisons are drawn between the wealth of the church during the colonial period and that subsequent to independence. The expulsion of the Jesuits and other religious societies is much regretted. Biographical sketches of eminent men are interspersed throughout these volumes. The establishment of telegraphic communication is described, and long treatises on surveys and meteorological observations appear here and there in almost every book. Reliable information with regard to the efforts made from early times to drain the valley of Mexico will also be found, with excellent illustrative plans. Political disturbances are rather alluded to than described, no policy appearing to be distinctly upheld except that of independence. The contributors supply a not indistinct picture of Mexico, past and present; they describe the different castes and their relations to each other, as well as the social life, manners, customs, and character of each; nor do they conceal their own appreciation of Mexico's position in the scale of civilization.

Diccionario Universal de Historia y de Geografía, Mexico, 1853–55. Tol. Vols. i.–x., vols. viii.–x. being an appendix, also numbered i.–iii. The original work, published in Spain, was, after revision and enlargement, republished in Mexico in its present form. The additions consist of sketches of history, and articles on geography, statistics, and biography, relating to the New World, but more especially to Mexico. The first 7 vols. may be classified as an encyclopædia; the last three relate wholly to Mexico. That portion relating to Mexico consists of articles—for the most part brief—upon detached events, conservative views predominating on political and religious topics. Considerable space is given to the conquest and the colonial period, while the war of independence, and that with the U. S., receive most atten-

days of Cortés, as attested by the surveys made at different periods of the isthmus of Tehuantepec. The

tion. Much space is devoted to church history, numerous concise accounts being supplied of the orders, of spiritual conquests and establishments, and of prominent men. Data on industrial matters are comparatively meagre, and relate to a limited number of states; the information on these subjects is mostly derived from government reports. Commerce and mining are subjects of special articles. Statistics on population are scattered and incomplete. Some information on physical and political geography is supplied in brief, detached accounts. Much attention is given to biography, the conquistadores, viceroys, prominent churchmen, political, military, literary, and scientific men being well represented in numerous articles. Bibliographical mention is rare, and only incidental mention is made of literature and the fine arts. A special article is devoted to a brief review of early histories. Notable instances of natural phenomena, epidemics, and inundations are separately described. Among the authorities used are Mellado's *Diccionario*, Beristain's *Biblioteca*, Alcedo's *Diccionario*, Cavo's *Tres Siglos*, Alaman's *Disertaciones Historicas*, Zavala's *Rev. Mex.*, and *Apuntes para la Hist. de la Guerra con los Estados Unidos*. Numerous and extended articles on antiquities are for the most part extracts from Stephens. The original work was published by a society of distinguished literary men. The Mexican edition was brought before the public by a corps of prominent Mexican writers, their contributions to the appendix being collected and arranged by Manuel Orozco y Berra.

Papeles Varios, comprising 230 volumes of miscellaneous matter. This is one of the most important collections in my Library, as it affords information on every possible subject within the limit of an historical work. It is composed of numerous sets of smaller collections made by prominent Mexicans, and consists of over 3,000 different publications which have been bound together in volumes containing respectively from two or three to over one hundred, according to their size. These publications—mostly pamphlets—are the productions of a great variety of authors. Dignitaries of the church and government ministers, learned doctors and lawyers, generals and officers of the army, and men of letters, all of note and prominent in their respective professions, have contributed to their existence. Among the *Papeles Varios*, however, are found works of 200 or 300 pages; manifestoes and proclamations of a single sheet; anonymous squibs and lampoons; odd numbers of different periodicals, poems, odes, and sonnets, plays and comedies. That portion—only a small one—of the collection which belongs to the 17th and 18th centuries pertains chiefly to church matters, and consists of sermons, pastorals, ecclesiastical edicts, etc. By far the greater number of these volumes are made up of pamphlets bearing dates of the 19th century, and are principally of a political and historical character. They contain productions of many important authorities on all the great events that occurred in Mexico during three quarters of a century. The war of independence, the Texan question and struggle with the U. S., the French intervention and 2d empire, with intervening revolutions and changes of government, are represented by a great number of these pamphlets. But far more numerous are those bearing upon political matters, and which embrace all the details of government, from the formation of the constitution to the question of adopting the system of double entry in the government account-books. Controversies, moreover, carried on between opposing politicians, and between military or civil rivals, give the historian a deep insight into Mexico politics and intrigues on the one hand, and by representing both sides of the questions at issue, afford him, on the other, an opportunity of being impartial in his decisions. Much information, also, can be gleaned with regard to military organization and regulations, the national debt, internal loans, and the government's proceedings relative to the church and its property. Apart from all these subjects, there are numerous papers on agricultural, mining, manufacturing, and other industries, and

projects to facilitate the transit have latterly expanded into Captain Ead's ship-railway, and the attention on railroads and internal improvements. A few pamphlets in the French and English languages are to be found in this collection, which is being yearly increased.

William Maclure, Opinions on Various Subjects, Dedicated to the Industrious Producers. New Harmony, Indiana. Printed at the School Press, 1831 and 1857, 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 483 and 556. The author states that six of the essays contained in his 1st volume were written at Paris, in 1819, at the request of the editor of the *Revue Encyclopedique*, for publication, but were excluded by the censors of the press as too democratic. They were afterward translated into Spanish, and published in Madrid, and subsequently in the *New Harmony Gazette*, under the dates annexed to them in his book-form edition, the first of which is dated Feb. 22, 1826. The remaining essays were published in the *Disseminator of Useful Knowledge*, and the *Disseminator*, periodicals also issued at New Harmony. Those of which his 2d volume is comprised appeared at irregular intervals in the last-named publication, and were presented to the public in book form in 1837.

Maclure's work is devoted to philosophical observations on education, politics, morals, and religion, and to an analysis of the conduct of church and state in his own and past times. It was while independence was yet young in Mexico, and many questions of vital interest to civilization which have since been settled were but ill understood, that this man wrote; yet there is much in his words worthy of our attention. The author begins by discussing the opposition of interests between producers and non-producers. His principles of political economy would hardly be accepted at the present day, deriving, as they do, the strength and power of the commonwealth from the governors rather than from the people; nevertheless, as regarding the effects of climate on politics, and other great questions affecting society, he was as able and original as Buckle; and had his position in the world been as prominent, and the opportunities for making known his thoughts as good, he would have divided with the English philosopher his fame. The British and French governments, their colonies, and the like, he calls a government of checks, wherein bribery and corruption are essential to balance. In the government of Sweden, the peasants, the clergy, the burgesses, and the nobles each have independent representation, and beggary and robbery there is unknown. Despotism may be easier fed in warm climates than in cold; intellectual progress makes its most rapid strides between extremes. This author was evidently somewhat of a traveller for that day, for he speaks of the several quarters of the globe as an eye-witness; and he must have been endowed with liberal ideas withal, denouncing the impositions and hypocrisies of the clergy, prophesying that 'the riches collected by the religious industry of ages may perhaps help to pay for the expenses of obtaining freedom, and make atonement at its dissolution for the misery, blood, cruelty, and oppression exercised in wresting it from those that produced it.' And again, 'even the property hoarded by the church may become the means of spreading moral and physical perfection, and aid in the general amelioration of society.' What his ideas of moral perfection may be, I leave the reader to infer from the following remark made in speaking of the openness, the artless freedom, and absence of embarrassment with which the lower class, men and maids and matrons alike, performed those necessities of their nature which the higher culture has stamped as private. 'False delicacy and moral hypocrisy,' he calls the sentiment of shame that leads people to hide under clothes and between walls certain parts of their person, and those acts of nature's requirements and human existence, of which all are fully aware. 'All of these evils would be cured by an accurate knowledge of reality, and permitting the gratification of the physical appetites, without attaching either a religious sin or civil crime to acts on which depends the existence of

roused by this daring scheme has revived also the interest in the long-agitated canal. It will not, there-

everything.' And so the man goes on with endless repetitions, and much good sense, often assuming a prophetic strain, wherein so much was said that some of it could not help but come to pass. He favors an equal distribution of the two great powers that move societies; namely, knowledge and wealth. Spain has ever been a horrid grind. If the Indians of Mexico were educated, they would be equal to the emergency of republicanism; the rules have ever been the enemies of the people. His essays on Mexico close with the year 1830.

Miguel Lerdo de Tejada, Comercio Esterior de Mexico desde la Conquista hasta hoy, Mexico, 1853, 4to, pp. 63, ll. 123, is a useful book, containing a statistical and historical account of the foreign commerce of Mexico. The historical portion of it begins with the barter of glass beads and cheap European articles for gold and golden ware, carried on with the Indians by the first Spanish visitors to the country. The gradual development and expansion of commerce is then traced out down to the year 1853, with all details connected therewith. The establishment, existence, and end of the Spanish convoy fleets, the imposition of duties from time to time, with a clear explanation of their designations and object, changes in regulations with regard to them made at different epochs, the values and specifications of exports and imports, and shipping, are the subjects which the author gives a good account of without being elaborate. Whenever he could obtain copies of official statistical documents, he appears to have done so, and as a supplement to his work produces no less than 55 such papers, which occupy by far the larger portion of his book.

Los Pueblos del Estado de Nayarit, á la raza indígena. . .San Luis de Lozada, 1870, 4to, pp. 24, is a small cuarto, being an appeal by the conservative party to the native races for the purpose of inciting them to overthrow the liberals. All the disasters that had come upon Mexico from the fall of Iturbide are attributed to this latter party's action. The liberals are charged with having bankrupted the country, sold territory, extorted forced loans, usurped church property, confiscated private property to the amount of $500,000,000, and exhibited every feature of maleadministration. This address is signed by a number of citizens of the different pueblos of Jalisco.

Vicente E. Manero, Documentos Interesantes sobre Colonizacion, Mexico, 1878, 8vo, pp. 120, portraits and maps, is a collection of documents bearing upon the colonization question, gathered and arranged in chronological order by the publisher, who states in his preface that many people are unaware of the different opinions expressed by enlightened men on this subject for want of such a collection. These documents supply a complete history of colonization in Mexico. The first bears the date of Dec. 31, 1771, and is an extract from the general report of the Marqués de la Sonora, Galvez, to Viceroy Bucarely. The dates of the succeeding ones are in consecutive order down to 1878.

Besides numerous government and official documents, of which mention has been already made in previous lists, reference is given to the following authorities for information on the institutional subjects of the four preceding chapters: the collections of Arrillaga, and Dublan and Lozano; *Fernando VII., Decretos; Id., Doc.; Niles' Reg.*, i., 1811, and succeeding volumes, with reference to the indices for Mexican matters; *Id., S. Am. and Mex.*, i. passim; *Córtes, Diar.; Id., Act. Pub.*, i.–ii.; *Id., Col. Dec.*, i.–ii.; *Nouv. Annales Voy.*, from 1819 to 1860; *Busto, Estad. Rep. Mex.*, i.–ii.; *Disposic. Varias*, ii.–vi.; *Bustamante, Ensayo*, 99–100, 118–47, 184–6; *Farías, Opisc. Aduan. Inter.*, S. L. Potosí, 1875, pp. 44; *Mühlenpfordt, Méj.*, i. passim; *Lerdo de Tejada, Apunt. Hist.*, no. v. 311–74; *Id., Comer. Ester.*, Mex., 1853, pp. 63, ll 122, 1 sh.; *Lempriere's Notes in Mex.*, 2–276, passim; *Bustamante, Gab. Mex.*, i. –iv., MS.; *Id., Voz de la Patria*, i.–xiii., MS.; *Id., Diario Mex.*, MS.; *Id.. Hist. Sta Anna*, passim; *Id., Medidas Pacíf.*, i.–ii., MS.; *Id., Mem. Hist. Méx.*, i.–

fore, be out of place to append the following extract from E. A. Fuertes' official report of the survey under-

vii., MS.; *Id., Cuad. Hist.*, iv. 522–5; viii. 191–201, 250; *Id., Hist. Iturbide*, 172, 179, 246; *Id., Camp. Calleja*, 129–32, 195–6; *Perez, Dic. Geog. y Estad.; Pinela, Descrip. Geog.*, 111–26; *Perez, J. S., Alm. Estad.*, 26 et seq.; *Mayer's Mex. Azt.*, i.–ii., passim; *Mex., Notic. Ciud. Mex.*, 133–4, 328–57; *Fossey's Mex.*, passim; *Manero, Doc. Interes.*, 22–7, 41–63, 76–111; *London Geog. Soc., Jour.*, xv. 249–56; xxx. 46–53; xxxii. 549–52; *Lefévre, Doc. Max.*, i. 19–30, 58–68; ii. 74–90, 143–222, 332–5; *Los Mexicanos*, 35–45; *Liceaga, Adic. y Rect.*, 532–6, 614; *Ober's Travels in Mex.*, passim; *Querétaro, Notic. Est.*, 5–20, 33–9, 86–8; *Ortiz, Mex. Indep. Lib.*, 50–97, 316–420, 596–7; *Ortiz de Ayala, Resúm. Est.*, 53–93; *Buenrostro, Hist. Segun. Cong.*, i.–ii., passim; *Butterfield's U. S. and Mex.*, passim; *Iglesias, Intervencion*, i. 109–11, 147–56; ii. 342–8, 376–90, 414–42; iii. 364–8; *Suarez y Navarro, Hist. Mej.*, 137–40, 281, 320–1; *Jal., Presupuesto*, 1884–5, pp. 20; *Id., Cuad. Gen. Estad.*, 1881, pp. 34, and 21 docs.; *Jülfs, Die Seehäfen*, 59–136; *Jordan's Dangers to Foreigners in Mex.*, 3–52; *Jáuregui, J. M. de, Discurso*, Mex., 1820, 3 ll, 89 pp., in *Pap. Var.*, 66, no. 77; *Knox's Underground World*, 86–91, 236–47; *Kennedy's Tex.*, ii. 373–82, 469–87; *Brocklehurst's Mex.*, passim; *Barbachano, Mejoras*, i., passim; *Bancroft's Obs.*, MS., 6–11, 44–62, 114–16, 192–8; *Willie, Not. Hac. Pub.*, 24–75; *Welda, Col. Nac. y Estran. en Mex.*, Morelia, 1865, pp. 107; *Ward's Mex.*, ii., passim; *Wapp's Mex. and C. Amer.*, 44–139; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, i.–v.; *Id., Gob.*, ii., passim; *Rockwell's Span. and Mex. Laws; Burkart's Mex.*, i. 220–41, 263, 385–8; ii. 204, 225–73; *Whitney's Metallic Wealth*, 175–80; *Beaufoy's Mex. Illust.*, 68–9, 113–21, 170–5, 265–74; *Ratzel, Aus Méx.*, 1–42, 170, 206–25, 358–88; *Becker's Mex.*, 92–9, 217–69; *Rul. Consult. Diput.*, 22–102; *Sartorius, Mex.*, 118–202; *Thompson's Recol. Mex.*, passim; *Hunt's Merchants' Mag.*, i., and succeeding volumes, with reference to the indices for Mexican matters; *Hernandez, Estad. Méj.*, passim; *Riva Palacio, Mem. Legis. de Mex.; Ramirez, Riqueza Minera*, Mex., 1884, pp. 768; *Gran. Alm. Mex.*, 1866–7; *Beulluch, Le Mex.*, i.–ii.; *Siliceo, Mem. Fom. Col. Ind.*, with reference to the index; *S. Am. and Mex.*, i. 107–15, 132–6, 204; *Mex. Pamph.*, ii. 4–8, 12; *Id., Polémica entre el Diario Oficial y la Colonia Española*, Mex., 1875, i.–ii., pp. 415 and 674; *Barnado, Hist. Tehuant.; Bonnycastle's Span. Am.*, 38–55; *Reales Céd.*, MS., ii., f. 114–16, 119–20; *Rocafuerte, Ensayo sobre Cárcel*, Mex., 1830, pp. 37; *Banco de Méx., Dec. de Creac.*, Mex., 1857, pp. 22; *Banco Hipot. Méx.*, 1882, pp. 64; *Banco Nac. Mex.*, 1881, pp. 33; *Mex., Not. Export.*, 1880–3; *García Cubas, Rep. Mex.*, 9–32; *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, ii., iii., iv., passim; *Alaman, Méji.*, i.–v., passim; *Castro's Repub.*, 23–9, 156–98, 203–50; *Farnham's Mex.*, 13–69; *Fonseca y Urrutia, Real Hac.*, iv. 125; v. 351–402; *Chavez, Col. Proced. Penal*, 3–140; *Chih., Cód. Pen.*, 71–255; *Castillo, Mem. Min. Azogue*, 1–51; *Abispa de Chil.*, passim; *Almaraz, Comis., Cient. Pachuca*, passim; *Mex., Balanza Merc.*, 1845; *Maillefert, Direct.*, 70–149; *Adorno Anal. Males de Mex.*, 40–126; *Anderson's Mex. St P.*, 29–117; *Romero, Mich.*, 152 et seq.; *Rosa, Ensayo*, 18–45; *Revilla Gigedo*, MS., i. 181–97; *Findlay's Directory*, i. 262–74, 283; *García y Eguía, Nueva Teórica y Práctica del Beneficio de los Metales*, etc., Mex., 1802, pp. 168; *Gutierrez, Apunt. Estad. Min. Quer.*, Mex., 1875, pp. 119; *Boguslawski, Deutche Col.*, passim; *Gregory's Hist. Mex.*, passim; *Otero, Obras*, MS., i. 111–26, 242–50; *Rivero, Mex. en 1842; Otero, Ensayo*, 36–136, in *Mex. Pamph.*, ii., no. 1; *Edward's Hist. Tex.*, 133–60, 322–36; *Vallejo, Col. Doc. Mex.*, MS., i., passim; *Variedades de Jurisp.*, i.–viii., passim; *Diaz, Informe*, 11–52; *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, passim; *Registro, Trimestre*, i. 51–106, 153–94, 231–64, 307 et seq., 497–512; ii. 2–30; *Dahlgren's Hist. Mines*, passim; *Manero, Not. Hist. Com. Mex.*, Mex., 1879, pp. 59; *Id., Apunt. Hist. Ferroc.*, Mex., 1872, pp. 24; *Calderon's Life in Mex.*, passim; *Duport, Mélaux précieuxan Mex.*, passim; *Id., Laws and Courts*, MS.; *S. Miguel, Segunda Guia; Sosa, Biog. Mex. Dist.*, passim; *D'Orbigny, Voyage*, 429–60; *Escalera y Llana, Mex. Hist. Descrip.*, 29–281; *Espos. Gen. de Indust.*, Mex., 1856, pp. 56; *The Mining Mag.*, i.–ix.;

taken a few years ago under auspices of the United States government:

Mex., Expos. . . sobre la Condic., passim; *Lares, Lecciones de Derecho Admin.*, Mex., 1852, pp. 407; *Perez y Comoto, Represent.*, 1–82; *Payno, Cuentas, Gastos*, etc., passim; *Macgregor's Commer. Stat.*, iii. 1167–81; *Proyecto del primer Camino de Hierro*, etc., Mex., 1837, pp. 112; *Phillip's Min. and Met.*, 77, 266–87; *Tovar, Hist. Parl.*, i.–iv.; *Tylor's Anahuac*, passim; *Tarayre, Explor. Min.*, passim; *Thrall's Texas; Trujillo, Proyecto Prod. y Recur.*, Mex., 1865, pp. 72; *Skilton's Min. Dist. Hidalyo*, Boston, 1882, pp. 63; *Septien y Villaseñor, Mem. Estad.*, passim; *Sanchez' MS.*, 1–5; *Maclure's Opinions*, i., passim; *Mata, Anuario Univ.*, 1881, pp. 688; *Azpiroz, Cod. Extran.*, passim; *Alvarez, Itin. y derrot., Mex.*, 1856, pp. 480; *Azanza, Instruc.*, MS., 64–7: *Azcárate, Not. Estad.*, pp. 46; *Arévalo, Compend.*, 5–295; *Cancelada, Ruina de la N. Esp.*, 21–47; *Comonfort, Manif. del Gob.*, 160–7, 184–203; *U. S. Bureau of Statistics, Commerce and Navig. Repts, Com. Relations*, and numerous other official documents issued by the U. S. government during this century, to the indices of which the reader is referred; *Mayer's Mex. as It Was and Is*, 174–91, 268–83, 305–37; *Hamilton's Mex. Laws; Id., Mex. Handbook; Hernandez y Dávalos, Direct. Correos*, 1876, pp. 621; *Hall's Laws of Mex.*, S. F., 1885, pp. 840; *Humboldt's Essai Pol.; Hinchman's Mex. R. R.*, MS., 1883; *Heller, Reisen in Mex.; Zamacois, Hist. Mex.; Zarco, Hist. Congreso*, i.–ii., passim; *Zavala, Rev. Mex.*, ii. passim; *Zamora, Bibliot. Legisl.*, i. 25–38, 142–3, 352–71. In addition to the above authorities, a vast number of documents, newspapers, magazines, reviews, periodicals, and journals, both Mexican and foreign, that have been consulted, besides a large collection of clippings from papers and publications entitled *Mexican Scraps*, and containing much valuable information on Mexican matters.

For further reference I note: *Beltrami, Mex.*, i. 111–29; *Vallejo, Col. Doc.*, i., no. 41; xxix., no. 185; *Valois, Mexique*, 82–90; *Alaman, Méj.*, i., app. 33; ii. 437–8; v. 462–5, 491, 506–7, 610, 767, 811, 916–23; *Id., Apunt. Biog.*, 11–39; *Id., Vida Naj. Crisos.*, 5–9, 23–39; *Ward's Mex.*, i. 26–39, 145–61; ii., passim; *Arrangoiz, Méj.*, ii. 320–3; iii. 250, 336–56; iv. 29–31, 85–8, 143–4, 172; *Thompson's Recol. Mex.*, passim; *Bancroft's Obs.*, MS., 18–19, 53–63, 104–11; *Disposic. Varias*, ii., f. 28, 55, 58–61, 66, 67, 72; iii., f. 53, 54, 123; v., f. 13, 58; *Dublan* and *Lozano, Leg. Mex.*, i. 5, 18–19, 331–340, 425, 619; iv., 449–60; vi. 508–14; ix. 91, 203–4; *Carpenter's Travels in Mex.*, 234–69; *Chassin, El Pinto, Su Orig.*, etc., Mex., 1868, pp. 37; *Armin, Hentige Mex.*, 225–57, 371–96, 412–13; *Diaz Misc.*, nos. 17, 52, 56; *Dunbar's Mex. Papers*, 105–8, 116–18, 131–44; *Mex., Cod. Reform.*, 182–95, 323–4, 395–7; *Id., Mem. Sec. Estad.*, 1879–80, 57–8, with docs. 109–10; *Id., Mem. Ofic. Mayor Gob.*, 1874, 89–126, with docs. 46–63; *Id., Recop. Leyes*, etc., xi. 526–30; *Derecho Intern. Mex.*, 3d pt, 354–421; *Mex., Col. Dec. sob. Cong.*, 166–9; *Guia de Hac. Rep. Mex.*, iii. 186; *Archivo Mex., Col. Ley.*, ii. 373 et seq.; iii. 616–17; vi. 294–5; *Mex., Decretos Min.*, 1845, no. 6; *Id., Bol. Ley.*, 1863, 282–3; 1864, 60; *Id., Ley Orgán. Istruc. Pub.*, 1–16; *Pinart, Col.; Id., Mem. Ayunt. Constit.*, 1879, 171–202, 225–54; *Edwards' Hist. Tex.*, 139, 115–60; *Elton, With the French*, 11–46, 55–66; *Enseñ. Polic. Méd.*, Mex., 1842, pp. 24, in *Pap. Var.*, 224, No. 5; *Espinosa, Pastorales*, nos. 1–7; *Fossey's Mex.*, 221–45, 338–9, 384–5; *Fernando VII., Decretos*, 51, 63–4, 74–5, 224, 228–9; *Id., Doc.*, 293–9; *Vigil, Ensayo Hist.*, 7–10; *Valle, Viajero en Méx.*, 143–598; *Farnham's Mex.*, 73–80; *Hassel, Mex. Gu it.*, 144–290, passim; *Heller, Reisen in Mex.*, 68–71, 167–70; *Hernandez, Est id. Mej.*, 63–90, 205–6, 246–7; *Hamilton's Mex. Laws*, 1–20, 157–76; *Hall's Mex. Law*, 191–202, 348–50, 420–32; *Rivero, Mex. en 1842*, passim; *Ratzel, Aus Méx.*, passim; *Richthofen, Rep. Mex.*, 17–19, 161–6, 216–17; *Rosa, Juicio Impar.*, in *Lap. Var.*, no. 5; *Löwenstern, Mex.*, passim; *Cincinnatus' Travels*, 52–3, 72–86; *Cancelada, Ruina de la N. Esp.*, 10–11, 62–4; *Lefévre, Doc. Maxim.*, 4–5, 333; *Calderon's Life in Mex.*, i., ii., passim; *Niles' Reg.*, from vol. i. et seq., with reference to the indices; *Gallardo, Cuadro Estad.; Garcia Cubas, Rep.*

The 10th of October, 1870, the Tehuantepec and Nicaragua Surveying Expedition sailed from the city of Washington, bound for Mexico, its object

Mex.; Id., Escrit. Divers., 1–72; *Gregory's Hist. Mex.*, passim; *Groso MS.*, 1–32; *Sartorius, Import. Mex.*, 1–154; *Payno, Cuent. Gast.*, 719–21, 916–21; *Wapp's Mex. and C. Am.*, 1–170, passim; *Shepard's Land of the Azt.; Siliceo, Mem. Fom. Col. Ind.*, 86–98, with L, vi. 1–30; L, ix. 3–31; *La Sombra de Moctheuzoma*, nos. 2–6, and 8; *Stephens' Yuc.; Busto, Estad. Rep. Mex.*, i. pp. xii.–xix., xxxvii.–xl., lxxix.–lxxxi.; *Becher, Mex.*, passim; *Beaufoy's Mex. Illustrat.; Brocklehurst's Mex.; La Cruz*, i. 56–62, 108, 417–22, 477–9; *Semanario Polít.*, ii. 49–56, 293–304; *Sosa, Biog. Mex.*, passim; *Tovar, Hist. Parl.*, i. passim; *Tylor's Anahuac; Trigueros, Mem. Ramos Munic.; Guanaj., Mem. Gob.*, 1871; *Nuevo Viaj. Univ.*, iii. 208–11, 214–36; *Noriega, Estadíst. Depart. Mex.*, passim, in *Mex., Anales Min. Fom. Ind. Agric.*, tom. i.; *Wilson's Mex. and its Relig.*, 88–93, 280–91, 308–47; *Id., Mex. and Peasants*, passim; *Lerdo de Tejada, Apunt. Hist.*, no. v., 309–13; *Loreto, Mission Records*, MS.; *Poinsett's Notes on Mex.*, i., passim; *Pensador Mex.*, sup.; *Clark's Mex. and U. S.*, MS., 14–37; *Perry's Travels*, 12–69; *Norman's Rambles*, 13–178, 199–215; *Correo, Semanario*, i. 1–16, 123, 131–41, 175–6, 379–80; *Geiger's Peep at Mex.; N. Am. Review*, xiv. 427–9; xxxii. 337–40; *Tempskey's Journey*, 10–12, 42–3, 165–70, 200–3, 235–6; *Taylor, Bayard, El Dorado*, ii. 144–57; *Putman's Mag.*, iv. 310–19; *Robinson's Mex. Rev.*, ii. 136–54; *Reid's Scout Exped.*, 21–123, passim; *Linati, Costumes Civ.*, 1–48; *Price, Trip*, 22–43; *Mason's Pict. Life in Mex.; Pimentel, Econ. Pol.*, 47–109, 172–99; *Mayer's Mex.*, passim; *Molinero del Cerro, Cartas*, Mex., 1868, pp. 403; *Mexicanische Zustände aus den Jahren*, 1830–2, i., passim; *Burkart, Mex.*, i. 49–61, 152–76, 254–77; *Mex., Typen und Skisson*, 77–139, 157–214; *Boyuslawski, Deutsche Col.*, 21–37; *Haven's Our Next Door Neighbor*, 25–35, 55–85, 287–417; *Hardy's Travels in Mex.*, 1–82, 320–540; *Baz, Ley de 12 Jul. 1859; Barnard's Isth. Tehuan.*, 217–28; *Bullock's Six Months in Mex.*, i., passim; *Huasteca, Not. Estad.*, 32–62; *Cabrera, Huasteca*, 86–119; *Peza, Benef. en Mex.*, Mex., 1881, pp. 201; *Pinart, Col.; Tolerancia Relig.*, Mex., 1831, pp. 59; *Girard, Excurs.*, 60–82; *Zamacois, Hist. Mex.*, with reference to the index; *Beulloch, Mex.*, ii. 292–321; *Masson, Olla Pod.*, 118–25, 308–14, 353–79; 469–79; *Wortley's Travels*, passim; *Blazquez, Cazador Mex.*, Puebla, 1868, pp. 431; *Mora, Rev. Mex.*, 62–75, 92–130, 160–8; *Pacheco, Let. Mex.*, 37–46; *Mayer's Mex. Azt.*, ii., passim; *Rivera, Gob.*, ii., passim; *Disturnell, Influence of Climate*, etc.; *Dávila, El Toro*, i. 166 et seq.; ii. 403–68; *Ober's Travels in Mex.*, 253–68, 683–8; *Hobbs' Life in Far West*, 169–215; *Hardman's Frontier Life*, 249–92; *Portilla, Esp. en Mex.*, 263–76; *Gray's Mex.*, 20–154; *Orizava, Ocurr.*, 16–65; *Medina y Ormaéhea, Proyec. Estab. Rég. Peniten.*, Mex., 1881, pp. 169; *Dunn's Guat.*, 38–53; *Hernandez y Daválos*, ii. 305–7; *Igles. y Convent. Mex.*, 230, 245–77, 348–50· *Bienes, Ecles. Disertac.*, Mex., 1833, pp. 87; *Id.*, Mex., 1834, pp. 39; *Munguia, Pastorales*, nos. ii.–iv.; *Bustamante, Voz de Patria*, i.–iv., passim; *Id., Hist. Sta Anna*, 26–77; *Frost's Incidents*, 141–79; *Isabel la Catól. Instit. Orden.*, pp. 19; *Furber's Volunteer*, 212–41, 333–6, 436; *Ferry's Vag. Life*, 5–344; *Garza Ballesteros, Informe Gen. Zacual.*, MS.. 1–90; *Covarrubias, Instruc. Pub. Mex.*, 3–197; *Gonzalez, Mem. Gen. de Divis.*, 1877, 81–153; *Mex., Leg.*, ii. 202–5; *Kendall's Tex. and S. Fé Exped.*, ii. 11–406; *Martin Précis*, 39–83; *Ferry, Vie Mex.*, 1–325; *Mex., Provid. Dioces.*, MS., 488–90; *Martinez, El Pontíf.*, 1–158; *Testimonio á la letra Hosp. S. Andrés*, Mex., 1848, pp. 22; *Arroniz, Viaj.*, 118–75; *Ferriz, Expos.*, Mex., 1859, pp. 29; *Affairs in Mex.*, MS., 1883, 8–12; *Aspiroz, Cód. de Estran.*, Mex., 1876, pp. 321; *Chevalier, Mex.*, 450–71, 547–603; *Charney, Cités et Ruines*, 137–58, 189–203, 489–511; *Arreglo de la Univ. y Col.*, Mex., 1855, pp. 89; *Olmedo, Mem.*, S. L. Potosí, 1876, pp. 114; *Otero, Ensayo*, Mex., 1842, pp. 136; *Morales, Désertac.*, Mex., 1831, pp. 59; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, iii. 345–77; *Arrillaga, Recop.*, i. 208, 237, 364; *Mora, Obras Sueltas*, i., passim; *Chateaubriand, Voyages*, 219–24; *Orteya, Mem. Embriaguez*, Mex., 1847, pp. 72; *Almaraz, Comis. Cient. Pachuca*, 79–185; *Trejes, Mem. Hist. Cong. Jal.*, Guad., 1879, pp. 135; *Caballero, Hist. Alm.*, Mex., 1884, pp. 377; *Cero, Los Ceros*, Mex., 1882, pp. 370, containing biographical sketches of some of the most prominent Mexican

being to determine, in the most absolute manner, if it was practicable to construct a ship-canal across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Any scheme contemplating to feed the canal from other than natural sources of supply should be considered impracticable; though in the case of failing to obtain a natural supply, studies and calculations might be made, in order to expose the degree of difficulties to be encountered in obtaining an artificial supply by means of collecting reservoirs and pumping.

On the other hand, if the solution of this problem should present no extraordinary difficulties, or obstacles that could not be overcome with the ordinary appliances of engineering skill in its present state of development, I should declare the project practicable, unless the expense to be incurred in its construction should appear palpably incommensurable with the importance of the undertaking.

The data obtained from our explorations and surveys prove that a ship-canal is practicable on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, because the difficulties to be encountered in its construction are of the ordinary type, or such as are inherent to works of a similar nature, with the difference that they will be met on a larger scale. This fact is due to the assumed dimensions of the canal, and is inherent to the conception of the project, in whatever part of the world it might be located.

The nature of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec makes it impossible to construct across it a 'through-cut' canal. The use of locks becomes indispensable in order to reach the summit-height at Tarifa. This point is the lowest and most available pass in the mountains traversing the isthmus from east to west.

Its true mean elevation above the Pacific Ocean is 754.4 feet, as given by the spirit-level. This height can be easily diminished to 732 feet by a cut 22 feet in depth on the Tarifa Pass. In this manner, the summit-reach of the canal will have the same elevation as the Tarifa River, upon the point at which the summit-level will be fed with water.

The only point from which the canal can be fed is from the Upper Coatzacoalcos or Corte River, near its junction with the Blanco. At this place the Corte delivers 1,618 cubic feet of water per second, and the surface of the water in the driest season is 660 feet above the ocean, or 72 feet below the summit-level of the canal.

Three miles up stream from this point the Corte's waters ascend to the summit-level height.

The river Blanco yields 120 cubic feet per second, and is four feet above the summit at the Tarifa Pass. The banks and bed of the Corte are of clay, rocks, feldspar, and granite. The direction of the stream, width of its bed, which is free from gravel, and the topographical features of the locality, are admirably constituted for the erection of a dam. The materials are at hand, and of the most durable nature.

writers, mostly poets, with quotations from their works. *Pimentel, Historia Crítica de la Literatura y de las Ciencias en México etc.*, Mex., 1885, pp. 736; *Soso, Biog. Mex. Desting.*, Mex., 1884, pp. 1115; *Manterola, Ensayo sobre una Clasif. de las Ciencias*, Mex., 1884, pp. 373; *Peñafiel, Nombres Geog. de Méx.*, Mex., 1885, pp. 260; *Biblioteca nueva de la Risa*, Mex., 1874, pp. 176, a collection of anecdotes, humorous dialogues, and comic poems.

It is proposed to construct a dam on the Corte of suitable strength, 122 feet in length at the lip, and 86 in height.

At this place there is a strong depression or pass in the ridge separating the Corte and Blanco rivers. Taking into account the fall or head to be given to the feeder, the horizontal distance between the Corte and Blanco is 1,750 feet, and the height of the pass above the feeder will be 257 feet. In order to turn the water of the Corte into the feeder, on the Blanco Valley, it will be necessary to excavate less than 400,000 cubic yards upon the ridge which separates the Corte and Blanco valleys. This excavation will just supply the material for the Corte dam, the dam at the Blanco, and the inlet chambers, and the revetement wall of the feeder at the Blanco dam.

A dam 16 feet high must be erected on the Blanco. The river-bed is here 130 feet wide, though the river itself is hardly 20 feet across. The dam, however, will have to be built 140 feet long. Eighty feet of this length will be reserved for the Blanco, and whatever surplus waters may fail to pass through the gates and weirs of the Corte in time of floods.

The balance of the length of Blanco dam will be used for the feeder.

This dam will be pierced by the feeder-chamber, provided with regulating flow-gates, and the waters of the feeder will thus run across the left end of the dam, and between the left bank of the Blanco and a wall buttressing the dam and dividing the waters of the feeder and the Blanco River.

This buttressing and dividing wall will not be more than 300 feet in length, and from this point forward the feeder will run through a side cutting, and entirely above the reach of the heaviest floods. A few hundred feet below the dam a series of falls occur, which make it impossible for extraordinary floods to reach the feeder.

The waters of the Blanco, Maxiponac, Capepac, Coyolapa, Escolapa, Pita, Chichihua, Pericon, Otate (and if necessary the Coquipac) rivers can be utilized to feed the Pacific side-levels, furnishing jointly about 495 cubic feet of water per second. The Corte River will supply any deficit that may occur at the summit for the Pacific side and the upper reaches of the Atlantic side. Water can never be wanting for the summit, because only the Pacific plains will draw heavily from it; while on the Atlantic side not less than 30,000 cubic feet flow into the Coatzacoalcos, between the Almoloya and Uspanapa rivers. This amount is delivered by the Almoloya, Malatengo, Sarabia, Jumuapa, Jaltepec, Chalchijalpa, Naranjo, Coachapa, and Uspanapa rivers, and many other small streams. All the rivers are distributed along the shores of the Coatzacoalcos, at very suitable distances from each other.

The general estimates for water-supply made in the sequel call for 1,618 cubic feet per second, as the amount required to work the whole canal, under the exacting supposition that it is to be fed exclusively from the summit.

The available summit streams were gauged at the height of a remarkably dry season, and found to yield jointly 2,113 cubic feet; so that, strictly speaking, 495 cubic feet per second will have to be disposed of by means of waste-weirs from the very summit, in the driest season, and supposing an extravagant expenditure of water.

Since a large portion of the water brought to the summit is to be used on the Pacific side-slope, this fact might lead to the supposition that the Coatza-

coalcos would lose thereby its present importance as a large river. This objection is met thus: Abreast of Minatitlan, the cross-section of the river has an area of 31,900 square feet, and though the velocity of its current is always more than 1.6 feet per second, even taking it at one foot per second, this would give nearly 32,000 cubic feet of water per second, as the delivery of the river. One twentieth of this amount is taken for canal purposes, and is obtained near its source, and before any of its large tributaries swell the mighty volume of the river. While the diminution occasioned by subtracting so small a volume from the river will be less perceptible than the fluctuations produced by small freshets, this small amount will be sufficient to supply one half of the canal necessities, and to irrigate the sterile lands of the Pacific plains, where the indigo culture languishes for want of water. Besides, when the canal shall have been built, the valley of the Coatzacoalcos will assume its commercial and political importance. At present it is valueless, and the river can hardly be ascended as far as Súchil in Indian canoes.

Having demonstrated that there is an abundant supply of water to feed the summit-level and the whole canal, I will now proceed to describe the feeder route, and the practicability of bringing the water to the summit. The feeder route is divided into five sections.

First Division.—The feeder will follow the left bank of the Blanco and Corte rivers, until it reaches the Capepac River. The whole of this division will be in side-cuttings, with very little filling, and only three inconsiderable full cuts. The ground was explored at the points marked with dotted lines. The topography is accurately sketched.

The most important stream crossed is the Maxiponac (Sardine Brook), insignificant as to volume, and remarkable for the number of its beautiful falls. Sandstones and clay are abundant, feldspars crop out in many spurs, and the excavations will be difficult and expensive. The approximate length of this division, including the Blanco Cut, is four and one eighth ($4\frac{1}{8}$) miles.

Second Division.—From the Capepac (Reed Brook), the feeder will commence at Lemon Ridge, at the proper grade; and following the Capepac Valley on the left bank of its western branch, it will extend nearly to its head-waters; 227 feet above the bed of the Capepac, it will be necessary to construct an aqueduct about 1,200 feet long, connecting the Lemon and Devil's ridges. The western portion of this division ends at the gap which forms the water-shed divide of the Milagro and Capepac rivers. Midway between their sources, and at right angles with their direction, flows the Sona-pac (Lemon Brook), traversing the divide, and having its source at Cliff Ridge. The bed of the Sona-pac is 118 feet above the summit; and the width of the gap is 4,150 feet at the grade; therefore a tunnel of that length becomes here indispensable.

The nature of the soil is sandstones at the Lemon Ridge, clay and slates in the upper branch of the Capepac, and marbles at the tunnel. The length of this division is one and a third miles, including the tunnel and the aqueduct. This will be the most expensive portion of the whole route.

Third Division.—This division extends from the tunnel, near the source of the Milagro, to the second ford of the river Pita (Hemp River). It follows the left bank of the Milagro on the lap of the main range, which extends from Cliff Ridge to Tarifa.

When abreast of the town of Santa Maria, the feeder, whose general direction has been from east to west, turns now to the south-west to escape the lowlands of the Chimalapa Potrero (or flat lands), searching for the lowest pass between the Chocolate Hill and the Sierra Madre. Since this pass is 160 feet above the summit-level, another tunnel will become necessary at this point. Its length will be 3,550 feet. The streams crossed by this division are a few very insignificant brooklets in the eastern end. The Coqui-pac (Black River), I believe, can be turned into the feeder without difficulty, by simply connecting a small dam and a waste-weir. Its floods are said to be inconsiderable, even when other rivers are much swollen; and this looks plausible on account of the small area it drains. After passing the Chocolate Hill, the feeder will encounter a sort of corrugated soil, forming the bed of many little streams, tributaries of the Coyolapa (Second River) and Escolapa (First River); but they do not complicate the difficulties of the feeder route. The Cuchara (Spoonbrook) is passed near its source. This division ends at the Pita, whose waters have the same height as the summit-level. The excavations of the eastern part of this division are in compact limestones and clays. Drift and shales are found in the Chimalapa Potrero, plastic clay on the Chocolate tunnel, and drift and clay in the western terminus of this division. The length of this division will be eleven and three eighths miles.

Fourth Division.—North of the town of San Miguel, the main chain of mountains sends northward a heavy spur, which, ending at Santa Maria, turned the Corte from its western descent and sent it northward. We have named this spur the Cofradia Range. It is solid, and uninterruptedly high throughout its length, with but two exceptions, at the mouth of the Escolapa and at the Pita Brook. Even beyond the Corte, this range lifts again the last of its many heads, as a huge cone, which Indian wit has named the 'Runt.' I will now explain how this range is traversed by the feeder.

The Corte at Santa Maria is 373 feet below the summit. The Pita, which crosses the Cofradía Range, is at the summit-height, and is, besides, a tributary to the Corte fifteen miles below Santa Maria; therefore, by following the Pita Valley, we can cross the Cofradía Range below the summit-grade, since the Pita runs below this grade. The Chichihua, west of Cofradía Range, was found 71 feet below the summit, and the Pericon is 60 feet above, at the point crossed by the transit-line; hence the feeder must be located about half-way between these last points. The whole route of this division is easily excavated, and consists of clay at the Pita Brook, sandstones in the valley formed across the Cofradía Range, and humus and loose earth in the potreros of Chichihua. The length of this division is eight and three eighths miles.

Fifth Division.—This division comprehends the tunnel from the Otate River to Tarifa Plains.

The only important features of this division is the length of the tunnel, but the excavations can be easily and cheaply made, the ground being very soft. The excavations need not exceed 205,000 cubic yards.

The following table contains a condensed statement of the important features of the feeder:

Number of Divisions.	Limits of Divisions.	Length of Divisions.	Remarks.
Division No. 1.	From Corte to Capepac....	4½ miles..	1 tunnel 1,750 feet long.
Division No. 2.	From Capepac to Cliff.....	1⅜ miles	1 tunnel 4,150 feet long. 1 aqueduct 1,200 feet long.
Division No. 3.	From Cliff to Pita.....	11⅜ miles..	1 tunnel 3,550 feet long.
Division No. 4.	From Pita to Sierra Blanca	8⅜ miles..	Only 3 miles heavy cutting.
Division No. 5.	Sierra Blanca Tunnel.....	2 miles..	1 tunnel 9,650 feet long.
Total length of feeder.....		27¼ miles..	Joint length of all the tunnels=3.61 miles.

Dimensions of the Canal—Its Feeders and Locks.—*Calculations for the Water Supply, and Best Form of Cross-sections to be Given to the Artificial Watercourses.*—The length of the canal proper will be about one hundred and forty-four miles from the harbor at Salina Cruz to the island of Tacamichapa on the Coatzacoalcos River. Fifty-two miles of this length will form the descending branch from Tarifa to the Pacific. With the exception of Tarifa Pass, there will be no necessity for using lock-flights, and even here, every reach may hold two full lock-lengths, and enough development can be found on the hillside to avoid the grouping of more than two locks at a flight.

The dimensions proposed for the canal are:

	Feet.
Top-breadth	162
Bottom-breadth	60
Depth of water	22
And for the locks:	
Length between mitre-sills	320
Breadth	42
Depth of water	21
Depth of prism of lift	10.14

I should recommend double locks; but the estimates that follow suppose each lock subdivided by gates affording respectively 130, 218, and 320 feet of lockage length.

It is extremely difficult, nay, impossible, to determine the amount of water required to feed a canal, unless the condition and nature of its trade are known. This is especially the case when the transit has to be effected through an undeveloped country, under very anomalous political, social, industrial, and economical conditions. I do not feel justified in using the custom commercial statistics before me of the probable commerce that may seek this channel, because for my purpose I have no confidence in them, and no good reason to suppose that this manner of guessing is more rational than any other one, so long as any guessing element enters into the problem. I believe that, through this canal, an immense impetus will be given to the commerce of our Pacific States; that the politico-economical laws of our development demand its immediate construction; that the length of many trading channels will be shortened, and that the capital now eliminated through losses of money, time, and deterioration of merchandise, will be redeemed, and made useful in its application to cheapen produce and increase trade; but I also be-

lieve that the data required to estimate upon the nature of the Tehuantepec Canal trade for water supply purposes can only be approximated after long study and diligent research of uncollected trade statistics at home and abroad, requiring a length of time made impracticable by the nature of our expedition.

The following table will explain the necessity of knowing the amount of trade to estimate the water supply:

On level stretches if—	And finds the locks—	The vessel will draw from the summit—	And consequently will leave the locks—
The vessel is descending from the summit.	Full.	No water	Empty.
	Empty.	One lock full	Empty.
The vessel is ascending to the summit.	Full.	One lock full	Full.
	Empty.	One lock full	Full.
On a flight of locks if—	**And finds the locks—**	**The vessel will draw from the summit—**	**And will leave all the locks—**
The vessel is descending from the summit.	Full.	No water	Empty.
	Empty.	One lock full	Empty.
The vessel is ascending to the summit.	Full.	One lock full	Full.
	Empty.	As many locks full as there are contiguous chambers.	Full.

Although the estimates made are based upon a trade of about twenty thousand tons crossing the summit daily, they have been made under conditions so exaggerated, that I believe under ordinary circumstances this canal can accommodate thirty thousand (30,000) tons daily.

I have also distributed the canal trade among small vessels, which will consume a large lockage in proportion to their tonnage, thus: 120 lockages, of 170 feet length, for vessels of 200 tons and under; 20 lockages, of 218 feet length, for vessels of 500 tons; 5 lockages, of 320 feet length, for vessels of 1,000 tons. These conditions will require special machinery to attend to the rapid demands upon the gates.

Total Amount of Water Required to Supply the Ship-canal.

For lockages	146.94 cubic feet per second.
For evaporation	23.00 cubic feet per second.
For filtration	896.00 cubic feet per second.
For leakage at gates	0.31 cubic feet per second.
For leakage at weirs	2.00 cubic feet per second.
For feeder losses	550.00 cubic feet per second.
For the whole canal	1,618.25 cubic feet per second.

The following table establishes a comparison between the water dimensions and water supply estimates of the Caledonian Canal; the ship-canal proposed through the Isthmus of Panamá by the engineer-in-chief of the Royal Corps of Miners, Paris, 1841; the Albany and New Baltimore Ship-canal, proposed by William I. McAlpine, A. M. S. of C. E., Albany, 1853, and the estimates made for the Tehuantepec Ship-canal:

Designation	Panamá.	Caledonian.	Albany.	Tehuantepec.
Length of canal	47½ miles.	25 miles.	12½ miles.	122 miles.
Breadth of canal at water level	148 ft.	122 ft.	120 ft.	162 ft.
Breadth of canal at trench bottom	66 ft.	50 ft.	50 ft.	60 ft.
Depth of water in canal	23 ft.	20 ft.	2 ft.	22 ft.
Lock-length between mitre-sills	210 ft.	172 ft.	115 to 300 ft.	170 to 320 ft.
Lock-breadth	47 ft.	40 ft.	31 ft.	42 ft.
Lock-depth	.....	.....	20 (?) ft.	21 ft.
Estimated trade per day	5,000 tons.	.....	10,000 tons.	20,000 tons.
Estimated supply for lockage, in cubic feet, per second	25,148	.....	98.11	146.94
Estimated evaporation, gate, and leakage losses, cubic feet, per second	0.462	.....	42.33	22.31
Estimated filtration, cubic feet, per second	62,224	.....	84.78	1,446.00
Total supply, estimated in cubic feet	87,834	.....	225.22	1,618.00

It will be well to say, before proceeding to the description of the canal-route, that the main efforts of the expedition were dedicated to its immediate object, viz., to determine the practicability of the canal. Considerable time was spent in summit explorations, and in testing the feasibility of projects previously proposed. Disappointment met us everywhere; and when at last the feeder route and its water supply were discovered, the season was so far advanced that it was impossible to extend our level lines to the Atlantic side, and locate the north branch of the canal. However, the ground has been thoroughly explored, the work previously performed for railroad and other purposes, and the profile and plans obtained from the studies of Barnard, Sidell, Orbegozo, and others, coupled with our own observations, enable me to assert with confidence that below the confluence of the Malatengo there is no obstacle whatever in the way of the canal. The broad Coatzacoalcos Valley has room enough, and is flat for a long distance on either side of its thalweg.

The soil at Tarifa is impermeable, and the feeder will deliver its waters directly upon the plains.

A crescent-shaped lake will be formed, which, owing to the nature of the ground, will retain its waters at all points, except at the Tarifa River. At this point, where the soil drains naturally to the Atlantic, the north summit-gate will be excavated.

The Pacific summit-gate will be twenty-two feet lower than the lowest point of the Tarifa Pass. The houses now at Tarifa will form a peninsula, where storehouses, repair-shops, etc., will be built.

From Tarifa the first level will start northward.

From barometric observations behind the Campanario Hill, as well as on account of the grade of the Tarifa River, it appears that there will be required nine locks between the summit and the point of confluence of Chichihua and Tarifa rivers, or one lock per mile.

From this point to Mal-paso, below Rio Chico, the bed of the Chichihua has a small slope, which necessarily widens the distance between the locks. Then the canal will run along the valley of the Coatzacoalcos.

Twenty-one miles above Rio Chico, the Coatzacoalcos falls only three hundred and sixty-three feet in more than one hundred and forty miles of

river-course. This fact, together with the already large size of the Corte at Rio Chico, guarantees a convenient distribution of the locks.

On the Pacific side it is necessary to descend with sixty-three locks from the summit to La Venta de Chicapa, and this must be done in eight miles; the length of development required for one flight will be 20,160 feet, while the amount furnished by the ground is 42,240 feet, or, as I have said before, no more than two locks need be grouped in flights. Beyond this point, eight locks will be used in a horizontal distance of forty-seven miles.

It will be seen, by comparing jointly the several profiles of the Pacific plains, that in some places embankments will be required to elevate the surface of the canal to its proper grade.

A profile shows the low range of hills at the Salina Cruz Point, but the prominent elevation seen near the ocean can be overcome by an insignificant cut, because the level-line was run upon a ridge, which is at least fifty feet higher than the small valley upon whose western ridge the road has been built.

I have been unable to obtain a copy of the profile made by Orbegozo, between the Tarifa Pass to the upper lagoon, by way of La Venta de Chicapa; but from recollection, and notes entered in my journal when I examined these profiles, I have no manner of doubt in stating that the ground descends very uniformly from La Venta to the lagoons, and also that the ascent, though rapid, is quite uniform from La Venta to Tarifa Pass. I have visited this pass three times from opposite directions. The last time I inspected it was from La Venta upward, in company with the chief of the Mexican commission, for the sole purpose of studying the development of the hill-curves and the location of the locks. We found no place where the locks could not be easily placed to advantage, with regard to economy of time and water, even if double locks were built, with a water-pit between them.

Lieutenant-commander Bartlett ran a transit and level-line down the Tarifa Pass, to the point where all difficulties disappear; but pressure from other quarters compelled me to suspend this work, for the more important one of determining the height of Cofradia Pass. This line was to be continued to the ocean after a return from the Corte region; but finding then that the Mexican commissioners were engaged in this work, in order to obtain the greatest possible number of profiles across the isthmus, the height of the summit was determined by way of La Chivela, San Gerónimo, Tehuantepec, and Salina Cruz.

I expect to receive a copy of the La Venta line from the Mexican commissioners, and if it should arrive in time, it will be appended to this report and credited to them.

An inspection of the general map would seem to indicate that high ground might exist on the plains, between the Chicapa and Verde rivers, on the line traversed by the canal; but this is not the case. The south slope of Masahua Range starts abruptly from a dead level; the Lagartero Hill looks like a huge boat stranded on the beach. The Verde, which looks formidable in the maps, was crossed twice near Cofradia without knowing it, though looking sharply for its bed.

The Juchitan River is the only one that deserves special mention, because it will require to be spanned over by the canal; but its floods are powerless

when they reach Juchitan. Small culverts along the canal-line in the area covered by the river-floods will overcome this obstacle. These same circumstances obtain in the Tehuantepec River, but in a lesser degree, since this river now runs through a permanent channel, which it was said the river excavated for itself; but while studying the regimen of this river, I ascertained that the witchcraft attributed to this peaceful stream arose from ignorant tinkering with its waters, for irrigation purposes. A trench had been dug unprotected below the flood-line, and the river found an outlet over soft ground to the old sunk turnpike, which was washed away, and ever since kept by the river for its bed.

The highest floods of the Tehuantepec River never reach fifteen feet above its bed. An inspection of profile will show that there is no difficulty in crossing over the stream.

Harbor of the Atlantic Terminus of the Canal.—On the Atlantic side of the isthmus there is a natural, well-protected harbor, made by the banks of the Coatzacoalcos. The harbor varies its depth, but from its entrance to the island of Tacamichapa it can easily be deepened to twenty-two feet.

Between the harbor bar and Minatitlan, the river is very deep, with but five exceptions; viz., at the harbor entrance; near the southern ends of the islands of Guerrero and Diablo; and at the points of confluence of the streams Tierra-Nueva and Camarones. This last point is deep enough, but quite narrow. All these bars but two can be removed without much expense, owing to the nature and extent of the deposits, which are sand and gravel, under twenty feet of water. The narrow Uspanapa Bar is covered by eighteen feet of water at low tide. It is made by deposits from the latter river. The Coatzacoalcos is very deep above and below the point of confluence.

Piles driven on the Uspanapa, or a partial damming of the river, will cause the sands to deposit farther up stream, on its own bed.

With the exception mentioned above, the river varies from twenty-two to eighteen feet in depth in the old as well as in the Kansas channel. The latter channel was discovered in 1871, by the hydrographic party.

The length of the whole trunk is twenty-one miles, counted from the centre of the harbor bar to the Minatitlan custom-house.

The Coatzacoalcos Bar.—This bar has been often surveyed, and its depth, condition, and geographical position have been variously stated by different observers.

A period of twenty-three years has elapsed between the surveys, and in that time the following changes have taken place:

1. The channel at the mouth of the river retains its depth of forty feet, but it is now twice as long as it was in 1848.

2. The horizontal distance between the 40 and 18 foot curves has been elongated one and a half times; but now the channel is narrower.

3. The first contour curve, returning upon itself, and limiting the southern edge of the bar, has receded toward the sea one tenth of its original distance, as counted from the deepest part of the river abreast of the old fort; but vertically over the place of this curve there are now four feet more of water.

4. The width of the bar has not altered sensibly, and is now generally four or five feet deeper.

5. The 24-foot curve of depth has neither shifted nor sensibly altered its shape. It is inside of the bar, convex toward the sea, and its apex is nearly tangent to the coast line.

6. Between the apex of this curve and the southern edge of the bar, great changes have taken place. The channel has become narrower, and though much deeper, it is quite crooked in the line of maximum depth.

7. No results have reached my hands of the nature of the drift upon the bar before 1840. Now it is made up of coarse and fine, gray and black, sands, shells, and clay, with red and black specks.

8. The black sands belong to the Uspanapa, and, as has been remarked, can be prevented from reaching the harbor by inducing the formation of a bar at the mouth of the Uspanapa, in front of which the sands will naturally settle, practically for an indefinite period.

9. The Coatzacoalcos Bar is an external bar, and is often disturbed by northers. Since the drift, held in suspension by the agitated sea, cannot run up against the Coatzacoalcos current, it is deposited outside of and parallel to the coast, especially toward the eastern side of the entrance. This conclusion seems plausible from the shape of the 6-foot curve.

10. The 18-foot curve shows the limiting height of greatest deposits, and it has advanced toward the channel with an irregular serrated outline, confining the effective cross-section of the river; consequently, the increased depth of water over the bar is accounted for, because the increased velocity, due to the stricture in the channel, has blown away the fine sands.

11. The bar is permanent, with a clay subsoil. This can be shown by the 18-foot curve, thus: The nature of the deposits should be considered with regard to their cohesion and density; as is shown by the slopes of the profiles, the particles deposited over the lower portion of the river slide easily upon each other, and are of light weight. If the bar and river deposits were of uniform density, the current would cut a channel with sensibly parallel outlines; but if the bar is made up of a substance harder than the drift upon it, it will act as a dam, against which the current will impinge, and becoming divided and thrown sideways, it will excavate irregular channels through the material that collects in front of the bar. Also, since the edge of the bar acts as the lips of a dam, the current will wash away the light particles, no drift will be found upon it, and eddies will be found in close proximity to the obstructions, which will produce both shallow and deep holes, not far removed from each other.

If we look at the chart of 1871, it will be seen that these effects, which are the irrevocable sequence of dynamical laws, obtain in the Coatzacoalcos Bar in a very remarkable manner; hence they must be attributed to the hardness and permanence of the bar. It will also be observed that those points of the bar which should expose the subsoil to the action of the currents are the only places where the sound gives 'hard clay.'

12. The profiles and sections accompanying the chart of 1871 will give an accurate idea of the present state of the bar. The parts ruled in black lines represent the required amount of dredging, under the supposition that the entrance channel will be 1,200 feet wide at the bottom throughout its length, and 25 feet deep from the entrance until after crossing the present bar. Be-

yond this point the channel is very deep, and only small excavations will be required on the sides to increase the width of its bottom to the large dimensions proposed.

The nature of all the surveys made of this bar, though sufficiently accurate for navigation purposes, do not offer the minuteness of detail necessary to determine the amount of excavations necessary for the improvement of this harbor.

But I feel no hesitation in asserting, with unusual confidence, that the Coatzacoalcos River can be made a very safe and snug harbor for any class of ships, with but comparatively small expense.

The excavations between Tacamichapa and Minatitlan can be reduced to a minimum by a proper arrangement of the locks, which will slack the water up stream.

The hydrographic party, in charge of Lieutenant-commander Farquhar, surveyed accurately the Coatzacoalcos Bar, triangulating from a measured base-line on its western shore, and checking by auxiliary measurements.

Soundings were taken by finding the angles at each sounding with the sextant, from known stations, at given intervals of time, and locating the average line of soundings by the sextant and bearings.

Nearly the same system was employed in the Coatzacoalcos River. The coast-line was platted from magnetic bearings and measured distances, with check-sights to all available stations.

I have every reason to believe that this work is accurate and reliable. The balance of the hydrographic work on the Atlantic side must be considered as reconnoissances and sketches.

Harbors in the Pacific Terminus of the Canal.—The roadsteads of Ventosa and Salina Cruz have been proposed as the available Pacific harbors.

In their present state, they are both unsuitable for our object, and while Salina Cruz can be converted into a safe artificial harbor, the bay of Ventosa never will be used, on account of its exposure, the nature of its shores, the limit of the surf-line, shape of the coast, and holding character of the ground.

The position of Salina Cruz is in latitude 16° 10′ 11″ north, and longitude 95° 20′ west of Greenwich.

The lagoons offer no natural facilities that would recommend their use as a part of the canal, except in the case that the Pacific branch of the canal should be located in a northerly and southerly direction. But under this condition, the necessity of crossing the Chicapa may by itself offset the problematic advantage of a diminished length of excavation.

I believe that it is impracticable to reach the upper lagoon by an artificial channel from the sea.

The volumes of water of the many rivers traversing the plains bring large deposits from these sandy districts, which are shifted by the tides and currents.

It will be very expensive to excavate, under water, fifteen miles of channel, which may fill up immediately, and having no suitable outlet for a harbor entrance, they are no better than an inland lake for the purposes of this canal

The surveys made by Master C. B. Gill, United States navy, the remarks

of Lieutenant-commander A. Hopkins and Lieutenant-commander P. H. Cooper, and the statements of the pilots and of the captain of the port, prove that Salina Cruz is preferable to La Ventosa for the purposes of a port of entry.

A breakwater 1,500 or 2,000 feet long, and S. 67° E., will protect this Salina Cruz port, and convert it into a snug harbor.

I apprehend no difficulty in constructing this breakwater with the suitable material at hand. The artificial port at Algiers is not unlike Salina Cruz with regard to the nature of its exposure, but very different as to the violence of the sea, which is milder at Salina Cruz.

I believe that the swell entering the roadstead is due to lateral transmission, and absolutely there is no swell by reflexion. I went on board the *Cyane* during a heavy swell, and observed its motion along the coast, and immediately after landing I ascended to Salina Cruz Point, to watch the swell from a height. The wind was south, but the swell came from the west, and after being considerably broken by a clump of rocks which advance toward the sea at Salinas del Marqués, it was *sent* out toward the sea.

The transmitted motion reached the Salina Cruz Point, where the swell was distinctly seen to diminish in height, and to enter the roadstead through the crevices in the rocks at Salina Cruz Point and south of the rocks in a north-east direction. A breakwater in the direction proposed above will make this port as smooth as Marseilles, though with much better entrance.

I do not think it will be necessary to construct a jetty on the eastern end of this port, believing that the breakwater will be sufficient to protect an area large enough to shelter forty vessels riding their anchor at two cables' length.

Although the well-known 'Mexican double-current' runs northward and sensibly parallel to the west coast, its influence does not reach the coast itself; and there must be an inner counter-current in close proximity to the land. This fact was unmistakably observed by me during four days, with north and south winds; and the captain of the port states that though the surface-currents coincide with the wind, they are so light as only to affect the course of small boats; the normal currents are from the south-west to the north-east. He has had many years of experience on this coast.

The line of surf begins almost opposite the custom-house, and gradually widens as it advances toward the Morro Point. The absence of surf on the west end of the port illustrates the shelter afforded by the few rocks at Point Salina Cruz, and serves us as an index to what may be expected from a breakwater.

A wharf 300 feet long could now be used for the discharge of vessels during a great portion of the year; but, since they have no wharf, a rope-ferry is used instead.

I do not desire to convey the idea that it would be easy or inexpensive to convert the Salina Cruz roadstead into a harbor, for the simplest problem of this nature requires special studies absolutely beyond the purpose and means of the expedition.

There is no engineering undertaking more fruitful of mistakes than the formation of artificial harbors, even after protracted study and thorough sur-

veys. The complications arising from littoral alluvium often require to destroy a whole series of plans, and to start upon a new system, with loss of time and heavy expenses.

With regard to Salina Cruz, I know nothing about the difficulties to be encountered in the foundation of the breakwater, and next to nothing about the nature, intensity, and effects of prevailing currents and winds. The data I have been able to compile have been given above, and all I can say, as an expert, is, that taking into account the results of surveys and other information obtained, and having inspected the localities referred to, I am not able to see anything impracticable in the proposed formation of this harbor.

Judging by comparison, I believe I am safe in stating that the sea-works performed in many places appear to me to have been constructed on a scale greater than their importance warrants, when they are compared with Salina Cruz as the terminus of this ship-canal. Thus:

Antibes.—Has a double mole, one of them 24 feet above the sea, protecting the harbor against the mistral winds. It has been a most expensive work, requiring many additions to the original plan, as well as corrections.

La Ciotat.—Which, like Cherbourg, struggles against reflected swells.

Cannes.—Where the sand-deposits will forever give trouble.

Olonne.—Port of Sands; open to the south-west winds, with protection against lateral transmission.

Islands of Yeu and Ré.—In the latter, the ports of Saint Martin and La Flotte have given a great deal of trouble, with complications that could not be foreseen before the construction of their moles.

I might mention eight or ten other artificial harbors of a limited commercial influence, whose importance is insignificant when compared with that of Salina Cruz.

Should the commerce of the canal assume such dimensions as would crowd the harbor of Salina Cruz, it can be easily conceived that heavy expenditures would be warrantable in the construction of a channel from the canal to the upper lagoon.

Permanency of the Works and Safety of Transit.—Taking for granted that the dimensions to be given to the canal and accessory works will be such as will fulfil the laws of their stability, the only forces that will conspire against their permanence are the necessary wear and tear incident to the nature of the works, accidents, and cataclysms. The former cannot be avoided, and the engineer has nothing to do with the latter. But it will be well to say that earthquakes are not unfrequent in the isthmus, although I would state that they are not as dangerous as is popularly believed. Their damages have been circumscribed to small localities, and their effects upon the canal may be considered under two points of view: 1. The immediate damage that the canal itself may suffer; 2. The result of these damages, as they may affect the character of inundations, and destruction of life and property.

Since the feeder and the north branch of the canal are to be built upon the valleys of large watercourses, and using the water of the same valleys, no damage to property nor destruction of life can be anticipated, as inherent to the artificial channel. On the Pacific side, the land being flat, no torrents can be formed; and its many and large watercourses will carry the water from the feeder to the sea.

I have studied diligently the subject of earthquakes, and their effect upon the isthmus, having consulted the following authorities: Baron A. Von Humboldt, Pilla, A. Erman, Perrey, Sarti, Soldani, Dr Yung, and Dr A. Rojas.

The cataclysms and earthquakes recorded in South and Central America have never proved destructive on the isthmus to an extent that would injure seriously a canal.

From observations by Perrey during many years, the following is the yearly average of earthquakes throughout the earth: 23 in winter, 15 in spring, 20 in summer, 22 in autumn; 80 the whole year.

We visited the isthmus during the two seasons of maximum recurrence, and only experienced three earthquakes, one strong, but which would have been harmless to the canal, and the other two quite insignificant.

Quito, Venezuela, and Chili are the points of the continent whence earthquake-waves are mostly propagated toward the isthmus.

The earthquakes of 1852 are the most striking general earthquakes recorded, and in Oajaca and Vera Cruz only a few houses were cracked. At all events, they were not calamitous. These earthquakes began on the 17th of January, by an eruption of the Mauna Loa, nearly destroying the Sandwich Islands. In July, Cuba and Porto Rico suffered terrible losses in life and property; on the 17th of the same month it was felt in Ceuta; on the 18th in Santo Domingo; and in Austria it was so violent that the shock rung the church-bells; on the 25th it was felt in Georgia, United States; on the 16th of September the inhabitants of Manila experienced the heaviest oscillations in their records; St Iago of Cuba was completely destroyed, and at almost the same instant the Etna entered into one of its most terrible eruptions. It will be seen that there must be some reason holding good for the safety of the isthmus, when it escaped the commotion of a centre of disturbance comparatively close, while distant points were violently shaken.

The general earthquake of 1867, which proved so calamitous in the West Indies, was harmless in the isthmus.

The above is not presented as a proof, but only as a plausible deduction, tending to show the stability of the isthmus.

There are strong reasons to confirm the belief that Calabria, Tuscany, Portugal, Cuba, and Japan are subject to heavier commotions than any isthmian route will ever be; and yet this danger is never taken into account in connection with public works, or commercial and political enterprises.

The data obtained from our surveys are not sufficient to make estimates as to the cost of the canal.

I have thought it advisable to exaggerate the dimensions of all the elements tending to exhaust the summit water supply, and to tunnel for the feeder in localities in which I had reason to believe that an open cut would be less expensive.

I believe that the cost of the feeder is not incommensurable with the importance of the canal.

For the purpose of comparison, we have the Croton aqueduct, which brings water to New York from a distance of 41 miles. In its construction, it has been necessary to prepare an immense drainage area, to make costly improvements, and an expensive dam at the Croton River; to bring the water through

an arched aqueduct to the elegant high bridge over the Harlem. The old reservoir was constructed in Central Park, the distributing reservoir in Forty-second street, and many accessory works, more or less expensive, were finished, at an average expense of $1,000,000 per mile.

Many years of connection with the Croton aqueduct have made me familiar with the character of its works, and the thorough survey made of the feeder route enables me to believe that the construction of the ship-canal feeder cannot exceed one fifth of the entire cost of the Croton aqueduct.

The expenses to be incurred for the canal proper need no defence; they depend upon the assumed dimensions of the trench and locks, while the class and number of obstacles to be overcome are of the most ordinary nature.

Although the construction of this ship-canal is truly a large project, when compared with many ancient works its magnitude disappears.

One thousand one hundred and seventy-eight years before Christ, the pyramid of Chemnif was commenced. In its construction 360,000 slaves were employed during twenty years, and ten years were spent in the building of the causeway, over which 100,000 men, in gangs of 10,000, brought the materials to the pyramid.

The canal built by Nitocris, queen of Babylon, and which protected her kingdom against the Medes, was made by turning the Euphrates into an artificial channel, probably provided with gates and sluices, and with so many windings that it was a three days' voyage to pass the town of Ardericca.

To prevent the city from inundations, Nebuchadnezzar, five hundred and sixty-two years before Christ, built an immense lake to receive the flood-water, while facing the banks of the Euphrates with brick and bitumen walls the entire length of its course through the city.

Modern Rome is abundantly supplied from three of the twenty aqueducts that once brought water across the Campagna, in lines from 30 to 60 miles in length. One of these aqueducts passed over 7,000 arches.

The Thermæ of Agustus and Diocletian were magnificent conceptions of luxury. In the latter, 40,000 Christians were employed, and it furnished baths for 32,000 people, in sumptuous buildings covering an area nearly a mile in circumference; while the ruins of the baths of Caracalla still attest to their ancient vastness, being the largest ruins inside the city, next to the Coliseum.

One third of the walls of the Coliseum still remain, inclosing the area where 100,000 spectators once witnessed a naval battle fought upon an artificial sea.

I believe that, taking into account the transcendental importance of the Tehuantepec ship-canal, and the power of our present civilization, other reasons than 'natural obstacles' and the 'expense of the undertaking' must be given for postponing any longer the opening of whatever isthmian route may prove most beneficial to the national interest and the commerce of the world.

Explorations of the Coatzacoalcos River.—On the 28th of November, the Kansas steam-launch and four canoes shoved off the Coatzacoalcos bank, opposite the American consulate, having on board our instruments and all the officers and men, bound for the mountains.

With a clear day before us, we moved slowly up stream, meeting many mahogany and cedar rafts. At 8 P. M. we landed at Almagres, a dilapidated town containing 98 voters, and situated thirty-seven miles south of the bar.

This is the highest point of the river that could be utilized for a ship-canal, on account of its small depth and frequent bars. It will be more economical and expedient to commence the canal at the town opposite the Rancho del Mariscal, cutting through the island of Tacamichapa, in the direction of Absalotitlan, and by clearing the entrance of the Mistan Fork avoid the sand deposits which come from this river. Although the Jumuapa River has a fine sand bottom, either the configuration of its outlet, its internal bars, or the shape of its shores prevent its sands from drifting into the Coatzacoalcos, because the general character of the bottom of the latter river consists of plastic clay, with a remarkably small amount of gravel and sand.

For a description of the Coatzacoalcos below Almagres, see extracts of Captain Farquhar's report.

The river banks below Almagres are very low, frequently flooded, and the country is crossed by many creeks, which complicate the regimen of the river, not only with regard to the tides, but also in connection with the floods.

It will be seen in the meteorological report that the river rises and falls, often without apparent cause, and independently of the tides and wind.

The most important of these creeks drain the country west of Minatitlan, and are the Menzapa, Apepeche, Ocosapa, and Jacoteno, on the left bank; and the Coatajapa, which drains the country north of the San Antonio River. All river depths referred to in this report relate to the dry season, unless otherwise stated.

Two and a half miles south of Minatitlan, a haven exists, made by the confluence of the Ojosapa and Tacojalpa, where the Spanish government water-cured pine masts that were afterward taken to the Havana and Carraca arsenals.

The breadth of the river from the Coachapa to Almagres varies from 400 to 500 feet, while at the confluence of the Uspanapa in the south extremity of Guerrero Island, near Tierra Nueva, and near its month, this majestic river is nearly half a mile wide.

These and other important facts devoloped by the accurate surveys of this river by the hydrographic party shows that a secure harbor can be obtained on the gulf side of the isthmus, and safe navigation for any sized ships, as far as the island of Tacamichapa.

The improvements required can be easily and cheaply effected. The description of this river given by Señor Moro is very accurate, from the Milagro River in the Chimalapa region, down to its mouth in the gulf.

I differ from his opinion that the Coatzacoalcos could be utilized as far as its confluence with the Malatengo. To straighten a large watercourse is extremely expensive, and above Almagres this river is abruptly tortuous, and shallow in very long stretches. Also Señor Moro never went north and east of Santa Maria Chimalapa; and Señor Robles, who surveyed the Upper Coatzacoalcos very hastily, was often deceived by the native Indians.

We left Almagres on November 29th, and proceeded up the river. Two

miles above Almagres we saw the first bluff upon its shores. It consisted of green slate, and was about 60 feet high. A decided change in the height of the shores became noticeable, and not unfrequently we saw evidences of strong flood-currents.

Five miles above Almagres, the river becomes uninterruptedly tortuous, being filled with extensive bars and snags. Its current flows at the rate of 3 and 4.5 feet per second, in long shallow stretches; 7 miles above Almagres one of these bars had dammed the river so high that it broke through another place, or 'rompido,' in about 1848, running them through the old channel that it had excavated in 1834. This rompido shortened the river-course 6 miles, but the bar now below this point is so shallow that the next flood may again alter its course. From the best information I have been able to obtain, these breaks take place every twelve or fifteen years. Our travel through this part of the river was very unpleasant, as it rained in torrents, and the current was so swift that the canoes passed the steam-launch with ease, though the latter carried 70 pounds of steam. The launch became disabled and was sent back, though she could not, in any case, have proceeded much farther up stream, on account of the frequent bars, over which our canoes now often found difficult crossings.

At Peña Blanca we saw the first indication of stratified rocks thus far noticed; the banks were 60 feet high, composed of white and green strata of clay, with a shallow synclinal. The average strike was about 12°, and dipping south. The natives use this clay in the manufacture of their rude pottery.

The river bottom is here hard, and is made up of sharp sand, small gravel, and clay.

From the island of Guapinoloya to Pedernal Island, the river is very deep, with a clean clay bottom, and only occasionally sandy.

The temperature of this river is about 3 degrees cooler than the air in the morning, and 4 degrees cooler at noon. This was only observed during our journey of eight days up the river.

After passing the Chalchijalpa River, the banks are quite high, and the Coatzacoalcos grows wider and shallow opposite the island of Oaxaqueña, where it is about 1,400 feet wide, with 12 feet of water in the channel, which is about 200 feet wide. The river branch on the north-west side of this island was nearly dry. In latitude 17° 27′ north, there is a dangerous bend, with a high bluff in the receiving shore, and a large sand deposit on the salient shore. Farther up we passed the Perla and Platanal Islands, covered with camalote, gimba, and crocodiles. The camalote is a tall grass eaten by cattle; the gimba is a species of bamboo.

The roots of both plants afford a most effective protection to the banks against the heaviest floods.

Opposite these islands the bottom is clean, plastic clay, which occasioned great difficulty to the pole-men, whose poles were buried fast.

In latitude 17° 23′ north, longitude 94° 25′ west of Greenwich, the country becomes wild and wooded; the current is swifter, and the river narrow, although the volume of water appears undiminished, even after passing above the Chalchijalpa.

The Chalchijalpa is a large river, whose different sources come from the

direction of the Chimalapa Mountains. Señor Moro says: 'The Indians of Santa Maria ascend it on rafts to a point 38 miles distant from their village.'

Although it may be possible to utilize isolated portions of the river for the canal, even in these high points, it is my opinion that flood-gates and other accessory works will overbalance the economy of excavations. Be it as it may, future surveys must determine these points, with the study of details.

We then passed the Jaltepec, or 'Rio de los Mijes,' which, although 300 feet wide at its mouth, has an extended bar, with a channel 12 feet wide at its mouth, and less than 6 feet deep. A short distance above this river, on the Coatzacoalcos, we encountered the first dangerous rapids having a very strong current, which spends its force in lateral deep holes, with extensive whirlpools.

The river Jaltepec has its source in the Mije Sierra, a district densely wooded, and originally inhabited by the powerful Indian tribes whose few ramaining descendants are now passing away. The remnants of these races are only found here at San Juan Guichicovi.

The Coatzacoalcos widens, and again has the appearance of a great river, until after passing Súchil.

At Mal-paso it again contracts; the channel is narrow, tortuous, and filled with large stones.

'Súchil,' which, translated from the Mexican, means 'a flower,' is the head of canoe navigation in the dry season. This small settlement is on the left high bank of the river, and from this height an extensive view can be obtained over the low banks of the opposite shore. Above Súchil, and until we reach Mal-paso, the river remains wide, and the banks are generally formed by green slate.

The first hills become visible on the right bank, between the Jumuapa and Chalchihalpa rivers.

They are low and broken in outline, and from among them flows a brook, latitude 17° 22′ north, longitude 94° 35′ west of Greenwich, which Don Benito Suarez says is fifteen miles long, and whose waters in times of flood run through the bed of the Chalchijalpa. One mile and a half above this brook, we left the Coatzacoalcos, and entered the Jumuapa River. Its appearance is different from that of the Coatzacoalcos, though with indentical geological characteristics. It is about 300 feet wide at its mouth, with deep banks, and so shallow that our canoes could hardly get along through its tortuous channel filled with snags. A few days later in the season, travel by water is interrupted, and canoes can ascend as far only as Súchil.

After passing the Jumuapa's mouth, the average width of the river cannot exceed 100 feet, with a current of three and a half miles per hour at this season, and a general depth of from 3 to 5 feet; but the channel is traversed by innumerable sand-bars, with only a few inches of water over them.

The waters of this river are about 2° colder than those of the Coatzacoalcos, and as we ascend the stream the bottom looks blacker, the texture of the clay is coarser, the rocks on the banks more granular, red clay becomes more abundant than green, and many patches of oil, from vegetable distillation, are seen floating over the water. On our first camping out on the Jumuapa, latitude 17° 18′ 30″ north, longitude 94° 33′, I picked up from the beach several pieces of water-worn lignite.

In latitude 19° 18′ 30″, longitude 94° 33′ west of Greenwich, we found large deposits of iron-sand, and what, perhaps, may be gold. It is not mica, and although the little bright particles might be copper or iron pyrites, still they could be sensibly flattened by pressure.

Above this point rapids are met at every bend, and the river is constantly breaking through new channels, though these changes are circumscribed to very narrow lateral limits. Four rompidos are found here in less than two miles.

During our journey, all the officers made independent notes and observations, which, being compared at night, were found to agree very fairly while on the Coatzacoalos; but after entering the Jumuapa, it was found impossible to compare our notes satisfactorily. This river and the Sarabia are said by Señor Moro to descend from the Guienagate Mountains. Finally, we passed the Fortuguero Brook, which enters the Jumuapa on its left bank, and all the surveying parties landed at La Puerta on December 6th, after eight days' canoe travelling.

Explorations from La Puerta to Chivela.—After leaving La Puerta, we reached the picturesque plains of Sarabia; travelling on mules over very bad roads.

The whole district up to San Juan Guichicovi is made up of red clay in its plastic state, and slates of several colors, and of all degrees of hardness and denudations. Compact limestone here makes its first appearance in our journey, and its constant association with silicates indicates the presence of hydraulic limestone.

The extensive district of San Juan Guichicovi contains jasper and argillaceous limestones. From the latter a good cement is made, as can be attested by the huge pile of this material opposite the old unfinished church commenced by Cortés.

While passing through this wild and romantic region, we crossed the Mogañe and Pachiñe, both torrent streams, tributaries of the Malatengo, and of no value to our purposes, being low as to elevation and insignificant as to volume.

The geological features of the country do not again change much until after crossing the Malatengo near its junction with the Cituñe River. The clay then becomes more sandy, compact limestone forms the base of the mountains, and gray slate and quartz bowlders are seen in abundance.

In the neighborhood of Petapa, a greenish slate was often met with, and on the road I picked up a piece of blue and green malachite.

Gaining very little information here, we left for El Barrio, after taking note of the traditional rumor about some large lakes in the Petapa Mountains.

Leaving El Barrio, we crossed several small dry streams, and lastly, came to the Almoloya, which was spoken of as the great dependence of the summit-level. We found it about 20 feet wide, with a sluggish current, and hardly 6 inches deep. Its bed of sand and gravel was often dry, the water percolating through the gravel. What we had seen convinced me of the impossibility of using the streams that could be found high enough for supplying the summit-level of a ship-canal.

Still, to place these facts beyond doubt, transit and level lines were run,

with the results given in the sequel. From the Malatengo near the Cituñe River, the ground rises constantly toward the north, and after we crossed the Almoloya it descends steadily toward Chivela.

This hacienda is situated on the south-west course of the remarkably level table-land of the summit of the sunk cordilleras, which join the Andes by the east and the Rocky Mountains by the west.

The Tarifa and Chivela plains are one and the same table-land of the summit, but the valley seems divided into two parts, the hills approaching each other a little to the south-west of Tarifa.

The remarkable Chivela plains can be said to be the flat, broad valley of the Otate Brook, and having an area of ten and one half square miles.

The soil is sandy to the depth of about twenty feet, as is shown by the wells of the locality, and the easily excavated and deep banks of the many brooks that traverse its surface in the rainy season.

North of the Chivela House, the eastern slope of all the gently rolling hillocks are covered with stones of different sizes, hinting by their direction and position that they have been deposited there contemporaneously with the drift of the Pacific plains, or by the action of floods of a more recent period.

There are eight dry-brook crossings before entering the contracted part of these plains, and they show that the sand deposit becomes thinner as we approach Tarifa, where many pools of stagnant water prove that the soil is impermeable.

The houses at Tarifa are on a slight elevation, and all the surrounding country becomes flooded during the heaviest rains; but soon after, the waters find their way to the Atlantic by the Almoloya and Chichihua rivers. These plains are covered with grass, and in the places not cleared, a thick underbrush shelters abundant game and a few beasts of prey.

Royal palms, the silk-tree, and three species of sensitive plant are very numerous.

We remained in Tarifa a week, waiting by appointment for Don Julian Macheo, the owner of extensive lands of the isthmus. We made many explorations with a levelling transit and two barometers, measuring distances with the micrometer on the speaking-rod.

Simultaneous barometric observations were taken hourly on the coast, at Chivela, and at whatever point explorations were under way.

We found the details of the country very imperfectly given in maps, and became convinced that we should be obliged to do the topographic work over again, especially in the neighborhood north of Tarifa. Señor Macheo informed me that the lake supposed to exist by some, near the headwaters of the Chicapa, was simply an invention; because his father visited the source of the Chicapa, and never found the lake. Later in our explorations, I saw the principal source of the Chicapa as it poured from among the crevices of the large rocks in the neighborhood of Mr Scarce's rancho.

The Tarifa River has its source in the Pasapartida Hills.

On December 18th, its breadth was 20 feet, its mean depth .08 foot, and its mean velocity .03 foot per second; consequently its delivery was at the time less than one half cubit foot per second.

From Tarifa to Chichihua River.—On December 19th we left early in

the morning, to explore the Chichihua River. We crossed the Tarifa River three times, the first part of our journey being toward the north, and upon its valley a beautiful and grassy plain. At the end of the first three miles we left the Albricias Mountains and the Convento Cerro to the south-east, and began to ascend rapidly to the north, by the complicated system of hills which divide the Tarifa and Otate water-sheds.

I will be very particular in describing this, the last north-west spur of the Albricias chain, because here lies the heaviest part of the cutting for the canal-feeder.

The Albricias Mountain is made up of marbles and magnesian limestones, from the Convento Cerro till it reaches a point east of Santa Maria; it follows parallel to the Corte River for a short distance, and then turns east; in other words, compact limestone and dolomites skirt the base of the highest isthmian mountains, at a height of six or seven hundred feet above the ocean.

Due north of Tarifa are found soft limestones, very different from the dolomites above referred to, partaking more of the character of travertine.

They were deposited in strata, whose dip is now vertical, with a north and south strike, and this character is common to the whole of this spur; but the quality of its material varies a great deal, since sometimes it is calcareous tufa; then it passes into argillaceous marl, and again the clay disappears, and sand predominates.

This material is so soft that the foot-travel over it grinds it into impalpable dust.

The furrows made by each rainy season compel the Indians to leave last year's tracks for new ones, until they have made so many paths over these hills that it is confusing to select the best road.

North of this ridge the country descends to the Chichihua Valley, and is formed by soft sandstone, until the junction of the Chichihua and the Pericon, where jasper and argillaceous rocks are again seen ascending toward the north, forming the hilly district enclosed by the Chichihua, Malatengo, Corte, and Coyolopa rivers,

Occasionally plastic red and green clay are met with, as well as granular quartz bowlders.

South of the Pericon, the streams have cut their way through the rocks in situ, and neither drift nor indications of heavy floods are visible; but the bed of the Chichihua has clear, sharp sand brought down from the potreros east of Cofradia Range.

The summit of Sierra Blanca Pass is 1,232 feet above the ocean, and in order to get the waters of the Corte into Tarifa, it will be necessary to cut the thin web at this pass to a depth of 483 feet, or to tunnel through it, if it is found cheaper than either an open cut or a detour up the Tarifa River Valley. In the present state of my knowledge of the locality, I would propose a tunnel, that may be of small dimensions, through rocks that I know are very soft. This tunnel will be 9,650 feet long, and its area need not exceed that of a rectangle 19 feet by 12 feet, surmounted by a semicircular arch of 12 feet span. Under these conditions, its cost will be less than $600,000.

From the pass we descended by the north-east to the Otate Brook; crossed a gently rolling plain, with rich pastures, and ascended the Chichihua Mirador, a high hill, from whence the surrounding country could be easily inspected. We took several observations with the barometer, and measured several angles to test Moro's triangulation. We descended to a small valley, crossed the brooks Mentidero and Milagro, and after one and a half miles' travel to the north, we ascended the hills which form the left bank of the Chichihua. Their general direction is to the east; and these hills are highest at the Pericon junction, where there is a cañon about 100 feet wide, with nearly vertical walls, about 150 feet high. A gradual descent to the east brought us to the Chichihua below the Corazo Brook, and where we cross-sectioned the Chichihua at a point 71 feet below Chivela; a short distance below, the Chichihua flows into the Corte River. It was here that I conceived it possible to use the Corte as a summit-feeder, because its tortuous course and probable rapids naturally led me to think that it would be easy to overcome the small difference of level without going very far up stream.

Monetza River and Caves.—We left Tarifa December 21, 1870, very early in the morning, under a leaden sky, from which poured a blinding rain. Our route was by the north-east until we reached Tabla Bolsa, which is a very small valley, lower than Tarifa, since it sheds toward the east. The Panecillo, which we crossed and followed after the last Tarifa Ford, led us to the source of the Monetza. This river flows from under a natural Gothic arch, cut by its waters in the south-west extremity of the Convento Hill. This hill consists of pure black marble, and the walls of the arch or tunnel which traverses it are perforated and jagged, pouring in all directions fine transparent streams of crystalline and delicious water. This natural arch or bridge is 25 feet high, 23 feet broad, and about 120 feet long. A thousand yards below this point, the stream, which flows over a black bed of rocks fantastically water-worn, plunges into a beautiful cave about one half a mile long, and called the Large Convento.

The Monetza was found 112 feet below the summit at its source, and delivering 2.8 cubit feet per second. After this river emerges from the mountain, it is joined by the brook Leña del Monte, and with a uniform grade runs along a fertile valley which terminates in the Chicapa River, at the town of San Miguel, 300 feet below the summit. The material of the Convento Mountain is admirably suited for construction purposes; and a marble and lime quarry can be easily opened at a very convenient distance from the summit-works. I will not describe the exact route from Tarifa to San Miguel, being of little importance to our subject.

The Chicapa was first cross-sectioned at San Miguel, near the Niltepec Ford, though with a result higher than its minimum value, since copious rains had been falling for the past six days.

Six experiments were made for velocity, at the end areas of the portion of the river chosen, using the surface velocity reduced to mean velocity by Weisbach's formula. This same method was employed in all important rivers.

The village of San Miguel is on the right bank of the Chicapa, and at the point of confluence of this river with the Monetza and Xoxocuta rivers, being shut in by high mountains on all sides.

The Xoxocuta comes from the mountains north of San Miguel and flows to the Pacific, while a small stream on the north slope of these same mountains flows to the Atlantic. The sources of this stream, which are quite near, were explored; and since San Miguel is so low, and the streams are so short, I conceived the hope of finding here a low pass to bring the Corte waters to the east end of Cerro Albricias, using the Lower Chicapa Valley for the canal-bed. The San Miguel Pass was subsequently levelled, and found impracticable.

We spent two days in San Miguel, weather-bound, but making short excursions in the surrounding country. Afterward, we here obtained, in fair weather, five long series of barometric observations, and found the altitude to be 403 feet above the ocean. The same, as given by the level, is 404 feet. On December 24th, Chimalapa Indians were engaged to accompany us into the woods, and early on the morning of the 25th we started up the Chicapa Valley, with the intention of testing the practicability of joining the Chicapa and Ostuta rivers, as suggested by Señor Moro

It will be well to say that, from San Miguel to Mr Scarce's rancho, bearings were taken with the compass, and the distances were estimated by the watch, keeping a uniform gait in our walk. All I can claim for this exploration is, that it is a very conscientious reconnoissance of the ground, giving an accurate idea of its topography. It has been platted with the bearings taken all along, and the latitude of three points, after calculating our rate of travel. It is also abundantly checked by the bearings of prominent points, taken from Tarifa, Convento Summit, San Miguel, Xoxocuta, Palmar, near an indigo plantation, before descending to Ultimo rancho, at Rosetta Hill, on the Espiritu Santo Hill, and on the Atravesado, at three different points. This route can be said to have been surveyed by intersecting bearings from known points.

The whole Chicapa River can be ascended to its source without great difficulty, through a wild and uninhabited region.

The only remarkable feature of this stream is its extraordinary rise, which takes place at the rate of one foot in a hundred, since it falls 1,000 feet in less than 18 miles.

Mr Scarce's rancho was found to be 616 feet above the Chivela station; and the Chicapa at this point passes less than 50 cubic feet of water per second.

At the end of four days we again started up the stream, following the bed of the Chicapa with the compass, and levelling by angles of elevation and depression, and reducing to the horizon the distances as given by the micrometer. About 1,700 feet from Scarce's rancho we came to the main source of the Chicapa. The water pours from among the crevices of very large bowlders, which have fallen over the bed of the river, from a cliff about 800 feet high. From this point forward, the river, which delivered about 50 cubic feet at Scarce's rancho, hardly carries two or three cubic feet of water.

Beyond this point, and about 1½ miles from Scarce's, the little water that flows, and the reduced size of its bed, made me abandon this thalweg for that of a dry brook with a very wide bed, whose direction seemed to lead toward the Atravesado Mountain. This brook was named Arroyo Providencia.

The small tributary of the Chicapa, just abandoned, turned toward the

north behind a high chain of near hills, and is evidently a very small and short stream. Up to Último rancho the rocks are argillaceous; but near the source of the Chicapa, compact and blue limestones abound, which grow coarser as we ascend to the Arroyo Providencia.

This stream runs through a deep canon, two or three hundred feet high, and its precipitous sides are covered with overhanging stalactites.

We also found quite a large deposit of nitrate of potassa about two miles east of Scarce's rancho. After four days' travel we ascended to a high spot, where the underbrush ceases to grow.

We then ascertained that we had followed the lowest valley, which leads directly to the gap between the highest point of the Sierra and the Atravesado Peak; in other words, we had followed the valley supposed by Moro to be the bed of the Chicapa River. A reconnoissance from a high point advised us to leave Providencia Brook, which had become impossible to ascend, for another more southerly and marked valley, which was named Aguas Nuevas, in commemoration of the day, January 1, 1871. When we struck it, at 7 A. M., our height was 1,375 feet above Chivela, and at 4 P. M. our elevation was 3,245 feet. Feeling convinced beyond any possible doubt that this was the lowest thalweg within five miles from north to south, I determined to leave its bed, and see how the country looked east of us, or toward the Ostuta. Ten minutes up-hill travel brought us to a cleared eminence, from which I saw, with a feeling of disappointment I cannot describe, that the chances of bringing a feeder through this route were very few, because our height was so great, and the Ostuta, running from north to south, had to descend an astonishing distance, in order to make a junction of these rivers possible, since the Pacific plains reached to our latitude, and from this point northward the mountains rise abruptly from the plains. I hoped that our labor might still bear some fruit, because, turning to page 11 of Señor Moro's original report, in my possession, entitled 'Reconocimiento del Istmo de Tehuantepec, London, June 1, 1844,' I read the following words, which I translate. Señor Moro, standing on the Atravesado Mountain, says: 'Toward the north I saw the deep ravine through which the Chicapa runs; and on the east the high lands of the Ostuta's bed, which I had just visited and recognized perfectly, were less than three miles off. The difference of level between the two points is so inconsiderable that there is no doubt as to the possibility of effecting the junction of these rivers. And it is no less evident that there is not the least obstacle to prevent it, in the short distance intervening between them." Filled with hope at this precise statement, although very short of provisions, and with the Indians who accompanied us very discontented and rebellious, I turned to the south-east, in order to ascend the Atravesado. Failing to see from the Atravesado anything in the direction of the Ostuta, on account of an intervening mountain, we moved south and then east, in order to descend by a detour to the most south-easterly spur of the Atravesado.

With the exception of the high point just abandoned on the south, everything else east or north of us appeared under our feet; and had it been possible to see the high land of the Ostuta from any point of this mountain, this was the place from which to view it. The highest part of the sierra bears

north 2° east from us, and a spur from it hides the place through which Moro thought he saw Ostuta. Since his assertion, quoted above, is so positive, I must conclude that he lost his bearings, and mistook for the Ostuta the small valley running behind Trespicos Hill, and the peculiarly sharp and craggy limestone hills near them, called the Cucumates; but these points are evidently low, too far south, and proved to be at least fifteen miles away from where Moro proposed to begin his feeder. The deep valley we saw at our feet with terrible distinctness proved to be the Ostuta's; but we could not believe it, because it appeared to be 4,000 or 5,000 feet below us. After all our notes were platted, the Fortuna Brook was found to run up so near the gap that it may be possible that Moro mistook it for the Chicapa. This opinion is strengthend by the fact that Moro ascended the Atravesado from Niltepec, and not by the bed of the Chicapa. I declare distinctly that there is no point on the Atravesado, nor near it, from which the Chicapa and Ostuta valleys, nor the land through which they run, can be seen at the same time.

I was accompanied on this expedition by Mr Buel and Señor Macheo—two of the most courageous and daring men I have ever known. We considered this solution of Moro's project as the only hope for a canal; since the Corte project, besides being as yet problematic, the weight of evidence was against it; therefore, we studied these mountains with anxious intetest, sparing no personal discomfort, till the country was explored as far as it was possible for a human being to go.

Moro's assertion was not verified, and since our steps were barred by the precipices which bind the eastern edge of the Atravesado, we determined not to give up hoping until we had seen the ground from below, upward. Accordingly, we decided to descend to the town of Niltepec, explore the Ostuta as far as possible, and endeavor to reconnoiter the gap referred to by Señor Moro.

As we left Aguas Nuevas Brook, the climate, as well as the fauna, flora, and geology of the country, changed visibly. Nothing but the pine grew over the nearly bare rock of finely laminated shale, which, as we ascended, became transformed into a breccia, very much decomposed on the surface, but bearing no vegetation. The summit of Cerro Atravesado consists of porphyry and argillaceous rocks. This hill is ingrafted into the main sierra from north to south, and in a very conspicuous manner blocks the valley of the Chicapa at right angles to its thalweg. Its top surface is flat, about 5,000 feet above the sea, and covered with rich pasture. All along its extensive top, and in a south-west direction, we found immense blocks of granite which do not belong to the place, and can only be accounted for by supposing either that they had fallen down from the highest part of the Sierra Madre, previous to the formation of the gap through which Moro proposed to pass the canal-feeder, or that they were there through glacial action.

Explorations of the Ostuta River.—On the 6th of January we left Niltepec for the Ostuta. The whole river to Piedra Grande is level and covered with drift, remarkable for its size and the direction of its dispersion. The whole Pacific plain forms a basin of about 1,400 square miles, and its shape can be likened to that of a half-cone, of small height, hollow and inverted, having its apex at Boca Barra. Toward this point flow all the rivers

on the Pacific side in a radial direction; but the dispersion of the drift takes place in a south-westerly direction, whatever the shape or inclination of the ground on these plains. Erratic blocks are found in this direction from the Ostuta, which flows south-westerly to the Tehuantepec River. This latter stream runs from west to east, and even in the mountains, as on the Atravesado, there are blocks of granite at an elevation of five thousand feet above the ocean, and arranged in *lines*, sensibly parallel to those of the coarse drift on the plains thirty miles off. Some of the blocks have a volume of over 120,000 cubic feet. These blocks are also found arranged in the same direction north of the dividing ridge of the isthmus, in the town of Santa Maria.

Most of the Pacific rivers have considerable beds; but with the exception of the Ostuta, they all pass very little water at this season.

The Niltepec was nearly dry, and the brooks Chocolate, Huacamaya, Agua, Zarea, Petaca, Roble, and Juamol were entirely dry. The plains are arid, hot, and sandy. Besides a parched underbrush, hardly any other vegetation is seen, except a poor quality of grass and the jícara-tree (*Crescentia cujete*). This tree is variously called in different places jícara, totuma, higuera, dita, and chima; it is small, not unlike the apple-tree in appearance, and bearing a green sesile fruit or gourd, used by the natives extensively as cups, vessels, etc. When ripe it possesses in a most extraordinary degree the properties of ergotine; but fortunately the Indians are not aware of it, and use it for no medicinal purposes. The Ostuta River was gauged at Piedra Grande, and found to deliver only 203 cubic feet per second.

On the 9th of January we left Piedra Grande by the north-east, and camped by the Ostuta, nine and a quarter miles north of our starting-point.

In all, we made four camps, and ascended the river for seventeen miles from Piedra Grande, or where the highest peak of the sierra bore south 89° west from us. Two and a third miles after leaving Piedra Grande, we turn north to ascend the Cristalinas Hills, in order to see the valley of the Ostuta, and Moro's Gap on the Atravesado. We soon reached the top of a steep hill, at the point marked on the map No. 2, El Portillo.

This point is 122 feet below Chivela; and looking to our left, we had a discouraging bird's-eye view of the Ostuta. Its tortuous course could easily be traced in the deep valley at our feet, until it turned sharply to the west, behind a mountain lower than the one we stood upon. Moro's Gap was square in front of this turn, and considerably higher than El Portillo.

We descended then to the river, and after fording it without difficulty, ascended up stream by the right bank, cutting our way through the dense foliage. Occasionally we ascended near hills, or climbed trees to study the topography. Our barometric observations were taken very carefully, though in our two first tents the atmospheric state was unpropitious.

Impracticability of Joining the Chicapa and Ostuta Rivers.—Señor Moro makes Último rancho and Chivela at the same height. A glance at the barometric data shows it to be 275 feet above Chivela; but although the heights for each set of observations agree within six feet, since only three observations were taken, I will pass to the rancho Scarce, where five sets of good observations were taken, giving a mean of 624 feet. The distance between these two points is less than eight miles; following the river

turns, and applying the rise per mile of the river between San Miguel and Scarce's rancho, which are points well determined, we should find that the Chicapa, at eight miles from the rancho Scarce, must fall about 422 feet.

It needs no demonstration to prove that the Chicapa Valley is the only route for Moro's feeder.

At San Miguel this river is over 369 feet below the summit, and at El Palmar it is 24 feet above; hence the cutting below the Chicapa bed must commence 2,400 feet before reaching the Palmar Brook. This cutting, gradually increasing in depth, will be eleven miles long and 3,245 feet deep by the time it reaches that point of Aguas Nuevas Brook, from which we turned away to descend the Atravesado. But this is not all. There are fully one and a third miles of ascent from Aguas Nuevas Brook to the lowest point of Moro's Pass, and beyond this point the tunnel must extend through the base of the mountain, before reaching the Ostuta's bed.

The above supposes the Ostuta to be at a convenient height; but since it is 180 feet below the summit, besides the above cutting, 180 feet of depth of cutting must be added throughout the whole length of the feeder and summit. We became convinced of how useless was the attempt to explore any farther the source of the Ostuta, and taking additional barometrical observations, and cross-sectioning the river at the highest point visited, we turned back extremely disappointed.

The Ostuta delivers at the highest point 84 feet less than at Piedra Grande, or 119 cubic feet per second.

On the mountains north of Niltepec, the southern slopes are of clay; as we ascend we meet sandstone, compact limestone, and lastly gray and green slate, breccia, and porphyry.

Our next step, after leaving the Ostuta, was to try the San Miguel Pass, by way of the streams Chichihua and Pericon.

Exploration of San Miguel Pass.—We explored the San Miguel Pass, and the hasty study of its valleys convinced me that it was of importance to settle its practicability instrumentally.

Accordingly, while we were on our way to the Corte, orders were given to continue the transit and level lines from Tarifa to San Miguel via Sierra Blanca and San Miguel passes. Lieutenant-commander Bartlett was detailed for this work. The detour given to this line had for its object to study the range of hills dividing the Tarifa plains and the Chichihua potreros, in order to bring the feeder by this latter place in case the San Miguel Pass should prove impracticable. The work was performed by Mr Bartlett with the care and accuracy characteristic of this efficient officer. The San Miguel feeder-pass was found to be 1,071 feet above the ocean, and the Sierra Blanca Pass is 1,238 feet above the same plane. Although San Miguel Pass offers less height, the facts developed by the topographical and geological survey make Sierra Blanca the most feasible route for the feeder, for the following reasons: the Pita Brook is a forced point of pass of the feeder. In order to reach the San Miguel Pass, the feeder must turn south, up the valley of the Arroyo Corozo, and its grade will soon intersect the northern base of the Albricias Cerro, in a cutting of hard limestone and marble; it must then turn a right angle to the west, and skirt the southern lap of the Albricias Cerro, until it reached the Tarifa plains.

The Sierra Blanca Pass is right at Tarifa, and its material is made up of soft calcareous tufa.

The Chichihua is 71 feet below the summit, and the Pericon is on the grade of the feeder, so that the length of cutting to Tarifa will be less than 10,000 feet, through easy ground, across the thin web-like spurs that divide the Tarifa and Chichihua potreros. The rise of the ground is gradual from Chichihua toward Sierra Blanca, and abrupt from north to east, as can be seen by the Pericon, which runs quite parallel to the Albricias Hill, up to Sierra Blanca. At this point it is sent northward, while the Naquipa runs north and south from the pass to the Chichihua. The Corozo route will require six miles of hard tunnelling, and seven miles of equally hard deep cutting. The direct route has five miles, requiring no extra cutting, and only three miles of heavy cutting, through soft soil, and in which a short tunnel will be found economical.

Since Tarifa River is lower than the Tarifa plantation, and the arroyo Pita is also lower than Tarifa River, it will be seen that there can be no doubt as to the possibility of supplying the summit with water, if it can be brought down to the Pita.

From San Miguel Pass and Cofradía we went to Santa Maria Chimalapa, where, after suffering many hardships, we were obliged to return to Chivela, and make such arrangements as would insure our passing through the Chimalapa region in order to reach the river Corte.

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